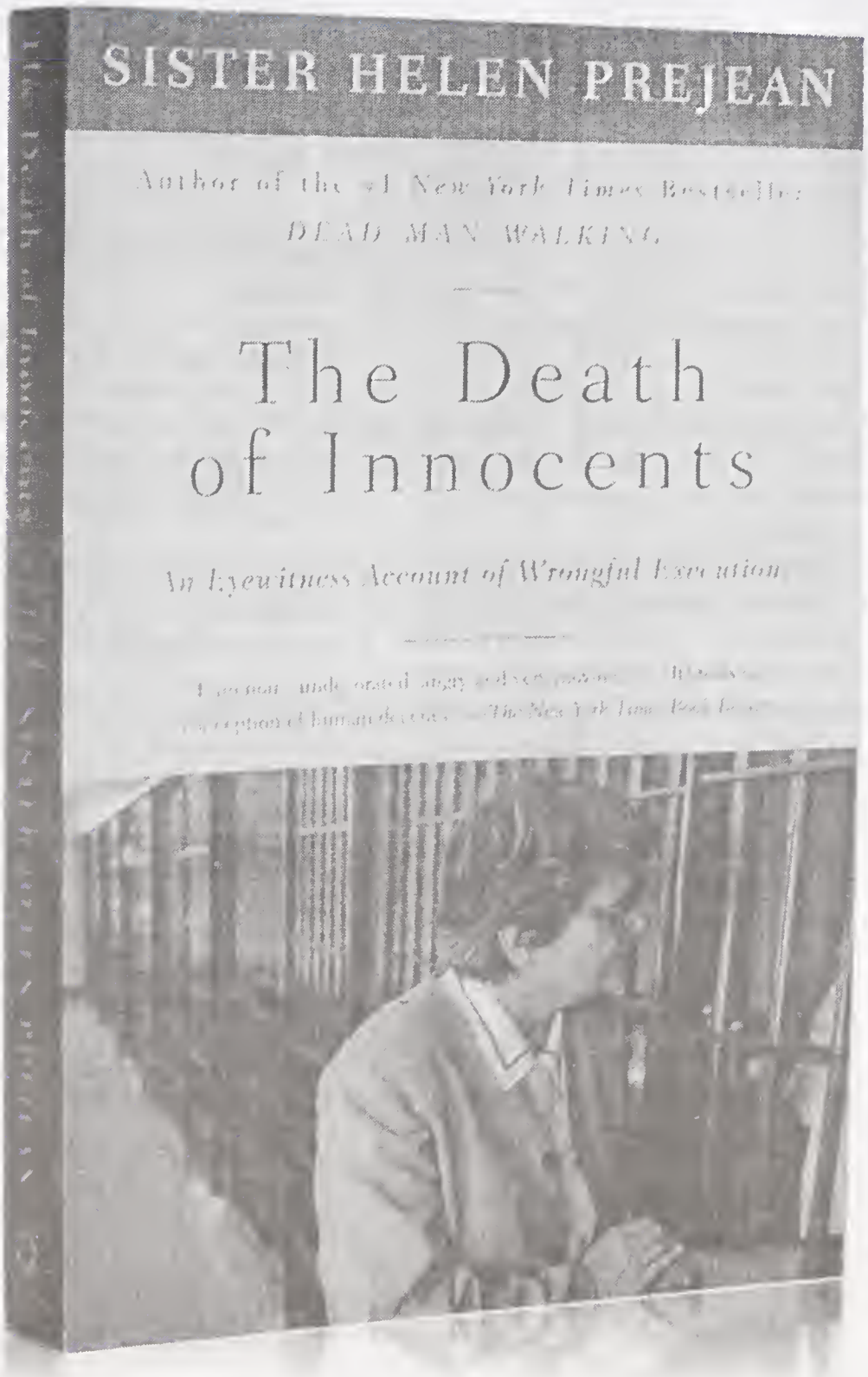
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Summer 2007 A.D.

Carolina Review

Summer Reading Guide

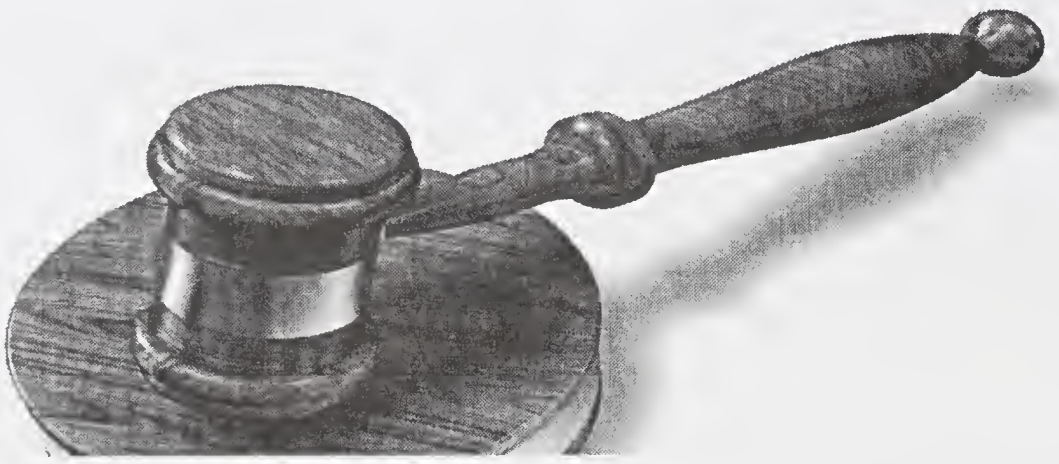


INSIDE: Summer Reading Cheat Sheet - What you're expected to think (and what you should think).

FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

It is that time of year again, when students across campus see straight through the disaster that is our university's treasured summer reading program for what it truly is. While last year's freshman were fortunate enough to read a well-written novel, thus only being assaulted with political correctness and diversity by the Chapel Hill brand discussion questions, the class of 2011 gets a taste of what their university governing body is all about in full blast. The *Carolina Review* offers its traditional alternative review of the annual summer reading choice, *The Death of Innocents*, chronicling two convicted murderers whom the author believes are innocent, and adds a new flavor by answering the discussion ques-



tions for you (and not how the administration likely hoped).

Though now months removed from the unfortunate circumstances leading to Gary Birdsong's removal from the Pit, his pulpit and the source of his quasi-affectionate nickname, the Pit Preacher, the *Review* will still delve into the greater issue at hand. Gary's punishment admittedly had more to do with his breaking of the rules than it did with the content of what he was saying, but it serves as an awakening reminder that speech can be regulated on this campus. Exactly how is found in Katherine Lloyd's examination of the barriers our administration euphemistically calls free speech zones.

Also inside the *Review* profiles rising senior Tyson Grinstead, a representative and chairman of the Ethics Committee in UNC's Student Congress, former chairman of our chapter of College Republicans, and newly elected chairman of the North Carolina Federation of College Republicans. Fresh off a successful year during which he maintained membership of College Republicans at the levels they were coming off of the 2004 election year and lead the effort for Republicans to hold a majority in Student Congress. A Republican majority in Congress. It really is a shame the Young Democrats, with their exorbitantly disproportionate funding appropriation, second only to the executive branch of student government, can't seem to find more members to run for Congress. Grinstead has made an immeasurable impact with limited resources on a campus not exactly known for its friendliness toward conservatives. Bryan Weynand sat down with Grinstead to see what he has in store for the coming year.

Lastly, but certainly most importantly, being that this is the first issue of the 2007-2008, the *Carolina Review* would like to extend a warm welcome to the incoming, or depending on when you are reading this, newly arrived, freshman class. I trust that for every rabblerousing, bleeding-heart liberal ready to strike Chapel Hill, there is a head strong, intelligent conservative aspiring to save it, and for you the *Carolina Review's* Jonathan Tugman has ten ways to avoid the infamous left-wing bias.

You will soon discover in your administration and in many of your professors a war being waged on true intellectual thought, smart politics, and in some cases political freedom. They have in mind a goal which we refuse to let them accomplish: their own *Death of Innocents*.

Sincerely,

Bryan and Ashley

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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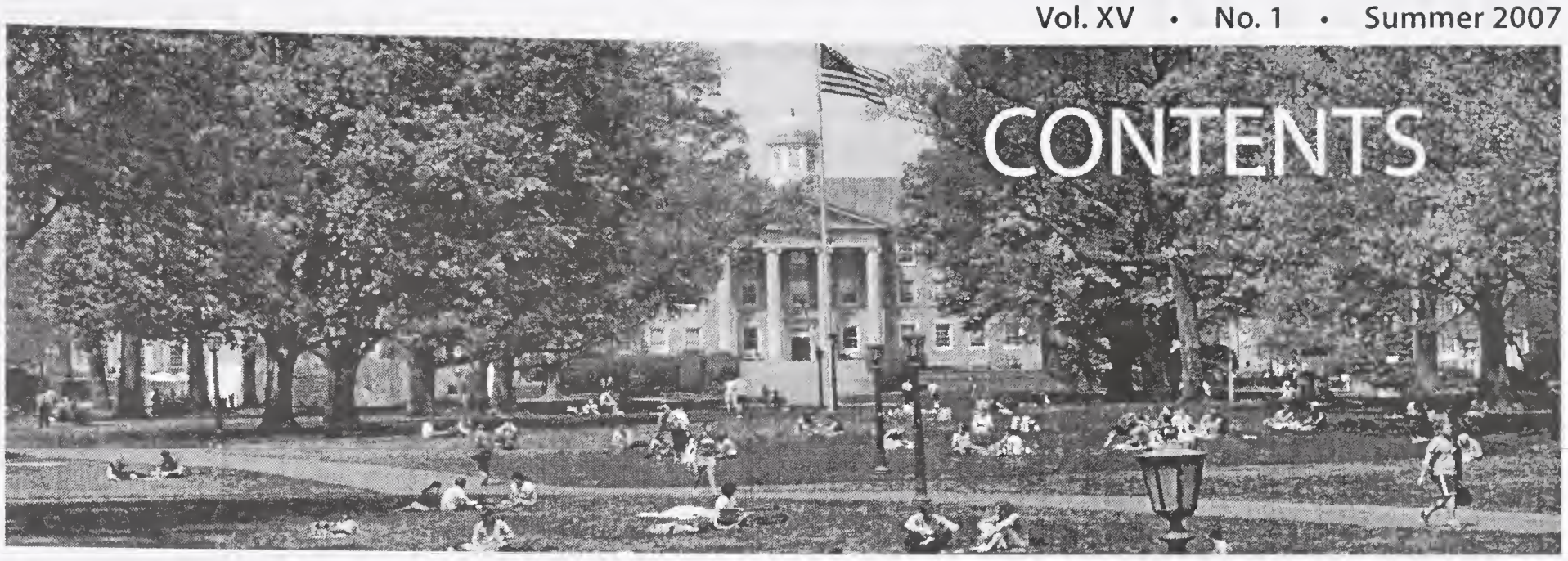
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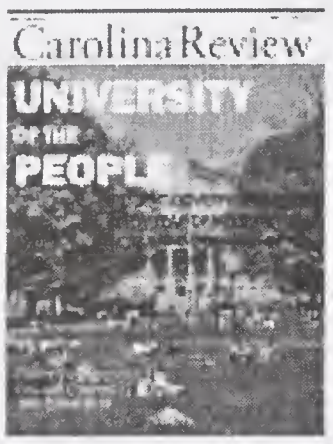
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CHEERS & JEERS



APRIL2007 *The April 2007 issue detailed the transition of Student Congress to a new Speaker and profiled the controveries facing the Congress dealing with the Cap Act. It also featurd the farewell columns of our senior editors. The Carolina Review appreciates all your comments. As usual, you can read our old issues online at* **unc.edu/cr/archive/**

↘ Comment on April stories at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com**.

Cultural Contrast

The Global Islamic population is approximately 1,250,000,000, or 20% of the world population. They have received 7 Nobel Prizes.

The Global Jewish population is approximately 14,000,000 or about 0.02% of the world population. They have received 127 Nobel Prizes.

The Israelis are not demonstrating with their dead in the streets, yelling and chanting, and asking for revenge. The Israelis are not brain washing their children in military training camps, teaching them how to blow themselves up and cause maximum deaths. They don't highjack planes, nor kill athletes at the Olympics. They don't traffic in slaves, nor have their leaders called for Jihad and death to the 'Infidels.'

Jeff Davidson

Avid UNC soccer fan



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The Carolina Review Web site includes staff information, our complete mission statement, and search tools. In addition, you can access our archives, special features, and blog. Just point your browser to www.unc.edu/cr/.

VIEWPOINTS



"Saddam Hussein has been engaged in the development of weapons of mass destruction technology which is a threat to countries in the region and he has made a mockery of the weapons inspection process."
— SPEAKER NANCY PELOSI

"Capitalists are no more capable of self-sacrifice than a man is capable of lifting himself up by his own bootstraps."
— VLADIMIR LENIN

"If Charlton Heston can have a constitutional right carry a rifle, why can't grandma have a constitutional right to health care?"
— AL SHARPTON

"Remember, democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide."
— JOHN ADAMS

"It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do; but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do."
— EDMUND BURKE

"If the federal government had been around when the Creator was putting His hand to this state, Indiana wouldn't be here. It'd still be waiting for an environmental impact statement."
— PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN





"Force, and fraud, are in war the two cardinal virtues."
— THOMAS HOBBES

"Few people are capable of expressing with equanimity opinions which differ from the prejudices of their social environment. Most people are even incapable of forming such opinions."
— ALBERT EINSTEIN

"Only those who want everything done for them are bored."
— BILLY GRAHAM

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The Death of Innocents

by Fitz E. Barringer

Sister Helen Prejean makes no secret of why she penned the *Death of Innocents*. The book's page count is still in Roman numerals when Prejean writes that she hopes that those reading about her account of the death penalty will be "set on fire" – consumed with a zeal to fight, what she calls, the "spirit of vengeance" that dominates the hearts and minds of Americans who support state executions. Yet with the author's forceful and impassioned views exposed at such an early juncture, it is difficult to shake the feeling that the *Death of Innocents* is ultimately a book about Prejean's version of guilt and innocence, of justice and retribution, of life and death – a version of reality so clearly impacted by her deep desire to rid the world of executions that careful readers will hardly find it compelling.

It's not that Prejean, a Roman Catholic nun from New Orleans, lies or even bends the truth. Rather, her inflamed writing style and seemingly endless passion for abolishing the death penalty make her something less than a credible eyewitness. Whether she is making the case for a prisoner's innocence or pounding away at the logic of the death penalty, Prejean tends to view the American justice system through a lens of heavy skepticism. A healthy questioning of government is, of course, no vice, but Prejean's constant refusal to place any faith in the American courts moves her well beyond the point of objectivity.

In the case of Joseph O'Dell, for instance, a man convicted of the rape and brutal murder of a forty four year old woman, Prejean tosses neutrality aside early on. When she is invited to a press conference to support a new DNA test intended to prove O'Dell's innocence, Prejean readily agrees to attend without even reviewing the facts of the case. Indeed, Prejean tells readers that the first time she read about O'Dell's particular circumstances – and the rational behind his request for a new DNA test – was when she was in a plane heading to the prisoner's defense. Whether or not the DNA test was merited does little to quell the uneasy feeling that Prejean will do anything – even fly halfway across the country on nothing more than an assumption – to interfere with an execution. While such passion is certainly helpful for prisoners facing execution, Prejean's clear willingness to do almost anything to stop or slow an execution makes her a difficult figure to trust when it comes to discussing the nuances of a trial or the interpretation of a prisoner's supposed innocence.

Because the death penalty is so wrapped up in the law, much of the *Death of Innocents* is an examination and, if Prejean has her way, indictment of the American legal system. While Prejean often speaks like an expert on legal precedent, however, it is worth remembering that she has no judicial experience of her own and that she often gets advice from those equally unqualified to expound upon the nation's laws. In the O'Dell case Prejean readily quotes a woman named Lori Urs on legal matters. Like Prejean, Urs, a social worker committed to serving those on death row, is passionate enough, but seems wholly unqualified to speak objectively about the legal system. Not only is Urs without a law degree, but she ends up marrying O'Dell in a short ceremony just hours before he is executed. For readers without hard evidence supporting O'Dell's innocence – and a bevy of legal verdicts, including one from the Supreme Court, in addition to several blood tests (which Prejean deems inconclusive) pointing to O'Dell's guilt – legal explanations from an emotionally involved Urs are unconvincing.

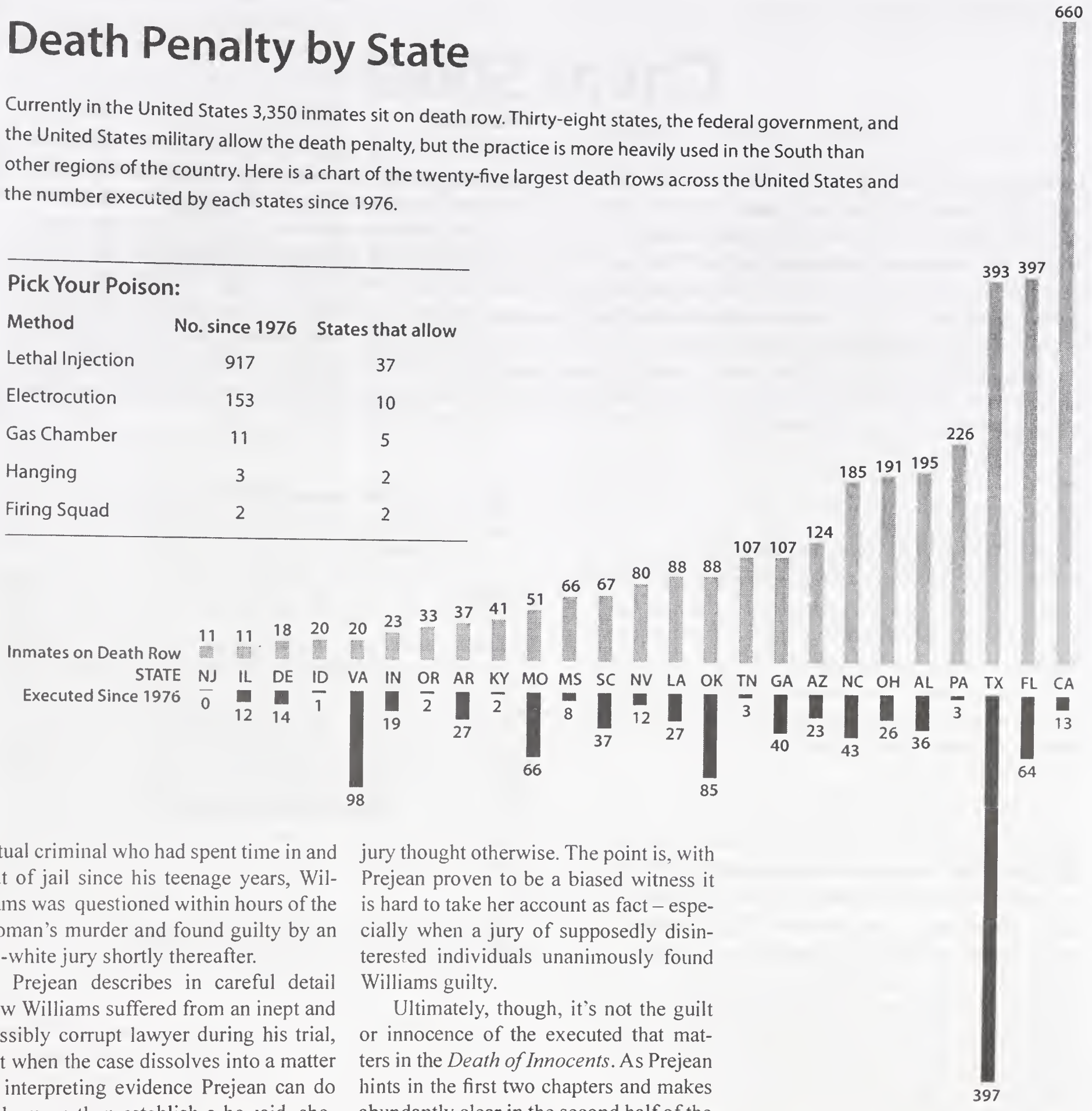
Still, whatever issues of objectivity Prejean raises in the O'Dell chapter of the book, she at least casts some doubt about the prisoner's guilt. In the opening chapter that deals with the case of Dobie Williams, Prejean is less successful. Williams was convicted of killing a married woman in her own home in 1984. A ha-

Death Penalty by State

Currently in the United States 3,350 inmates sit on death row. Thirty-eight states, the federal government, and the United States military allow the death penalty, but the practice is more heavily used in the South than other regions of the country. Here is a chart of the twenty-five largest death rows across the United States and the number executed by each states since 1976.

Pick Your Poison:

Method	No. since 1976	States that allow
Lethal Injection	917	37
Electrocution	153	10
Gas Chamber	11	5
Hanging	3	2
Firing Squad	2	2



bitual criminal who had spent time in and out of jail since his teenage years, Williams was questioned within hours of the woman's murder and found guilty by an all-white jury shortly thereafter.

Prejean describes in careful detail how Williams suffered from an inept and possibly corrupt lawyer during his trial, but when the case dissolves into a matter of interpreting evidence Prejean can do little more than establish a he-said, she-said environment. Williams, Prejean argues, could not have possibly fit through the victim's bathroom window, the way the murderer gained access to the victim's house; the Louisiana prosecutor, not to mention twelve of Williams's peers, found that he could have crawled through. Prejean concludes that certain blood spatters found at the murder scene could not tie Williams to the crime; the prosecutor, a forensic laboratory, and the jury thought otherwise. The point is, with Prejean proven to be a biased witness it is hard to take her account as fact – especially when a jury of supposedly disinterested individuals unanimously found Williams guilty.

Ultimately, though, it's not the guilt or innocence of the executed that matters in the *Death of Innocents*. As Prejean hints in the first two chapters and makes abundantly clear in the second half of the book, her purpose is to undermine and abolish the death penalty for the innocent and the guilty. Williams and O'Dell are, then, nothing more than vehicles to grab her readers' attention and heighten the book's sense of emotion – not to mention provide the basis for a catchy title. Starting in Chapter Three, Prejean launches her full assault on the "machinery of death" – the legal system, judges, prosecutors, governors, and wardens who support or tolerate the death penalty.

Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia bears the brunt of Prejean's attack. After relating a personal encounter that she had with Scalia, Prejean goes on to question the justice's ability to objectively interpret the Constitution, the sincerity of his belief in the Roman Catholic faith, and even his ability to feel human emotions. After dismissing Scalia's contention that Catholicism *(Continued on page 9)*

CHART: CAROLINA REVIEW ART; DATA: DEATHPENALTYINFO.ORG

Cheat Sheet

BY THE CAROLINA REVIEW STAFF

According to the summer reading program Web site, "The Carolina Summer Reading Program is designed to introduce you [freshmen] to the intellectual life of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill." Traditionally, freshmen read a politically driven book and spend two hours "discussing" the oppressive nature of American society. This year's selection is Sister Helen Prejean's the Death of Innocents, which follows the emotional journey of two men whom the author believes were wrongly executed. With each twist and turn, Prejean attacks the practice of putting prisoners to death. While the book may be thought provoking, it is another example of the University choosing to challenge an institution supported mostly by conservatives, while failing to challenge liberal students. Indeed, according to the Daily Tar Heel, at least one member of the summer reading selection committee expects that "Students who are for the death penalty will be forced to defend their position." Liberal students will not. So, to even things up, the Carolina Review has decided to provide conservative students with a cheat sheet explaining what the discussion leaders want to hear and what they may not want to hear.

1 What surprised you most about this book?

Expected Answer: Since I am an ignorant privileged adolescent, I never thought about an issue as serious as this before. I was surprised to discover that not only do criminals have feelings, but they can be heroic too. When that Williams guy forgave his prosecutors before his execution that was amazing. What a stand-up guy. I mean, "WOW," the criminal justice system is racist.
Real Answer: Not much.

2 How does this book portray the criminal justice system? What does it tell us about the ability of the criminal justice system to determine guilt and innocence?

Expected Answer: It tells us that the criminal justice system is corrupt. The judges, prosecutors, governors, and wardens don't care if people are innocent or not. They just want to kill people. I mean Williams and O'Dell were obviously innocent. Williams couldn't have fit through that window. The criminal justice system is racist.
Real Answer: The book portrays the criminal justice system as it is: imperfect. Not only can it not be 100 percent certain of a man's innocence or guilt, but it also takes years for anything to get done, including executions. Because a justice system is imperfect does not mean that we should stop seeking justice.

Lucky or Not?

Since starting the Summer Reading Program almost a decade ago, Carolina has had some controversial picks. See how the *Death of Innocents* stacks up to past selections. It's all online at our Web site: unc.edu/cr/

3 If no criminal justice system is perfect, should we limit the extent to which we punish? Why or why not?

Expected Answer: Yes. It has long been thought in Europe that the death penalty is inhumane. And since Europe is better than America, we should be more like Europe. Aborting unwanted babies, euthanizing our old people, and banning the death penalty for murderers is the humane thing to do.
Real Answer: Yes. We should limit the extent to which we punish people. In fact, the United States criminal justice system does limit the extent to which it punishes criminals. Because some punishments are classified as "cruel and unusual," however, does not prove that the death penalty is cruel and unusual.

4 What are some good arguments against capital punishment? What are some good arguments in favor of it?

Expected Answer 1: See expected answer to question three.
Expected Answer 2: The death penalty is wrong because you can't teach people not to kill people by killing other people. An eye for eye makes the whole world blind.
Real Answer: In deciding whether or not a certain punishment is just it is important to decide upon the purpose of a punishment. The most common reasons for punishing someone are to deter future criminals, to bring about justice for the victim, and to defend the lives of others. If keeping a murderer alive will endanger other lives, it may be necessary to execute the murderer. If the death penalty does not achieve one of these goals, then it may need to end. But it is the nature of these goals that leads to a death penalty debate in the first place. Proponents claim that the death penalty

does achieve these goals, while opponents claim that it does not. The death penalty is a difficult issue that cannot be decided with simple slogans. That is why a polemical book steeped in emotion only adds to the confusion of the debate.

5 Sister Prejean offers a personal account of her experience with the criminal justice system and two prisoners. What does her account emphasize? What does it leave out?

Expected Answer: Prejean's thorough account emphasizes the perceived injustice of the death penalty as practiced on Joseph O'Dell and Dobbie Williams. While she offers a detailed analysis of the facts of both cases, Prejean primarily dwells on the emotions experienced by the prisoners and those close to them as various legal twists and turns lead to the death chamber. I felt so sorry for O'Dell and Williams and their families as they experienced the anxiety of their approaching executions.
Real Answer: Prejean's focus on emotions and feelings (and her version of the facts) leaves much information to be desired. Despite her attacks on judges, juries, and district attorneys, Prejean rarely seeks out their opinions or defenses. Basing an objective opinion of the death penalty solely on Prejean's one-sided account is very difficult.

6 Question 6: Did this book affect your opinion about the death penalty? If so, how? If not, why not?

Expected Answer: Yes. I was always against the death penalty. I don't see how the government can go around killing people. But after reading this book, I was able to learn the specific stories of real victims of this institution. I am definitely going to make this issue my own in the future. I will call the governor, participate in candle light vigils, and put a Gandhi bumper sticker on my car. I've got to do my part.
Real Answer: No. The author challenged my view of the death penalty and death row inmates, but did not affect my opinion one way or the other. Her account was heavily one-sided, and while I would like to find out more about the death penalty on my own, I hardly found the Death of Innocents to be persuasive. And anyway, claiming that the criminal justice system is flawed only supports reform of the death penalty system, not complete abolition.

Book Review, Continued Page 7

and the death penalty do not conflict, Prejean writes that she "can't help wondering how any human being could be called upon to decide life or death for his or her fellows and not break a moral sweat." Later, Prejean argues that Scalia's "rigid" belief that all humans have free will and know right from wrong "makes compassion impossible."

Still, Scalia is merely the most ready emblem of Prejean's scorn, and the *Death of Innocents* holds no punches in questioning the humanity of any person who supports the death penalty. Prejean singles out judges on the Fourth and Fifth circuit courts, numerous governors, members of the Bush administration, and American citizens as part of the "machinery of death" that send dozens of convicted murderers to their deaths each year.

To some extent, of course, Prejean is correct. The death penalty could not exist without popular support. But as in her unbridled defense of O'Dell and Williams, Prejean's facts soon give way to passion. After exhausting her political and social evidence against the death penalty, Prejean moves beyond reasoned arguments and simply attacks people. In one passage she claims that President Bush has a "callous indifference to human suffering" because of his willingness to support the death penalty while governor of Texas. According to Prejean, who has no discernible connection to the President or those close to him, Bush lied when he claimed in a television interview that he felt compassion for a woman who was executed. And in a phrase that surely tickled the hearts of the book selection committee and liberals everywhere, Prejean writes that Bush "is comfortable with using violent solutions to solve troublesome social and political realities."

Once again here is evidence of Prejean speaking with certainty on matters that seem well beyond her qualifications. In Prejean's world where the death penalty is an inexcusable evil and those who support executions are hardly capable of human emotion, perhaps her conclusions about Bush make sense. But in the real world – where Prejean is not an omnipresent being and the death penalty, for all its flaws, remains an important part of the nation's criminal justice system – the nun from Louisiana is not in a position to interpret Bush's feelings with such expertise.

More than anything else, such personal attacks, grounded in Prejean's emotions rather than in fact, speak to the flaws inherent in the *Death of Innocents*. Prejean's zeal in attacking people detracts from the force of her facts. Her willingness to speak as an expert on matters beyond the scope of her knowledge turn her into a questionable resource, especially when it comes time to make judgments based only on her interpretation of the evidence. And her inability to remain a balanced narrator, clear from the first pages of the book, shakes the persuasiveness of nearly everything she has to say.

Considering the subject matter, however, perhaps it is fitting that the *Death of Innocents* is poorly executed.

Fitz E. Barringer, a former editor, graduated in May 2007 with degrees in history and political science. His most recent book review appeared in the March 2007 issue. Contact him at cr@unc.edu.

FREE SPEECH ISN'T ALWAYS FREE

By Katherine Lloyd

A LOOK INSIDE HOW THE UNIVERSITY'S 'FREE' SPEECH ZONES ARE AFFECTING CAMPUS

Spring time at Carolina means the sun is shining, flowers are blooming, and birds are singing. This spring, one Birdsong was silenced.

Gary Birdsong, more commonly known as 'The Pit Preacher,' was banned from the Pit after an incident on Thursday, March 8. The student organization Carolina Adventures had campus security remove him from the Pit after asking Birdsong repeatedly refused to move away from their display. Although Birdsong claims he complied with their request, his effort was apparently not enough – he was banned from campus for two years under a North Carolina state trespassing statute.

Birdsong's silence was temporary, however. After appealing the citation, he was allowed to preach on campus property, excluding the Pit, a restriction he plans to contest in order to uphold his constitutional right to free speech. "I got a right to preach in the Pit," Birdsong has been quoted as saying.

Corrected: Birdsong has a right to preach. The First Amendment prevents the University from placing content-based restrictions on speech, but it is constitutionally acceptable for UNC to regulate the time, place, and manner in which that speech occurs. In fact, UNC is one of a small number of public universities that have created 'free-speech zones:' areas specifically designated for public expression and assembly. UNC Chapel Hill has four of these zones: McCorkle Place, Polk Place, the area in front of the Campus Y, and the Pit.



Students congregate in the ever populated hub known as "The Pit." The frequented hangout is often used for the expression of ideas- most students are not aware that it is one of only four locations on campus where such expression should take place.

Free-speech zones were originally constructed to limit student protests and rallies to areas that would prevent academic disturbance, but student activism has experienced a decline since the 1960's, when the Vietnam War created a surge of student opposition in universities across the country. Lately, however, issues of race, gender, sexuality, and the war in Iraq have inspired students to reverse that trend and become more vocal in their expression of opinion. Common areas such as Polk Place and the Pit seem like the natural choices of location for student events and demonstrations, largely due to the high amount of foot traffic they receive, yet many students are unaware that these are two of the only four locations where students are permitted to assemble without prior administrative approval – hence the foot traffic.

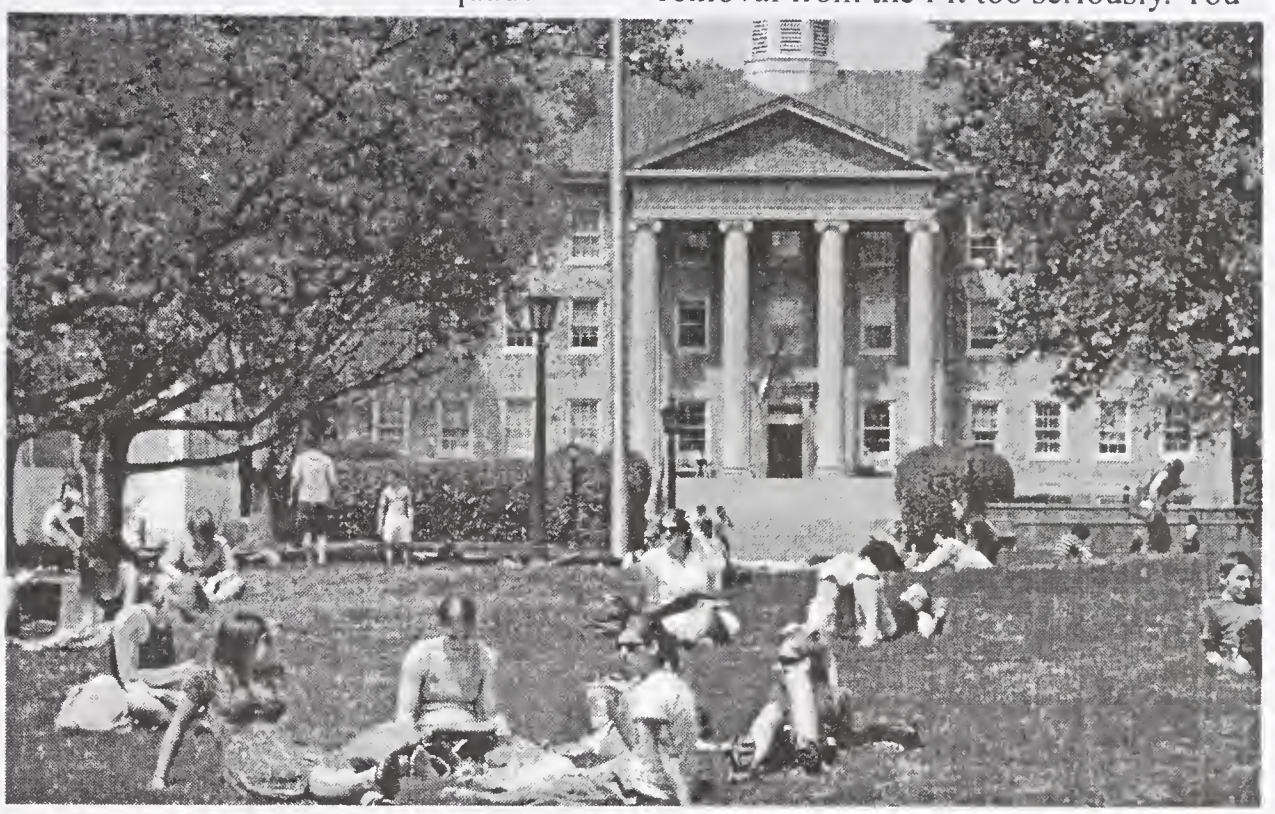
Limiting the spaces students can congregate creates obvious limits on how many students can congregate at one time, so reservation policies have been put into place to keep

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organizations, well, organized. Pit reservations through the Carolina Union are a hassle many student organizations must go through in order to make use of the public space, and use of any of the other 'free-speech' locations must be scheduled with the Vice Chancellor for Finance and Administration. Campus groups must follow these particular scheduling procedures as well as adhere to the multitude of guidelines listed in the University's Facilities Use Policy.

Do UNC students take these restrictions seriously? Policies such as the one found in article III.B.1, "Prior approval is not required for unscheduled use of … the Carolina Union 'Pit,'" allow impromptu events such as the "Pit Breakup" to occur (although article II.B.1 would have classified that as a "Major Event," requiring a specific form from the Union which Ryan Burke most likely did not obtain). Organizations get enough exposure in those designated areas that complaints are rare. Most students do not mind filling out a couple of forms from the Student Union in order to use the Pit. Lastly, the large majority of students are simply unaware the Pit is one of the only places they are actually allowed to use. Even those who are aware of campus restrictions on public demonstration do not seem to mind; for them, life goes on as normal. One female student commented, "As much as I should care about this possible infringement on my constitutional rights, I just don't; maybe because it's outside of my little life niche or that maybe I wouldn't want to see demonstrations everywhere so I think it makes sense."

For others at UNC, the existence of free-speech zones has serious and immediate effects on their roles as university students. By designating specific zones for free-speech, the university immediately labels all other parts of campus as areas where free speech is prohibited - including classrooms. Student Steven McQuaid commented on this double-bind, saying, "This rule says without really saying it that students have no free speech inside classrooms… the one place on campus where it truly matters to have free speech--to be able to have intelligent discussions with students and faculty." According to the University's mission statement, "free inquiry" and "intellectual freedom" (emphasis mine) are reasons for its existence. Do they mean free inquiry…in the Pit? Intellectual freedom…on the quad?



Students relax on a warm-weathered day in Polk Place. While less utilized than the Pit, the central lawn is another of UNC's four designated Free Speech Zones to which students are supposed to confine their expression of ideas.

Unlike other universities that literally quarantine free speech to specific locations, UNC technically permits demonstrations of free speech in all areas of campus as long as prior approval is obtained. Polk Place, McCorkle Place, the Campus Y and the Pit are the only areas where spontaneous demonstrations are allowed. This allows the University to regulate and control student expression without actually preventing it – thus avoiding potential controversy. Students are starting to catch on, however, and they are not willing to have their rights to free speech manipulated by the university system that swears to encourage and uphold them. Sophomore Logan Halley-Winsett articulated his frustration, saying, "I didn't know there were designated zones and I really don't think that it is fair at all to designate a zone of free speech, especially at a public campus. Free speech is called that for a reason and it is one of our most important rights. If you start sanctioning those rights then they're hardly a right at all. Free speech should be allowed to happen anywhere at any time."

While Gary Birdsong's temporary absence created some discussion about free speech at Carolina, his role as an amusing, albeit controversial, entertainer prevents students from taking his removal from the Pit too seriously. You can take the preacher out of the Pit, but you cannot take the Pit out of the Pit Preacher. Gary Birdsong is a campus entity that has little to no effect on our lives, other than the occasional damning to hell.

But what if it had been a fellow student who was forced to end his demonstration? What would we be saying then? Would we let campus security do their jobs, take him away, and go on with our quiet, pre-approved lives? Or would we realize just how precious our rights truly are, and fight back? **CR**

↘ Do You Have An Opinion On free speech zones?

Let us hear about it on our special Readers' Blog. Add your comments thoughts and criticisms. It's all online at **unc.edu/cr/.**

Carrying the torch

GRINSTEAD TAKES HIS PERSISTENCE AS A STAR OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT AT UNC TO THE REST OF THE STATE

By Bryan Weynand

Talk of conservative students representing UNC Chapel Hill often always draws slight laughter, if not skepticism, from outsiders to the university curious about the political scene in Chapel Hill.

Even here, though, where the glaring presence of a liberal administration, liberal professors, and a liberal student body stands out over many other aspects of the university, there is the occasional glimmer of a conservative student rising to a peak of prominence. With an administration that would like to pretend that such students are not the ones carrying the torch into the future, there are those who still persist in defending their unpopular ideals.

Tyson Grinstead, a rising senior from _____, has spent his first three years at Chapel Hill being such a student, and now he will get the chance during his senior year to lead likeminded students from across the state of North Carolina in the cause of conservatism. Grinstead, after serving for a year as the chairman of UNC's College Republicans organization, was elected as the chairman of the North Carolina Federation of College Republicans at the NCFCR state convention in Charlotte last April. Members of the Federation include public and private schools, among them Duke, N.C. State, Davidson, Appalachian State, and UNC Charlotte, whose chairman Grinstead overwhelmingly defeated in the election.



Newly elected chairman of the North Carolina Federation of College Republicans Tyson Grinstead listens at a meeting during last year's state convention. Grinstead served as chairman of UNC's chapter last year.

The position puts Grinstead in a role with which he should be comfortable; he has been a leader on campus since arriving and had encountered difficulties at several steps along the way. He inherited the organization during an off year and at a time when the Republican Party at the national level has splintered on several major issues such as illegal immigration, but the organization did not suffer as it might have been expected.

"It's not a popular time to be a Republican right now," said Grinstead.

Bryan Weynand is a sophomore religious studies major fromCharlotte, North Carolina. Contact him at bweynand@email.unc.edu.

"But right now we have roughly the same number of dues paying members as we did in 2005."

Grinstead also serves in the Student Congress, the legislative branch of student government, and under his leadership the Congress now operates with a Republican majority. One can pass this off as unwarranted partisanship, but at a campus where slighting conservatives as been accepted practice for years, control over student government, which appropriates student fee money to student organizations, is a necessary safeguard and can be a instrument for balance on campus.

"It ensures a fair and balanced distribution of funds," he said. "If you look at, for instance, Western Carolina, right now is having a really hard time getting money from their student government to do different activities they have going on. So with having representation in the legislative branch it's easy to be able to know the process and also have support for different initiatives."

At UNC Grinstead is fighting a similar uphill battle. Though the balance of the funding has improved, the three organizations appropriated the most money, behind the executive branch, were the Young Democrats, the LGBTQSA*, and the Black Student Movement.

At the state level Grinstead inherits a federation that as often experienced difficulty reaching its full potential.

"There's just not a lot of working together and communication between schools," he said. "A lot of times you'll see something really big happen, such as at UNC Greensboro and them getting a lot of criticism for their Morals Week. It would be nice to have maybe Wake Forest and Elon provide some moral support, drive over to UNCG and help them out."

Grinstead cited the fact that when the UNC College Republicans brought former United States Attorney General John Ashcroft to campus in the fall, multiple other College Republicans chapters from North Carolina attended. Additionally, the N.C. State group came to Chapel Hill when they brought Walter Williams, and Elon attended a Barbeque that featured candidate for governor Bill Graham.



Grinstead poses after accepting an award at last year's convention as the rising star of the NCFCR. It proved prophetic as he was elected chairman this spring.

That trio of events highlights Grinstead's ability to draw prominent politicians to campus and energize students both at his university and other universities in North Carolina. He acknowledges that that is a skill he will have to bring to his position next year if he hopes to make what is often an ineffective organization one which is a force in grassroots campaigns and races for political office. That starts with improving connections between the chapters at different schools and continuing to appeal to students from around the state.

"The NCFCR has been viewed as a divisive organization; it always seems to end the year with a fight. The number one issue I ran on was communication; if we can solve those problems it will start making College Republicans fun again, and that is what you have to do to get a large amount of people coming." **CR**

LOOKING TO GET INVOLVED WITH JOURNALISM AT UNC?

The *Carolina Review* is looking for students interested in:

- writing
- designing
- photography
- cartoons

Information on Page 4

THE RUB
SPECIAL SUMMER EDITION

BY JONATHAN TUGMAN

The Rub breaks from its usual format to show you Ten Ways to Avoid Liberal Indoctrination on the UNC Campus

If you don't already know coming in, let us warn you - UNC is liberal. Everywhere you go you'll hear talk of "diversity" and "social justice" and other really big, fancy words that carry no real meaning. We've seen many a good conservative come in and completely lose his wits. So here are the Carolina Review's steps to avoid becoming indoctrinated by the liberal propaganda that saturates campus.

10. Join the College Republicans. Mock the Young Democrats.

9. Sit and listen to Gary Birdsong, the Now-Just-Outside-the-Pit Preacher, as he speaks calmly and coherently about Christianity and immorality.

8. Laugh out loud every time you see one of the following organization's names: BSM, GLBTSA, FSU, YD, Boiling Point, and/or SDS. We reserve the right to expand the list as we see fit.

7. Go to the opening events for organizations like the Campus Y solely for the free food. Seriously, you can eat for two weeks without using or paying for a single meal.

6. Don't read bulletin boards.

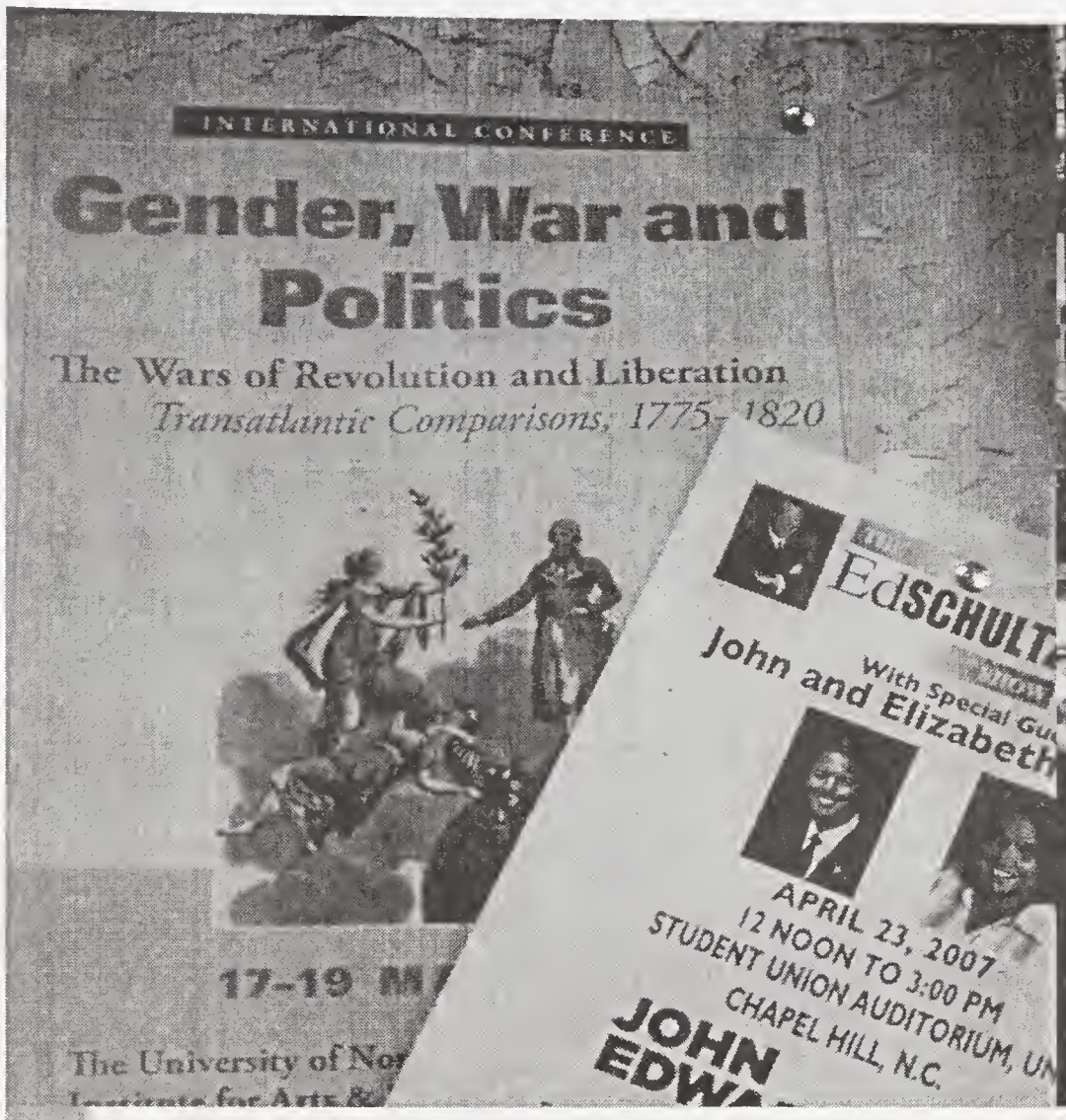
5. Hang out with a completely homogenous group of people (for instance, all white conservative Christians). According to the University, this is diversity.

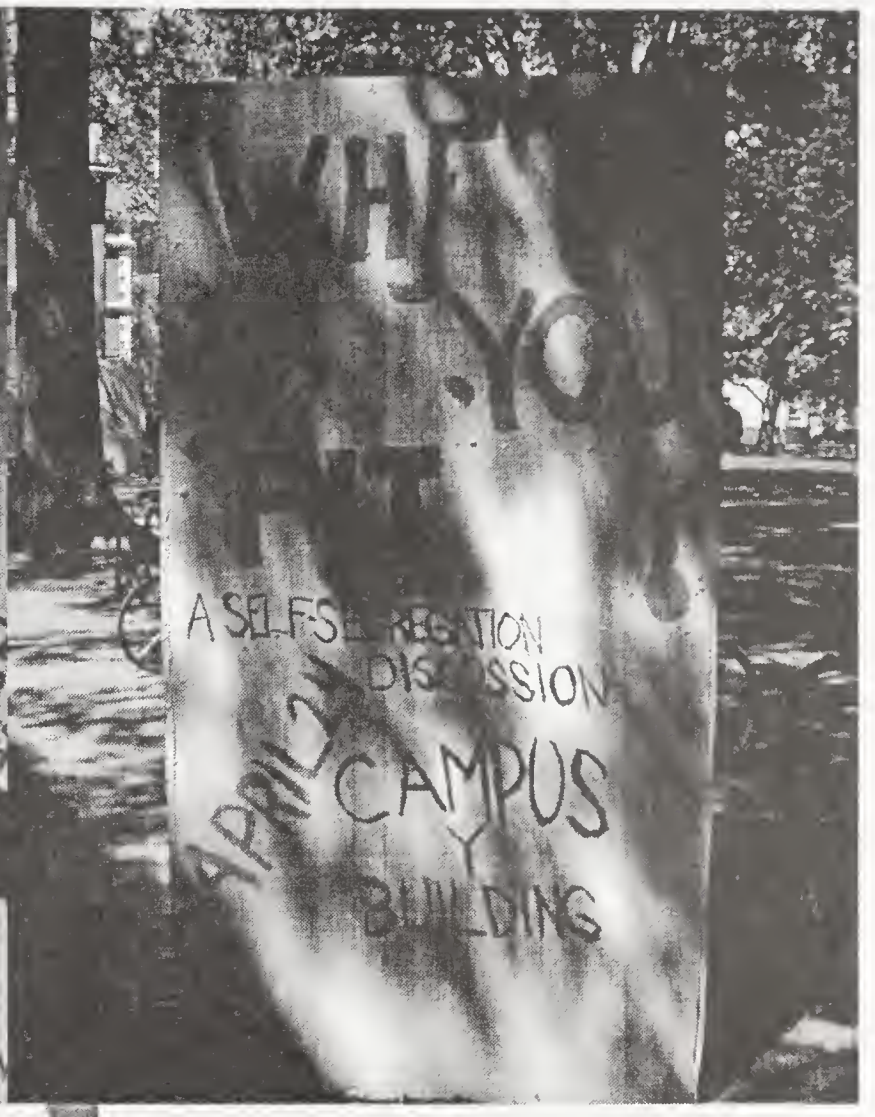
4. Point and laugh at protesters, especially those protesting against people who actually agree with them. Yes, that happens often.

3. Protest because the Carolina Review doesn't get enough money.

2. Argue for the creation of a scholarship specifically for white middle-class men.

1. Read the Carolina Review - the only conservative voice on campus!





Stuck in Black and White:

The Stereotypical Portrayal of Blacks in the Media

SCENES from a *LIBERAL CAMPUS*

PHOTOS BY JONATHAN TUGMAN

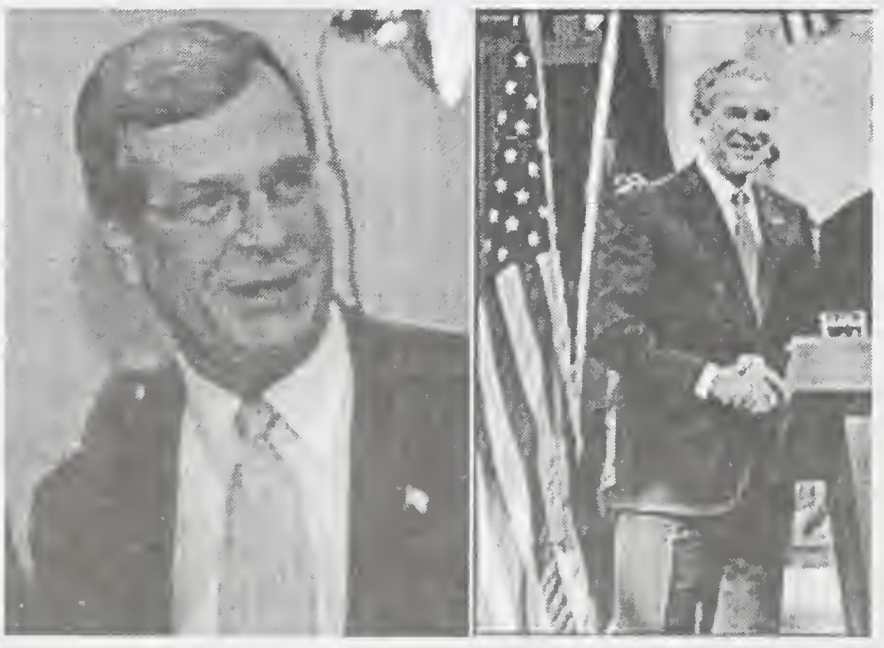


Paradigms & Principles

Immigration Debate Revealing Truth About Republicans

Apparently envious of the woes the Democratic Party has caused to this country, President Bush and several of his most prominent Republican senators have started their own side contest to see whose ideas are most detrimental. Bush's most astounding feat: his outright failure to enforce immigration laws and appropriations both from Congressional terms before and during his presidency. His answer to his failure has been a hard push for his plan to grant amnesty to the illegal immigrants, while showing little sign, or even desire, to enforce the laws. Answering critics of the comprehensive bill with a heart-warming story about a LEGAL immigrant's success in America has become a reflex; in all seriousness, his inability to distinguish one who has broken the law from one who went to great lengths to follow it is troubling.

Not to be out done, South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham, while receiving an award from an Hispanic advocacy group named in Spanish 'The Race,' seemingly referred to opponents of the bill as bigots. In talking about his own efforts to ram the bill through the Senate he said, "We're going to tell the bigots to shut up, and we're going to get this right." All it takes to get the preferred answer from this politician is to spoil him with an award. Too bad after this he won't be receiving any of those from the conservative constituents who elected him.



Politicians Revive Talk of 'Fairness' Doctrine

Americans ought to show care when monitoring the comments of their political leaders regarding the 'Fairness Doctrine,' a policy once practiced but since abandoned by the FCC that held that issues of public importance must be presented by television and radio in a balanced manner. Congress has tried to revive the doctrine multiple times, once succeeding until President Reagan vetoed the legislation.

Talk radio's assault on the immigration legislation has brought up more discussion of the doctrine, with support expressed by Republican Senator Trent Lott and Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein. Feinstein said, "I think there ought to be an opportunity to present the other side and unfortunately talk radio is overwhelmingly one way. I do believe in fairness." For ignorant hypocrites like Feinstein, only upset because their point of view isn't the one that the market demands, such an affront to the First Amendment ought to be cause for removal from office.

C378
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September 2007 A.D.

Carolina Review

SENSE AND SUSTAINABILITY

An Assessment of UNC's "green building policy" through a free-market lens

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FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

It is the defining characteristic of our great university that we be perpetually engaged in a state of free thought, a "marketplace of ideas" as several administrative officials have phrased it in the past.

Evident from the plethora of student organizations representing an array of different opinions and backgrounds right down to our frequent visits from misguided "evangelicals," spreading a twisted gospel bent backward to inflammatory approach to preaching, our campus truly is, as any university should be, a hub for cultural, religious, political, and social discourse, to as radical an extent one can find people to present.



The appearance of such preachers in the Pit, coupled with the recent debate over whether the classic pornographic magazine Playboy should be sold in Student Stores raises a debate, though, on where the line, if, indeed, there should be a line, is to be drawn separating what contributes to that marketplace and what damages the credibility of the university's reputation.

You will find that in this issue the Carolina Review takes a stand on neither issue. We chose not to address the pit preaching, and with perfect ambivalence offer a point-counterpoint demonstrating both sides of the Playboy debate. So while you will not find a concrete stand from the magazine on these hot-button issues at the university, what you will find is that we always examine them through the lens of liberty, even if that means sometimes closing the shutter on utility and practicality.

In Kelly Esposito's exposition of the campus community's trivialization of insensitive speech, she signifies the fact that the real issue of insensitivity lies much deeper than in the usage of masculine terms when gender neutral ones do not exist, and that the solution is not in correcting through policy the petty nuances of our language. Insensitivity is a choice, not something that is reflected in habitual conventions of speech.

Julie Teasdale's Terror, Tyranny, and Tar Heels' Guns offers a unique argument in favor of college students carrying weapons on campus from her perspective of having lived much of her life in Kenya, a country lacking the stability Americans often take for granted. Self-defense is a right, and in many cases can be an obligation, given the unfortunate violence that plagues the human race.

Rosie Bucherati profiles the College Republicans memorializing of September 11 and the lessons learned that can never afford to be forgotten.

Finally, in our cover story Joshua Nardin examines the fiscal responsibility and economic viability of UNC's Sustainability Office's most recent effort, the $22 million renovation of Morrison Dormitory, now the crown jewel of South Campus. Complete with solar panels lining the roof, the ten story building stands tall as a symbol of the university's efforts to go "green." Nardin asks the questions of whether the project reaches its potential for conservation and of whether it does it with the most efficient utilization of financial resources.

Decisions on all of these issues are, of course, ultimately yours. We're just doing out part to contribute to that great marketplace of ideas.

Sincerely,

Bryan and Ashley

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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The Carolina Review Web site includes staff information, our complete mission statement, and search tools. In addition, you can access our archives,

VIEWPOINTS

Carolina Review

Summer Reading Guide



SUMMER2007 *The Summer 2007 issue exposed the bias inherent in the University's summer reading book, The Death of Innocents, and offered an alternative approach to the the politically charged discussion questions. It also examined UNC's standing "free speech zones." The Carolina Review appreciates all your comments. As usual, you can read our old issues online at* **unc.edu/cr/archive/**

↘ Comment on Summer stories at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.**

"Anyone who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without feminine upheaval. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex, the ugly ones included."
—KARL MARX

"I am concerned about what the people, using their government as an instrument and a tool, can do toward building the whole man, which will mean a better society." — **LYNDON B. JOHNSON**

"I'm not going to have some reporters pawing through our papers. We are the president."
— SENATOR HILLARY CLINTON

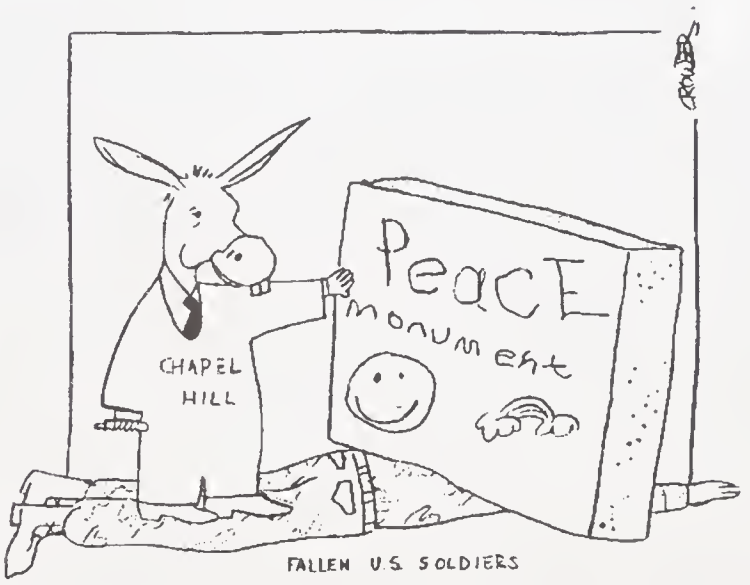
"The liberties of a people never were, nor ever will be, secure, when the transactions of their rulers may be concealed from them."
— PATRICK HENRY

"When Paul Revere came riding through, saying the British are coming, the British are coming... If Howard Dean was living back then he would have yelled out the window, 'Shut up I'm trying to get some sleep in here.'"
— ZELL MILLER

"A mere forty years ago, beach volleyball was just beginning. No bureaucrat would have invented it, and that's what freedom is all about."
— NEWT GINGRICH



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CARTOON BY JUSTIN CROWDER

"A system of morality which is based on relative emotional values is a mere illusion, a thoroughly vulgar conception which has nothing sound in it and nothing true."
— SOCRATES

"Seek not the favor of the multitude; it is seldom got by honest and lawful means. But seek the testimony of few; and number not voices, but weigh them."
— IMMANUEL KANT

"History will be kind to me, for I intend to write it."
— WINSTON CHURCHHILL

Demonizing Free Speech

The trivial assault on 'insensitive' language



by KELLY ESPOSITO
Biology Major
Wilmington, NC
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Insensitive speech is a tricky subject. College campuses are lighting rods for the debate, for the clash between free speech and censorship is prominent where ideas are born and self-expression is paramount. The speech debate has crept onto UNC's campus as of late, manifesting itself in efforts to change some commonplace, benign words. Even 'freshman,' the term nearly everyone uses to refer to first-year students, has been singled out as sexist.

Before the 'freshman' issue is addressed, it is important to try to define what exactly constitutes insensitive speech. It cannot be classified solely as 'offensive' speech; this definition is far too broad. Someone somewhere will undoubtedly be offended by practically anything, no matter how benign it may seem.

The range and magnitude of offense people take to various terms and phrases will always be highly variable—emotional reactions are highly subjective and difficult to gauge. Therefore, insensitive speech is most problematic not when something is said inadvertently, but when there is motivation behind it and the term or phrase is uttered with the intent to inflict pain or discomfort.

The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guarantees free speech to all Americans. That means freedom to say something insensitive unintentionally, with explicit motivation, as a joke, or in any other conceivable manner. However, a problem arises when the debate permeates college campuses.

Institutional power in schools skews the playing field between students and instructors, for instance, so there must be some sort of regulation as to not alienate or deliberately discriminate against individuals or a group when they do not have an equal setting to respond.

Dr. Cookie Newsom, Director for Diversity Education and Assessment, held an informal discussion on the matter of insensitive speech on Sept. 6. "Conversations with Cookie" participants discussed the issue as it pertains to college and where the line should be drawn in classroom and other settings.

Dr. Newsom pointed out that "insensitive speech is frequently tied to something else," so the reason behind what is said is equally (if not more) important as the language used. "If we are going to have free speech, let everyone speak," she said, "but I draw the line in situations of institutional power." Dr. Newsom made the distinction between free speech in everyday conversation and situations where there is asymmetrical authority, such as classrooms, in which the subject is decidedly more sensitive. Her analysis was also valuable in that she advocated exploring the reasons why people say things instead of issuing a blanket condemnation of the speech and those who use it.

In contrast to the attention-worthy issues discussed in "Conversations with Cookie," the leaders of the Women's Experiences: Learning and Leadership theme house in McIver dormitory seem to be spearheading efforts to take the issue of insensitive (specifically sexist) speech to another level entirely. A bulletin board in the hallway delineates what they consider to be sexist language and offers other ways to say things to avoid gender discrimination. Half of the board makes a legitimate argument—the section marked as more blatant accurately points out misuses of words like 'rape' and 'slut' that have no place in socially acceptable conversation.

The issue is exaggerated, however, when non-polarizing words are condemned with equal fervor. The other half of the Women's Experiences board alleges that terms like 'fireman,' 'chairman,' and most ridiculously, 'freshman' are sexist as well. Such terms undoubtedly arose from a time when the definition was congruent with a male-dominated society, but that does not mean their definitions have been rigid over time. It is hard to believe that a student on UNC's campus today says the word 'freshman' with sexist motivations, or that anyone

hearing the words interprets it with sexist innuendos.

The term 'freshman' may very well be "inaccurate," as Carolina Women's Center Director Donna Bickford describes it, but this inaccuracy is merely a characteristic of a language that, like all others on the planet, is not perfectly unbiased or neutral.

Women's Experiences residents Alexis Pylypiw and Jenny Scholl said, "[We] had never even thought about it before [we] read that bulletin board." When a term is not eliciting outraged responses from the population at large (such as a charged racial slur might), is it really necessary to attempt to restrict or change it when there are other far more important issues that deserve time and energy?

Free speech is one of the most sacred American rights. Whether or not something is insensitive in nature does not matter. Free speech means the freedom to say whatever you want, just be forewarned of potential social consequences that might arise if you say something particularly controversial.

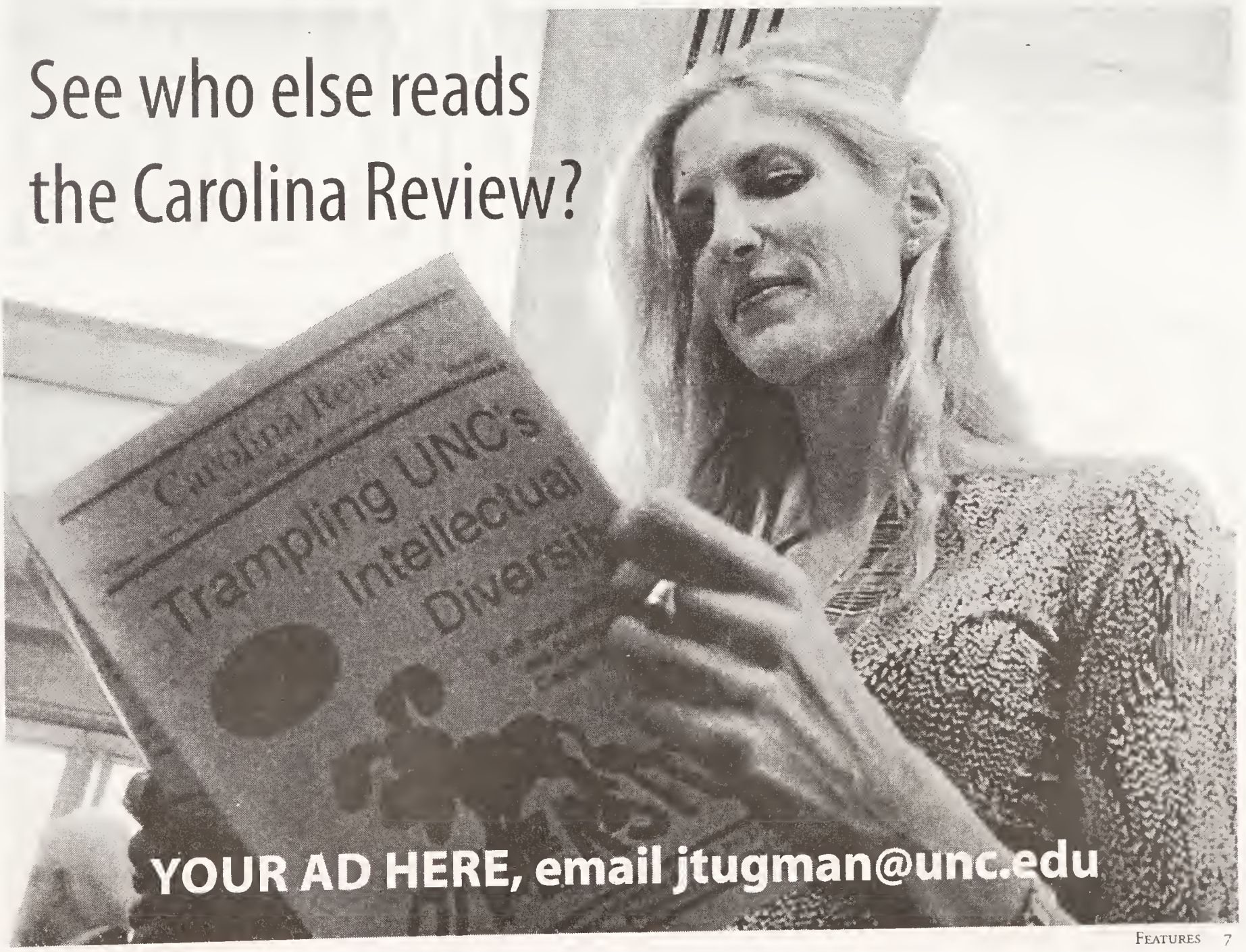
In a classroom setting with a stratified authority system the rules change somewhat, because an uneven playing field means that some levels of sensitivity must be upheld since it is not possible for everyone to respond equally to speech by which they might be offended. Speech that is blatantly offensive and is said with malicious intentions has no place in a classroom or any other university setting. However, this cannot be taken to a point where we are engaging in a witch hunt for the letters 'm-a-n' in a word or phrase.

American rights are protected when they do not infringe on the rights of others. A racial slur said in a classroom might do this, but what about 'freshman?' Hardly. The focus needs to be on real issues, not splitting hairs to conjure a problem out of nothing. Condemning such benign speech sets us on a slippery slope to hypersensitive censorship—something that has no place in any university.

FROM BILLBOARD OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES FLOOR

"I'm a freshman!" This is tricky. We have used the word "freshman" for a long time. In fact, we've been using the word since men were the only ones to enter the University. The University has changed to become inclusive and there's no reason our language should not.

"When a child is in such a situation, he seldom feels comfortable." This could be similar to some sentence that you're writing in a paper. When giving examples, we often fall back on the masculine as a generic, or use "their" or "they" which is improper or he/she which is awkward. Alternate your papers between he and she in your examples when attempting to be generic.





REMEMBERING SIX YEARS LATER

"The Americans who died that day were victims of hatred and misunderstanding from people who do not know freedom."

-JULIANN NEHER

UNC College Republicans value importance of honoring 9/11 victims



by ROSIE BUCHERATI
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Tuesday, Sept. 11, 2007, the six-year anniversary of the worse terrorist attack on American soil, was marked by memorials and ceremonies to honor the many victims of that day. On that sunny Tuesday morning in 2001, 19 hijackers took control of four American planes, crashing them into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a field outside of Shanksville, Pennsylvania. Nearly 3,000 people fell victim to the attack, including six Carolina alumni.

Memorials were found in many of America's prominent cities and at the three crash locations. President Bush and Vice President Cheney held a moment of silence at the White House and for the first time ever the memorial in New York City was not held at Ground Zero but at nearby Zuccotti Park due to the construction at the site.

Memorials and ceremonies to honor the victims of 9/11 were also held at Carolina throughout the day on campus. One of the largest and most visible was the tribute that the UNC College Republicans had in Polk Place. Nearly 3,000 small American flags, one for each victim, were laid out in rows on the Quad in front of Wilson Library, which were placed there by a group of volunteers from College Republicans the night before.

Photos by Lydia Walker

The group has organized the memorial for the past few years, which has been occasionally accompanied by a ceremony.

Among those gathered that Monday night was Charissa Lloyd, chairwoman of the UNC College Republicans, who helped plan the event with other CR officers. "We sometimes get so caught up in the aftermath of 9/11 that we can forget about the victims and the heroes of that day," she said as the last few flags were being planted. "We need to keep their memory alive and hopefully the flags will help the students here do that." Lloyd also remarked on how extremely helpful the school was as they planned the memorial, especially when the reservation for Polk Place was a little late.

The group of College Republican volunteers who gave up an hour of their time to help with this project were cheerful, yet somber, as they planted by hand the many American flags. "I'm really glad I could come out and help," remarked one student as he picked up another handful of flags. "This school is full of the leaders of tomorrow and we need to make sure that none of us ever forget what happened to our country and our fellow Americans." This sentiment, shared by many others, resounded throughout the night and into the next day as students and faculty alike paused by the memorial, flanked by a sign with the ever-important message, "9/11 Never Forget."

This simple sign was meant to remind us of the real importance of that day. We needed to forget what came after Sept. 11 for a little while, forget about the invasion, the war, and the controversies. For one day, we needed to simply remember the people, the 3,000 Americans who lost their lives that day, casualties in a war they didn't know we were fighting against an hidden enemy.

"I believe that 9/11 changed the world as we know it, and it is crucial to understand that our enemies can attack us not only abroad but on our own soil," Tyson Grinstead, chair of the North Carolina State Federation of College Republicans, said. "It is equally important to remember the victims of terrorism who died on that day. Our values and beliefs are often challenged, and in a democracy we welcome civil debate about these things, yet the terrorists seek to destroy the basic values that are not in agreement with their own. The 9/11 memorial is a project that honors those who died because of this, and celebrates the values that make our country great."

The sacrifices that were made that day are in danger of being overshadowed and forgotten, which is something we cannot afford to do. It seemed the dust of the Twin Towers' collapse had barely settled when the conspiracy theories began to fly, wild accusations that the President and the government had known of the attacks but had taken no action, some suggesting that American defense was deliberately weakened to give the terrorists a greater chance of success. Worse than that are the conspiracies that claim the attacks were part of a covert military action to inspire loyalty from the American people and give Bush an excuse to start a war. In the days after the sixth anniversary of 9/11, sign-toting supporters of some of these theories could be seen in the Pit and in other places around campus.

The conspiracy theories and their supporters are an insult to the memories of the 9/11 victims and their family. America, land of the free, is not a country where the government and its leaders can just decide to one day kill off part of its population (If that sounds familiar, it's because Saddam Hussein did that to the Kurds). Sept. 11 was a vicious, cowardly attack by a group of terrorists whose sole goal is to destroy our country and everything it stands for.

"It is extremely important that all Americans remember the events and especially the victims of 9/11." Juliann Neher, secretary for the UNC College Republicans, said when asked about the importance of remembering Sept. 11. "The Americans who died that day were victims of hatred and misunderstanding from people who do not know freedom. We need to remember the importance of our freedom, for which many have died. Freedom is our natural right but it does not come without a price. We must remember the victims of 9/11 and never fail to appreciate the freedom that our soldiers are fighting to defend all around the world."

We cannot afford to forget the hard lesson we learned that terrible day so we must always remember Sept. 11 and the thousands of Americans who died, each one represented by a small flag in Polk Place.



Photo courtesy of Wikipedia

TERROR, TYRANNY & TAR HEELS' GUNS



A college student offers a unique perspective on the role of weapons in society

"If there are some good guns in our classrooms when the assassins come, evil will not be in total control."



by JULIE TEASDALE
English and Journalism Major
Loiyangalani, Kenya

The dusty parking lot where I sat with my notebook wasn't a likely place for panic, but I have learned to expect almost anything from life. So when I thought I heard the *rat tat tat* of a machine gun, I worried, for a moment. It is an easy mistake to make if you grow up—as I did—eating camel meat your mother salvaged from animals killed in intertribal raids. Violence has never been a stranger to me.

My anxiety was a good reminder, however, of the reality that most of the world faces every day. The less fortunate know the horror of existence when criminals decide who lives or dies. Middle-upper class America is generally insulated from that reality—or at least was, until Columbine, and Virginia Tech, and on and on until we are sick with grief. Imagine the despair of the Virginia Tech students as they saw, in Seung-Hui's gun, the end of their lives and dreams and unfulfilled potential. They must have wished there were someone—a student, a teacher—who could have shot back. UNC students have been spared this plight thus far, but tomorrow that may change. So here is the question: should students with concealed weapons permits be allowed to carry their guns on our campus?

Remember Fall Fest? Twenty-thousand of us, together in the middle of the night, loving Chapel Hill. Imagine the catastrophe had one angry student walked in with an assault rifle. The police were aware of the possibility. But I wonder what happens when we are not expecting it—when the time comes, for example, for us to be lined up in our classroom and killed.

In a country where only the terrorists have guns, Kenya's many honest people live in terrified hopelessness because most are not allowed the means to defend themselves. The criminals slit open pregnant women to take the testicles of the unborn babies, castrate six-year old boys, and force mothers

while their children are burned. Human nature is no different here and to argue otherwise is unconscionably racist. We must understand that what we have in America is the residue of a worldview that argues that it is better to love your neighbor than to kill your neighbor. But clearly our generation cannot afford to be naïve.

Inherent in this debate is a fear of guns, or at least an instinctive unease. It could hardly be otherwise. We have been conditioned to think of weapons only as tools of destruction and tyranny—which is what they are, in the wrong hands, in unchallenged hands. The morality of any object lies in its owner. A gun can be used to defend the defenseless—or to slaughter them. The presence of law-abiding students with concealed handguns would not be a panacea, I know that, but here is the point: if there are some good guns in our classrooms when the assassins come, evil will not be in total control. All of the massacres in the U.S. have occurred in gun-free zones. I distrust those who would keep us from defending ourselves. Their hypocrisy bewilders me. Why do Ted Kennedy and our other politicians have armed guards—why not just gun-free zone posters? Why are their lives more important than ours?

In an ideal world, there would be no weapons at all. But empirical reality, in all of its messiness, lets us know that the amoral always find guns. Gun bans have been an abject failure in every region that has attempted to implement them (if you doubt me, visit Nairobi, or inner-city Atlanta). What a ban does, to paraphrase Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, is make room for the absolute triumph of evil. "Citizens, give up your guns for a peaceful society!" quoth Stalin. En masse, they gave up their guns—and with them, ultimately, their lives.

The Dred Scott case reinforces these lessons in a way that is painful to consider. An armed citizen is hard to abuse, and the white supremacists knew it. Understanding that full constitutional rights included those of the second amendment, they denied former slaves equal status as human beings. African Americans were left defenseless. Their oppression continued unchallenged.

One of every three women is sexually assaulted at some point in her life. I cannot think of a better way for a woman to achieve true physical equality than for her to have .38 on her ankle. An armed woman is not easy prey.

Furthermore, legally armed citizens of America have proved themselves competent and serious. If you are carrying a handgun, it is illegal for you to have even a teaspoon of alcohol in your blood. Legal guns account for about half a percent of accidental deaths every year—a fraction of those caused by doctors, vehicles, bathtubs, and alcohol. The difference is that a bottle of coconut rum has never save lives. According to the National Rifle Association, however, legal handguns in America circumvent an estimated 1.5 to 2 million violent crimes each year.

I desperately hope never to have to kill another human being, no matter how depraved. The good news is that personal arms, in effect, tend to prevent that question from having to be asked. Switzerland requires its males, and encourages its females, to keep assault rifles at home. The statistics of Swiss violent crime are so small that they find it unnecessary even to keep track. Conversely, Britain's gun crime rate, following their total ban, has increased by 340 %.

Our generation will decide if we will continue to live in freedom. Ideas have consequences that resonate in terrible ways. Our freedom came—as all worthwhile things do—at such a high cost. Freedom guarantees nothing, but gives everyone a chance. Will a criminal or a dictator decide whether we are allowed to live? Edmund Burke was right that evil triumphs when the good do nothing. If we do nothing, our hands will be wet with the blood of the innocent. Think of Ukraine and Rwanda and Virginia Tech. Is love really love if it could have done something, and didn't?

I am ready to be shot in my classroom tomorrow, in the sense that I have peace about it. But I'm not ready in that I still have much to do. I want to leave a mark on the world—to leave it better than I found it (you understand, dear reader). The loss of freedom subjugates the innocent and leaves them in the hands of the bloodthirsty. May our generation realize this before it is too late. We are not immune, as a country, from tyranny. We are not immune, as a school, from massacre.

RECOMMENDED READING

More Guns, Less Crime: Understanding Crime and Gun Control Laws, by John Lott.

"Time to Admit the 'Gun Nuts' Were Right" by Keith C. Burris, editor, Journal Inquirer.

INTERESTING IN LEARNING MORE?

If you are interested in learning more about firearms or firearm activities on campus, check out the Tar Heel Rifle and Pistol Club at
Web:
www.unc.edu/thrpc
Email:
dwight@email.unc.edu
or jho@unc.edu



Sense & Sustainability

By Joshua Nardin
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An assessment of UNC's "green building" policy through a free market lens

With a $1.8 billion capital improvement program underway, the University of North Carolina's campus is undergoing dramatic change. The presence of construction throughout the campus, like the impenetrable labyrinths of mesh fencing, is a constant reminder of the near 150 large-scale building projects currently taking place.

Many of the building projects, like the Morrison Resident Hall renovations and the Carrington Hall addition, are overseen by the UNC Sustainability Office. Such buildings are constructed in accordance with the U.S. Green Building Council's Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) guidelines, in order to increase performance and reduce energy usage of the buildings. Indeed, "green building" seems to be a growing trend in UNC policy. As stated by Chancellor James Moeser in the 2005 Campus Sustainability Report, "Efficient use of energy, water, and materials, reduced life-cycle costs, and a comfortable and healthy environment, are goals of every project."

The Sustainability Office at UNC seeks to, among other goals, "institutionalize sustainability" on campus. According to Cynthia Shea, the director of the Sustainability Office, this would include having university administrators, knowledgeable in the principles of sustainability, that monitor allocations of funding so as to better utilize "our limited economic and social resources".

"We need to ensure that decisions and investments we make on campus advance the triple bottom line of economic vitality, ecological integrity, and social equity," said Shea.

In terms of building on campus, this "triple bottom line" initiative includes installing equipment that is energy and water efficient, and using materials that are renewable and come from local sources.

The Morrison Resident Hall renovations were made in adherence with the initiatives set forth by the Sustainability Office. The renovations include a steam operated Variable Air Volume HVAC heating and cooling system, solar panels to heat water, and efficient lighting.

The total cost of the Morrison renovation project was $29,729,341. Some of the cost can be attributed to other projects on campus, like the new handrails at Ehringhaus, and, according to Shea, the cost of work done exclusively on Morrison was about $22 million. Regardless, the Morrison renovations amounted to a substantial investment. Such lofty expenditures must be critically evaluated, for it is in the best interest of the UNC community to understand exactly how the administration is using campus funding.

There are 172 solar panels



Photo courtesy of Gillian Reid

According to Cindy Shea, director of UNC's Sustainability Office, the solar panels at Morrison, part of a $22 million renovation, account for only a small percentage of the building's energy.

approximately 40% of the primary domestic hot water used in the building. The cost of the solar hot water system was over $300,000. A donation of $185,000 was made to the project by The Renewable Energy Special Projects Committee (RESPC), which gets its funding through student fees.

On a typical campus building, 60% of the energy used is for heating and cooling facilities, and close to the other 40% accounts for electricity. Shea said that these numbers likely reflect the energy usages in Morrison as well.

When asked the amount of energy used by building operation that is generated by the solar panels, Shea responded, "actually a very small percentage. The majority of the heating and cooling [energy] goes for the climate control as opposed to the water."

Although the solar panels reduce the total demand of energy for heating and cooling in Morrison, the great majority of this energy expenditure is used on climate control rather than hot water.

A number of factors affect the efficiency of the solar panels, including the presence of clouds and the position of the sun in the sky. Clear skies are necessary for peak energy output of the panels. There are a variety of technologies for solar hot water. For example, some solar collectors track the angle and position of the sun so as to maximize solar energy. But the panels on Morrison are stationary and do not have this benefit.

The Morrison Residence Hall will soon have 36 activity monitors installed, one monitor per wing of each hall. These monitors will track 12 "zones" of the building, and display in real time the instantaneous energy usages of each of these zones. The monitors will also act as a "data historian" by logging the total energy usage over time. The purpose of the activity monitors is two fold: they will be used to conduct trend analysis of energy usage in different parts of the building, and will also act as a means by which residents can monitor how much energy their floor is using. The incremental cost of the activity monitors was close to $300,000.

Shea asserts that the sustainability efforts on campus have inherent economic benefits. She claims that the initial investments made on sustainable technology in a building will, over the course of the `lifetime' of that building, result in an obvious payoff. That is, the money saved on the cost of operation of a building with sustainable features will exceed the initial cost of instituting these features. The economic goal of the Sustainability Office is to build high performance, energy efficient buildings as a means of responsibly stewarding the campus's fiscal resources. Shea says that on the oldest public university in the country, where buildings constructed over 200 years ago are still being occupied, high-performance building is a priority. "The campus should aim for a long term time horizon so that we're not building disposable buildings that are going to exceed their useful lives 30 years from now," said Shea.

The impulse to construct energy efficient buildings is more or less a way to compensate for energy used by the campus community. Therefore, the sustainability projects indirectly address the `problem' of personal energy consumption on campus.

But why not confront the issue head on? If reducing energy usage at UNC is a campus policy, there must be some sort of economic incentive in order for the community to reform their consumption habits. The crux of the issue is that, according to certain campus personnel (and most likely provoked by North Carolina legislation), people affiliated with the UNC campus use too much energy. If so, conspicuous spending on various "sustainable technologies" is not likely to yield comprehensive results.



Photo courtesy of Gillian Reid

A more reasonable approach would be to put the responsibility of energy conservation into the hands of the community as a whole. That is, provide individual students with incentives to minimize extraneous energy usage. With activity monitors currently being installed in Morrison, the university has already invested in technology that could potentially track individual energy usage in a dorm environment. If this technology was utilized in such a way, on-campus residents could have facility bills adjusted to their personal (or their room) usages. Such a system would not limit the amount of energy one could use, but rather provide an economic incentive to conserve energy. A free-market approach like this could potentially be a very effective conservation tactic, and would likely yield economic "payoffs" at a much faster rate than solar panels.

The initiatives set forth by the Office of Sustainability are certainly well intended. Allocating resources to increase energy efficiency is in the best interest of both the campus community and the external network of supporters and donors that fund campus activity (which includes North Carolina taxpayers). But the fairly meager amount of power generated by current solar technology is no match for the power of individuals deciding to conserve energy for self-interested reasons.

PLAYBOY

Free Market must prevail in Student Stores

By Katie Comer

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Imagine college-age males buying *Playboy* for its literary content - or for the artistic ability of the photographers to capture women's beauty in such natural ways. It is kind of hard to do. For this reason, several individuals and organizations have complained that the campus bookstore, Bull's Head Bookshop, is selling *Playboy* magazine.



Photo by Jonathan Tugman

As long as markets and freedom of speech exist in this country, the Bull's Head Bookshop has every right to sell *Playboy* - and anything else it wants, for that matter.

In America, pornography is legal for anyone over the age of eighteen. This means that people have the right to buy it, and businesses have the right to sell it. To prohibit this freedom in any way is a blatant violation of a person's First Amendment rights and falls under the category of censorship. Whether or not a person chooses to peruse such material is their choice. It is certainly not a decision that a bookshop or a university can make for an individual.

During a bookshop forum and other subsequent discussions, several people argued that they do not agree with the selling of the magazine because it creates a hostile environment, especially for women. But the question is, if the university can pull *this* literature from the shelf, where does it stop?

If Bull's Head truly endeavored to promote only a peaceful, positive atmosphere, it would have to remove all conservative, liberal, religious, and racial literature, just to name a few categories. This would be censorship in an extreme form. Once censorship begins, it has a snowball effect and almost no limitations. Therefore, it is better just not to begin it at all.

The Bull's Head Bookshop is a business. Thus, its purpose is to make a profit- not to quarantine the university from moral deterioration. It operates on the same basic principles that Professor Turchi teaches every freshman (excuse me, 'first-year student') in ECON 101: If there is a market for it, then the business has the right to sell it. Obviously there is a market for *Playboy*, the top-selling men's magazine, on a campus full of college-age males, so the bookshop continues to sell it - just as it has for several years (which, I should add, has never been a problem until now).

The market for pornography functions on the basic principles of supply and demand. Unfortunately, in our society there is a demand for porn. That very demand and market for it still exists whether or not the Bull's Head Bookshop sells *Playboy*. Therefore, banning it at one bookstore does not solve the moral dilemma at hand. It simply hurts the business for not supplying its customers with what they want.

Preventing one location from selling *Playboy*, what critics seem to desire, would not solve the problems that it allegedly causes. Many people argue that this type of explicit material being so widely available has led to an increase in rape and other forms of sexual violence. Others claim these publications objectify and degrade women. The problem here actually runs much deeper than the fact that *Playboy* is available at your local bookstore. To end rape and other such problems, we must change the underlying view of our culture, especially those of the males.

Pornography is not what causes men to see women as objects. Instead, it largely rests on a mutual understanding between males and females on college campuses that sexual promiscuity is acceptable. Women often claim they dislike being objectified, but take a walk to Frat Court this Thursday and see if that is really the case. This party culture we are surrounded by lends itself to misguided perceptions of women and their roles, and both genders play into it.

In defense of freedom of speech and choice, Bull's Head should sell Playboy as long as there's demand for it. Banning one bookstore from selling pornography won't solve problems of rape and sexual violence. You have got to go a little deeper than that.

ON TRIAL

Selling pornography undermines credibility of academic institution

By Ashley Wall
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UNC Student Stores play an often underappreciated role in the day-to-day activities of this university. Located in the central part of campus beside pivotal points like the Pit, the Student Union, the Undergraduate Library, Davis Library, and Lenoir cafeteria, students travel there often multiple times per week to get their overpriced textbooks, fan-based t-shirts, beverages, and even dreaded scantrons. Students can now go there to get their porn as well thanks to the addition of *Playboy* Magazine to their inventory.

While Student Stores is a business, it is first and foremost a business located within the UNC university system. Type in the word "university" into any online dictionary search engine and you will find that they all include "institution of *higher learning*" in their definition. Any publication Student Stores sells is a reflection on our university and the students in it, and I personally would much rather be associated with a novel by Dickens or an essay by Kant rather than a publication one might find in the beer isle at a Quickie Mart or in a bathroom stall with Larry Craig.



Photo by Jonathan Tugman

Student Stores magazine offerings controversally include copies of Playboy. Femenists claim it objectifies women, while others simply say it discredits the University's reputation.

The fact that advocates of *Playboy* in Student Stores see the magazine more as a business opportunity with profitable potential than as the trash it actually is does not surprise me. Our generation has a blatant disrespect for our bodies. Sex is no longer viewed as something special or valuable; It is instead seen as something that inevitably follows a drunken bout at a party or a week-long relationship.

Playboy isn't the sole contributor to this sex-craze. In an age of endlessly accessible internet porn, rap videos with scantily clad teenagers, and nearly clothesless Abercrombie and Fitch catalogs, it is hard to lay blame in any one direction.

But *Playboy's* image certainly encourages such notions of sex and bareness. Those who have not seen or at least heard of the hit TV show *The Girls Next Door* have been hiding under a rock. The show features three playmates living in the Playboy Mansion with Hugh Hefner. The girls are esentially identical in that they sport blond hair, large breasts, no clothes, little intelligence, and a propensity to refer to Hugh lovingly as "Hef." The girls are proud of their careers and constantly praise the "opportunities" *Playboy* has given them.

But what about the opportunities *Playboy* has given to every other woman in the nation? We women can all thank *Playboy* for making us feel inferior to the size 2, double D, blond-haired, blue-eyed bimbos who America ogles freely every night and whom UNC can now buy naked pictures of for a few dollars per issue.

Playboy has also infiltrated Facebook with its new group site, Playboy U, which features near-naked pictures of college students. *Playboy* is beginning to aim itself at colleges in particular, and UNC welcomes them with open arms.

What's next? X-rated DVDs for rent in the Media Resources Center? A Hooter's in the bottom of Lenoir? Where do we draw the line?

The most important issue at stake here is that the scope of sexual openness on our campus has been broadened and the reality is that if some porn is okay then all porn is okay. A few naked pictures of women may not seem harmful at first glance, but the future implications could be huge.

I say leave *Playboy* to the Duke Lacrosse Team.

FLUNKING

A freshman puts a satirical spin on her first experience with UNC's 'diversity'



By Lydia Walker
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There are few decisions in life that take more thought, research, and stress than the choice of which college to attend. The problem is that there are so many points to consider: academics, your potential major, athletics, whether it snows most of the year, tuition fees, if there is a Chik-Fil-A on campus. These are all understandable worries, but, sadly, one key asset of any sound college is often overlooked - diversity.

Personally, the issue of diversity wasn't even on my mind when I chose to attend Carolina. Like a fool I simply looked at the nationally ranked School of Journalism, the beautiful campus, instate tuition, and Roy Williams. Thankfully, Carolina soon revealed my own stupidity by displaying the glory of Chapel Hill diversity.

I first discovered how to accept my own form of diversity at F-Camp. Not Freshmen Camp, but First-Year Camp! The abolishment of the word "freshmen," which attempts to divide our campus by yearly gaps, really proves Carolina's fervent dedication to school unity. More importantly, being called a first-year student makes me sound like a young witch going to Hogwarts with my idol, Harry Potter! Maybe we can convince the school to change all clubs, which just sounds cliquish and so non-diverse, into fellowships. Doesn't that sound so much more inviting to all kinds of people and we get to be like characters in Lord of the Rings!

"F-Camp was the first push into the endless depths of diversity."

But I digress. F-Camp was the first push into the endless depths of diversity. A select 150 students pay $130 to spend three days experiencing the most important lesson Carolina has to teach us: Here at Chapel Hill we don't divide, we diversify.

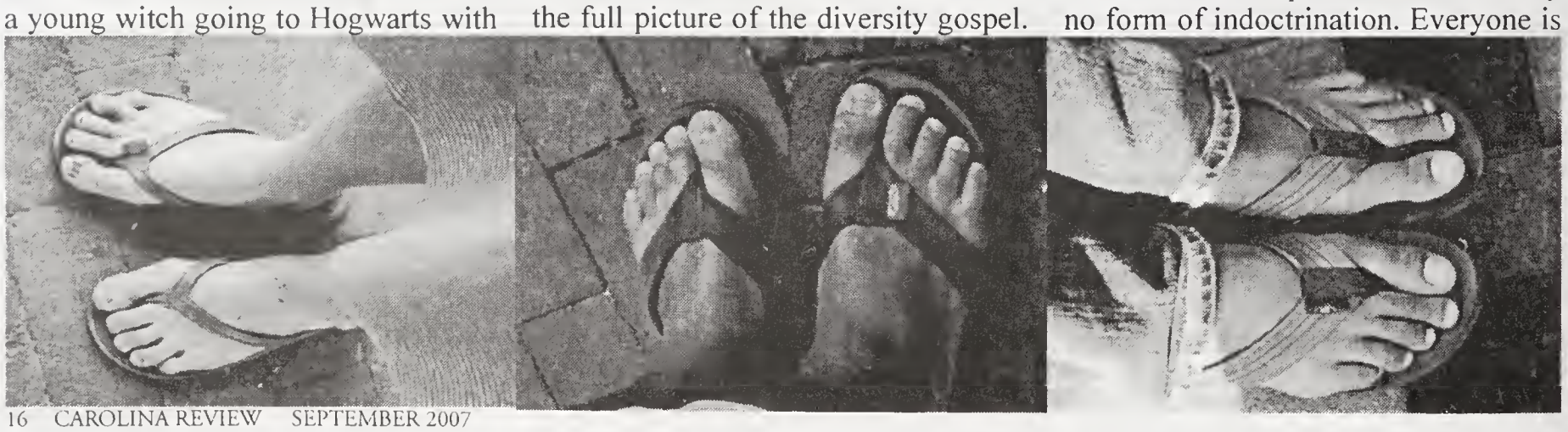
"There is definitely an emphasis placed on diversity," said F-Camp attendee Morgan Muhs. "We had several speakers every day and most of the skits revolved around accepting everyone." F-Camp introduced us to all the ranges of diversity - ethnicities, religions, sexual orientation, and political beliefs - then taught us how to be respectful in all situations. When I first heard the sermon, I was so incredibly touched. By the fifth time I had heard it, I think I finally understood the full picture of the diversity gospel. By the seventy-ninth time I had heard it, I felt like I could preach diversity to the world!

"Thankfully we were able to learn how to not judge others."

"Yeah, thankfully we were able to learn how not to judge others," said another F-Camp attendee. "We played this confession game at F-Camp where a counselor would ask intimate questions about ourselves and we would move to the `yes' side or the `no' side. When the question was asked about our political affiliation, I greatly appreciated the piercing glares I received as I alone walked over to the conservative side."

She must have been mistaken. No one at Carolina is prejudiced against conservatives. Chapel Hill as the most liberal college in North Carolina would only embrace and nourish different political perspectives. I have heard whispers of some form of bias, but I just do not see how they can be true. I saw one conservative magazine in the Student Union. Took me a minute to find it because it was sort of hidden in the back corner of the news rack - a coincidence I'm sure.

Then there are the 20 different student media that provide completely objective news coverage - no slants, no liberal bias, just the hard news. All students should consider themselves fortunate that Chapel Hill has absolutely no form of indoctrination. Everyone is









equally accepted, equally encouraged, equally represented, and, of course, equally funded… well, almost equally funded.

Any person who takes a careful look into the priorities of Carolina will easily see that this college is completely dedicated to the pursuit of diversity, as is greatly shown through the Diversity Incentive Fund. This project was "specifically designed to provide support for new, innovative and creative approaches to engaging a broad cross-section of the University community in issues related to diversity," as said in the Diversity and Multicultural Affairs summary statement.

That's complete genius - create a fund where people can receive up to $2500 for simply thinking of ideas, not actually acting on those ideas for a new social or mixer to bring different people together, but just encourage them to think about it. Well, maybe I can get $3000 to go and hug people that are different from me. That encourages diversity and has some form of action connected with it, which has got to be worthy of a raise. Plus, who doesn't love hugs?

According to the 2006 Undergraduate Admissions Annual Survey, 70 percent of incoming freshmen were white, 12.3 percent black, 7.5 percent Asian, and 1.8 percent chose not to report. That is atrocious! A combo of Diversity Incentive Fund and more hugging will give confidence to those who felt the need to hide their heritage from the surveyors. At Carolina we accept you, unknowns - so accept yourself!

"Have you ever seen so many different people wearing rainbows?"

Just look around and view the glorious diversity that surrounds us daily! Out in the Quad or in the Pit, have you ever seen so many different people wearing rainbows? Have you ever noticed the complete kaleidoscope of polo shirts - some are pastel, some have a stripe, and such an assortment of emblems grace each?

Even as I sit here in Starbucks writing this article, I see a group of girls hanging out each one bringing with them a different kind of drink. One has a caramel fappuccino, another has a Java Chip, and still another has a venti iced latte, but still they are able to accept their differences and remain friends. Such beautiful diversity nearly brings me to tears.

But diversity doesn't just live around campus, but also in the classrooms. Everyone's opinion is embraced and nurtured as a blessed babe. For instance, during a lecture I mentioned a theory based on the Bible to which my professor responded, "I am not so well versed in such biblical myth." I guess "biblical myth" is the new politically correct way of saying "Bible story." That's cool because it puts my beliefs right down there with the epic Greek myths and fairy tales like Aladdin.

So the next time you are in Lenoir and someone shuns a particular food item because it looks strange or different, cry out, "Hey y'all, remember diversity! Love all, eat all!"

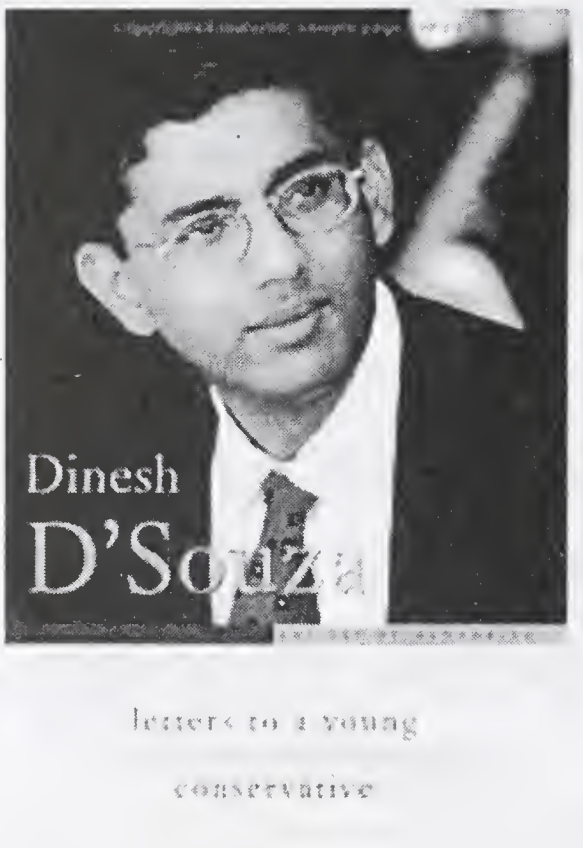
F-CAMP

Letters To A Young Conservative

By Brittany White

A Review of a former collegiate journalist's timeless classic

WHEN MY PARENTS DROPPED me off in the Ehringhaus parking lot at the beginning of my freshman year, my Dad presented me with two items. The first was a comical card in which he had handwritten several maxims in regards to my embarking on a new stage in life. The second was a smoothly bound book with a patriotic finish called Letters to a Young Conservative. My first reaction to this particular gift was at best skeptical and at worst contemptuous. Before I could roll my eyes in disdain, my dad explained to me the significance of learning something about conservatism before I entered into the lion's den of liberalism that is this university.



Dinesh D'Souza's Letters to a Young Conservative began as a private series of letters between D'Souza and an undergraduate Columbia University student, but was later turned into a promising book concept. The book is an indispensable tool for every college student who wants to be well-informed or to be less susceptible to the overwhelming current of the liberal tide on campus.

With chapter titles such as "Fighting Political Correctness," "Why Professors Are So Left-Winged," "The Self-Esteem Hoax," and "Why Liberals Hate America," D'Souza delivers a witty, conversational text that stresses the tenets of American conservatism as much as emphasizing the difficulties conservative students face on the campuses of elite colleges across the country.

Dinesh D'Souza is an Indian immigrant to the United States who has been awarded the Rishwain Research Scholarship to study at Stanford University. He attended Dartmouth University where he was personally inspired and impassioned by his involvement with The Dartmouth Review, a conservative journal much in the same vein as our Carolina Review. This experience decidedly qualifies D'Souza to give advice on how conservatives are treated on college campuses and what they can do to get their opinions heard.

D'Souza describes contemporary American conservatism as a philosophy of life where conservatives are the true champions of economic and political freedoms as well as the freedoms of speech and religion. According to D'Souza, conservatives strive to uphold the principles of classical liberalism and the American Revolution while avoiding the degenerate path that contemporary liberalism has rushed down.

While addressing conservative stances on issues of national importance, D'Souza also devotes a significant amount of intellectual energy to elaborating on the situation on college campuses where the political climate is decidedly biased towards the left. These issues that deal with the liberal academic scene are the most salient to college students, both to those who are already conservative as well as those who are entering college as ambivalent political novices. This example is reminiscent of the behavior of some of the UNC Young Democrats last year when our campus was visited by former Attorney General John Ashcroft.

Brittany is a senior anthropology and linguistics major from High Point, North Carolina. Contact her at blwhite@email.unc.edu.

Liberals are often the first to cry foul when others try and prevent them from voicing their protest, yet they forget that in this act they are preventing someone else from exercising their own right to free speech.

It seems that while liberal faculty and students claim to be proponents of fairness, equality, and freedom of speech, supposed hallmarks of liberalism, they are oftentimes the perpetrators of gross violations of these ideals. D'Souza cites examples of instances when liberal students on various campuses have objected to his scheduled speeches on the grounds of his conservative message. They took their aversion to the next level by deciding to vociferously protest his arrival, block his entry into the lecture facility, and to rudely heckle him as he attempted to deliver his speech. This example is reminiscent of the behavior of some of the UNC Young Democrats last year when our campus

Liberal students get a lot of positive backing from liberal professors on campus. The reason, D'Souza says, that professors and administrators are currently so left-winged is that most of them are products of the social revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s and are now tenured. So in effect, college campuses will hbgave to wait for a more balanced political atmosphere in the class room until these tenured professors are replaced by the next generation. D'Souza's advice to conservative students is to be just as radical as the liberals in order to get conservative opinions heard: to subvert liberal culture in any way possible.

This book should be a companion piece to every student who wants to avoid having their political and social opinions formed for them by a liberal faculty and peer pressure that can often be hard to resist. Even if you don't think you're conservative, this book is a must-read in order to simply know what the other side has to say. In the face of a new election next November with many college students getting to vote for the first time in their lives, it is imperative to arm yourself with knowledge. **CR**

Rediscovering Our Origins

How America forgot its principles on the way to changing the standard for intrusive government

By Bryan Weynand
Editor



IN THE 2005 ACTION DRAMA V FOR Vendetta, the main character, V, leaves this chilling realization for his fellow citizens as he broadcasts his message to England, a declaration of his intent to overthrow the existing totalitarian regime and an attempt at recalling in the minds of the people the values of freedom and self-determination: "How did this happen? Who's to blame? Well certainly there are those who are more responsible than others, and they will be held accountable. But again, truth be told...if you're looking for the guilty, you need only look into a mirror."

Designed for an audience subjected to the horrors of mass killings of the innocent, brutally enforced bans on undesired speech and belief, and government-instituted false news reports, V's message exceeds in harshness the tone necessary to present the point of this column. The Unites States is not suffering and has not suffered from an internal crisis close to the extent to which the fictitious future Britain does in the film. But consider this fact: according to the prominent University of Virginia political scientist Dr. Larry J. Sabato, various polls indicate Americans hold some startling misconceptions about the foundation of their government, the most glaring of which is that roughly half of us think that Karl Marx's communist maxim, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need," actually comes from the United States Constitution.

Watching a Republican president, aided for much of his presidency by a Republican Congress, spend money "like John Edwards at a beauty shop," as presidential candidate Mike Huckabee aptly put it, surely sounded the alarm that perhaps there was no longer a truly conservative party in America, at least not one which adhered to the principals so absolutely as those leaders who founded the movement, such as William F. Buckley, or those politicians who executed it, such as Ronald Reagan. Our government spends money today on programs and projects it never did in history and in tracing the history of our country over the last century one can follow the steady accumulation of such programs on the bureaucratic scene. President Bush's most recently proposed budget totaled to $2.9 trillion, $1.5 trillion of which was committed to various entitlement programs.

Has it really gotten that bad, though? Our country was founded on the principles of limited government; we broke from England because their government had grown to be unjustly pervasive into our citizens' lives. We were the world power leading democracy's rivaling and eventual conquering of communism through the Cold War; we are democracy incarnate, yet a significant portion of our population recognizes communism's overarching mantra as one of our founding ideas?

Limited government, the notion that government should limit its functions to only those which it must perform itself, is clearly not at the forefront of Americans' minds. Evidenced both by our inability to recognize a communist credo and by our persistence in reelecting politicians who are content with watching budgets slowly balloon through the years, this notion demonstrates a potential connection between our forgetfulness of history and the transformation of the role of government from our country's inception to today. At some point in our history we lost touch with our founding values, and we never looked back, failing to even realize how far we traveled from what was acceptable then as justifiable to what it now takes for one to label a project 'big government.'

In the United States we have a unique pride in the ideals upon which our government is founded; we celebrate our freedom, our "inalienable rights" and the fact that ultimate political authority lies with us, the people, a fact that is ensured every year on Election Day. We also have a unique pride in the leaders who first instituted these ideals, who defended them when their lives were on the line, yet it is precisely these leaders who we have forgotten.

Such champions of our limited government such as Patrick Henry, a vocal Anti-Federalist to whom we can partially attribute the existence of our Bill of Rights, are not around to ask of their opinion on Social Security, or Medicaid, or the Department of Education. When Henry's and his allies' expressed qualms with the Constitution are considered, though, one's ability to twist such words is decisively stifled.

Henry and fellow Virginian Anti-Federalist George Mason, among others, wrote extensively on the perils of granting the federal government the ability to directly tax citizens of the thirteen states. Mason, whose name to students at UNC brings to mind nothing but a university whose basketball team derailed our season two years ago, said on the floor of the Virginia state ratifying convention that "This power is calculated to annihilate totally the state governments," and proposed an amendment which would have required a failure of the states to comply with the national governments requests before it was granted the prerogative to tax.

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The amendment was never passed, nor should it have. A functioning government must have the ability to tax. However, Mason's opinion raises a vital point, and it is the exhaustive effort which politicians put into guarding their constituents from the government. Mason's statement may have not made it through the Virginia ratifying convention, but neither were he and his supporters met with mockery or even unanimous opposition. Quite the contrary was true, as Federalists carefully constructed arguments to dispel Mason's doubts, and James Madison, the nation's foremost supporter of the Constitution, eventually changed his position from opposing a Bill of Rights to leading its proposition in Congress.

Now juxtapose Mason's statement in opposition to Hillary Clinton's plan to socialize healthcare, or even to our Republican president's bloated budget. In this hypothetical scenario, one of the two sides is radically out of touch with America, and it is certainly not the latter. Bush is our president, and Clinton is the current favorite to be our next.

We have left the ideals of our founding leaders in the dust of a bygone era; we have a fleeting image of what they once meant in practice, but when it comes to policy in this age they bow to the whimsical expansion of our bureaucracy. Most of the politicians behind the construction of our government would have feared the prospect of public welfare and healthcare programs; politicians today are afraid to repeal them.

It is for this reason that our country is in need of reflection on the state of our government, perhaps a V for Vendetta-style realization. We need not overthrow the government, but we do need a fresh start, and a blank slate. In forming our opinions of government programs and institutions, we should put into practice our reverence for our past leaders, and ask ourselves not what purpose would be served by disbanding a given program, but, should we be in their place creating a government from nothing, what purpose would be served by creating such a program, and into what role of government does that program fall. In this manner we can either affirm, or in many cases correct decisions of the past century. To the Anti-Federalists one of the most important amendments to the Constitution was the tenth, reserving powers for the states. I doubt they intended for it to be trampled by the creation of the Department of Education, just one of many government programs serving purposes never mentioned in the Constitution.

They intended government to serve the purpose of protecting liberty, which meant doing everything in its power to ensure that neither it nor an outside force intruded on the lives of the private citizen. This most certainly meant tasks best done by individuals were not to be done by the government. That was their definition of government, the breaching of which constituted "big government."

In the age of socialistic healthcare and the "compassionate conservative" I hope we can find such a limit. **CR**

Carolina Review's *Music Review*:

Nine Inche Nails, *Year Zero*

By Keith Gordan

I HAVE TO ADMIT I EXPECTED a lot from Year Zero, the latest work from Trent Reznor's industrial machine, Nine Inch Nails. The one man band can really get a hype going. Working off a concept that discusses an imminent dystopia, Reznor created a massive project that involved USB drives left in bathrooms at Nine Inch Nails shows with eerie files and video clips, phone numbers left on the back of tour T-shirts that when called play creepy recordings and sound bites from the album, and a music video for the album's first single, "Survivalism," which contained more cryptic messages. All these oddities were centered on the new Nine Inch Nails album.

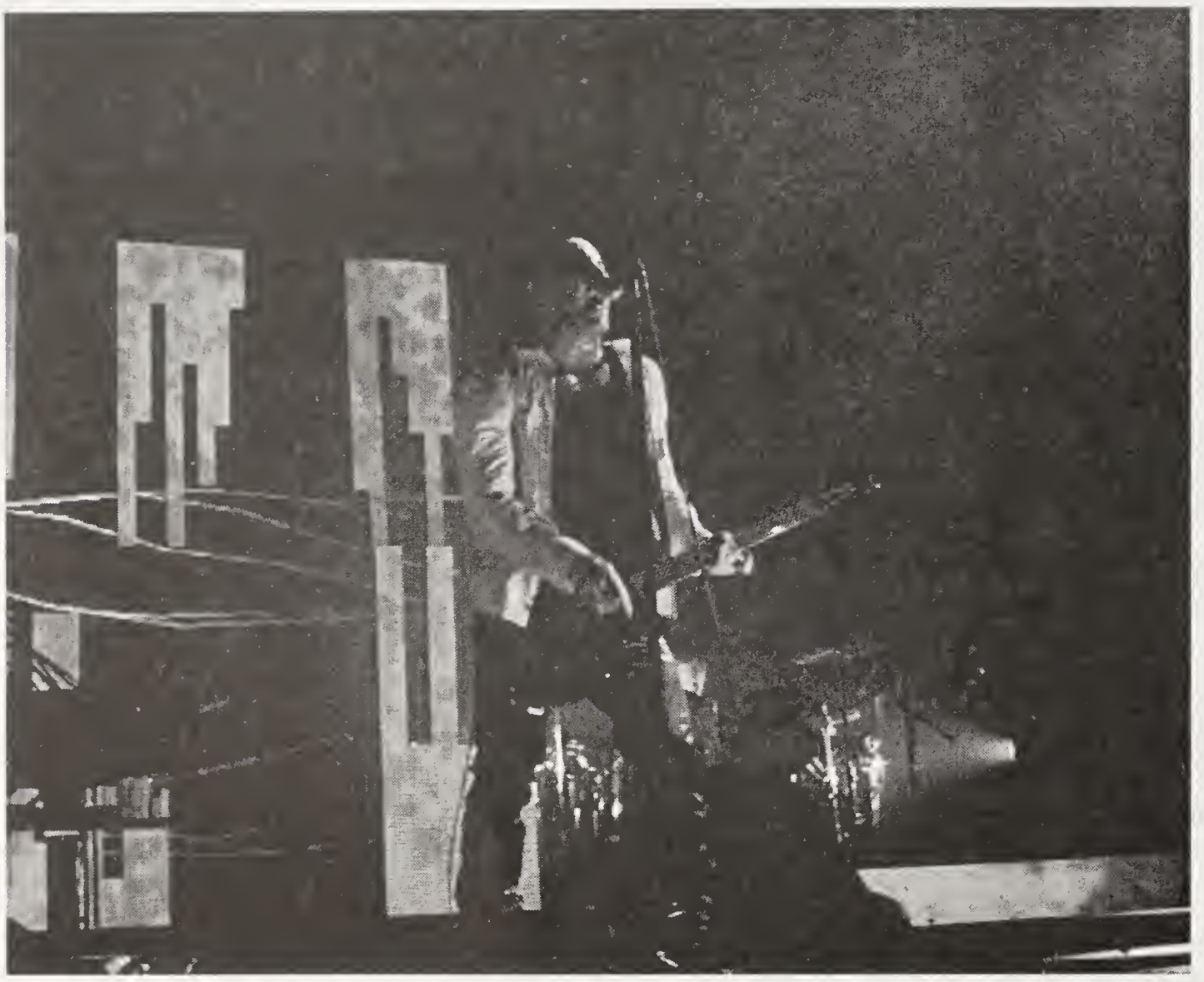
Admittedly, I was excited, a little creeped out but excited none the less. I was impressed when I opened the album packaging. The actual CD itself is Thermo-Chromed so the heat from the laser of your CD player will turn it from black to white revealing a binary code leading to another weird website that supplements the story of the (as Reznor himself describes it) "Orwellian near future."

But when you put the CD into your car/laptop/old school portable device, you find yourself disappointed. It's not a bad album per se, but with all the hype, I was expecting our generations The Wall. But it isn't. It's a truly mediocre album which, coming from such a groundbreaking and controversial band, is surprising.

Since the 1989 release of Pretty Hate Machine, Reznor has been a mover and shaker in the world of music. Johnny Cash even covered his song "Hurt". He's always been an outspoken critic of various con

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servative administrations from Reagan to Dubya, a trash talker of sellouts from Gwen Stefani to Fred Durst, and an advocate for environment reform and ending the use of fur clothing. Controversy and criticism can easily become trite and cliché over time so the artist is forced to try something new to voice his message. The protest song survives its era when its message is universal and its delivery is innovative. Reznor will be the first to tell you this.



Source:www.wikipedia.com

The album which serves as a 16 track thesis against the conservative Bush administration and its supporters was released just over a year before said administration is set to leave office, thus any tirade against said administration will have a short shelf life if it has nothing innovative to keep relevant. While one may very well disagree with Reznor's politics, you have to give the man credit for his in creating the so called "World of Year Zero." At the same time, you have to scratch your head when the centerpiece of this project is a monotonous/somewhat boring album.

It starts off strong with the fist pumping "HYPERPOWER!" and by the time you get to track three, "Survivalism," NIN most certainly has your complete attention. Then they drop the ball on the "Good Soldier." Musically, it's boring and lyrically, it's irritating. If you're going to critique someone or something that is so regularly criticized by the mainstream as President Bush, at least do us conservatives the favor of saying something new.

The album gets a little cheeky with the song "Capital G" which chorus asserts that the pompous megalomaniac in question "Signs his name with Capital G." But lyrics like "Guess you cannot win/with the color of your skin/you won't be getting into the Promised Land" or "They tell us what we can and cannot do" aren't saying anything original or special. Sorry Trent. Been there, done that, got the tie-dye t-shirt. Admittedly it is good to see that Reznor has moved away from his vulgar critiques of both the church and state (see The Downward Spiral). But what happened to songs like "Head Like A Hole" or "The Hand That Feeds?" They at least said something interesting. Year Zero does not.. **CR**

ARE YOU INFORMED?
LOOK FOR THE CAROLINA REVIEW EVERY MONTH!
CAROLINA'S ONLY CONSERVATIVE VOICE!

The Rub

BY JONATHAN TUGMAN

Everyone knows what Wikipedia is, and everyone recognizes its most defining feature – that anyone can edit its articles.

That's a fact

Now, at first, this seems like a wonderful tool. You can make the articles say whatever you want them to say.

e.g., Global warming is a myth

It lets democracy determine reality. If people want to believe that John Edwards isn't a hypocrite, then that's their right.

That makes Hillary the antichrist

Upon closer inspection, however, you find that it's annoying when your professors won't accept Wikipedia as a reliable source.

Try Conservapedia next time

In fact, Wikipedia even admits that itself: "While some articles are of the highest quality of scholarship, others are admittedly complete rubbish."

Also: "Please do not use Wikipedia to make critical decisions."

In light of this, it would appear that we need a new standard for truth.

Just take everything I say as fact

Enter the WikiScanner. Created by hacker Virgil Griffith, the WikiScanner traces IP addresses to determine who edited Wikipedia entries.

Now your friends know who created that flattering entry on you

The New York Times, for instance, has edited a multitude of entries, including several on its own page where it altered the section entitled, "Accusations of Liberal Bias."

1,285 state secrets revealed on Wikipedia since 2002

The WikiScanner is clearly a threat to Internet anonymity, thus preventing people from creating new lives online.

I guess Michael Vick will have to try Second Life instead

However, it should be a triumph for national security. When the NYT reveals how we plan to attack Iran, at least we'll know who to prosecute.

Spoiler: Launching ICBMs filled with Chinese-made toys

The WikiScanner revealed that many of the editors were corporations changing information about themselves, typically for the better.

Oh, so Microsoft doesn't actually send my service calls overseas to India just so they don't have to fix my computer.

Now, knowing who edits what on Wikipedia, you can sift through and find the information that's actually reliable.

Look for articles edited by the Carolina Review

But most importantly, it also means that once again, Wikipedia is a viable standard for truth.

"You can't handle the truth!"

What is truth? Still nothing more than what the people in charge say it is.

i.e., God

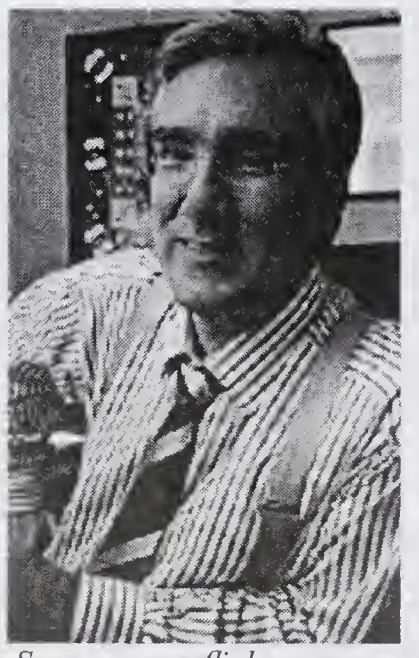
Ay, there's the rub.

That's a fact

Paradigms and Principles

Keith Olbermann Says Fox News Worse Than Bin Laden

Earlier this week, MSNBC let their resident left-wing nut job out of the ratings basement for some play time. But Keith Olbermann didn't play nicely.



Source: www.flickr.com

In an interview for the October edition of Playboy (side note – since when did Playboy get involved in politics?), Olbermann says: "Al Qaeda really hurt us, but not as much as Rupert Murdoch has hurt us, particularly in the case of Fox News. Fox News is worse than Al Qaeda -- worse for our society. It's as dangerous as the Ku Klux Klan ever was."

What? No Nazi reference? Anyway, the entire situation, believe it or not, gets better.

In one of Olbermann's September 2005 'Special Comments,' you know, the 8-10 minute diatribes of the Bush administration that are always infused with rather large words and run-on sentences, presented in a somber, monotone delivery that is supposed to elicit fear, anger, and amazement from the viewer, he stated: "[Bush's] unparalleled and unprincipled attack on reporting has a new and venomous side angle: The attempt to link, by the simple expediency of one word - "media" - the honest, patriotic, and indeed vital questions and questioning from American reporters, with the evil of Al-Qaeda propaganda. That linkage is more than just indefensible. It is un-American."

Isn't that something? By his own logic, Olbermann is un-American!

But that just confirms our suspicions.

Chapel Hill Transit Honors Employees with $420,000 Monument

Those Chapel Hill liberals sure know how to spend money.

Unable to find another anymore projects in which to drain taxpayers' money, Chapel Hill Transit honored its faithful employees with a monument this month- a bench coming at the expense of a $420,000 town subsidy.
I really don't think I have anything else to say, but I have to fill the page.

A $420,000 monument, purchased to honor government employees making between $25,000 and $40,000 a year. The argument in favor of such an expenditure is that hard-working government employees deserve a monument, and they want a monument; one cannot measure the joy it will bring them to know they are appreciated. Monuments are of priceless value, and cannot be trivialized by speculation of what else could have been done with the money.

But we're going to do just that. Transit employees I'm sure do appreciate the monument, but with a monument, it's the thought that counts. Thoughts are more genuine when they produce genuine gestures, such as the salary increase that could have been the result of spending $420,000 on a bench.
The role of government in subsidizing art aside, those employees could do a lot more with a salary increase than a lavish monument.

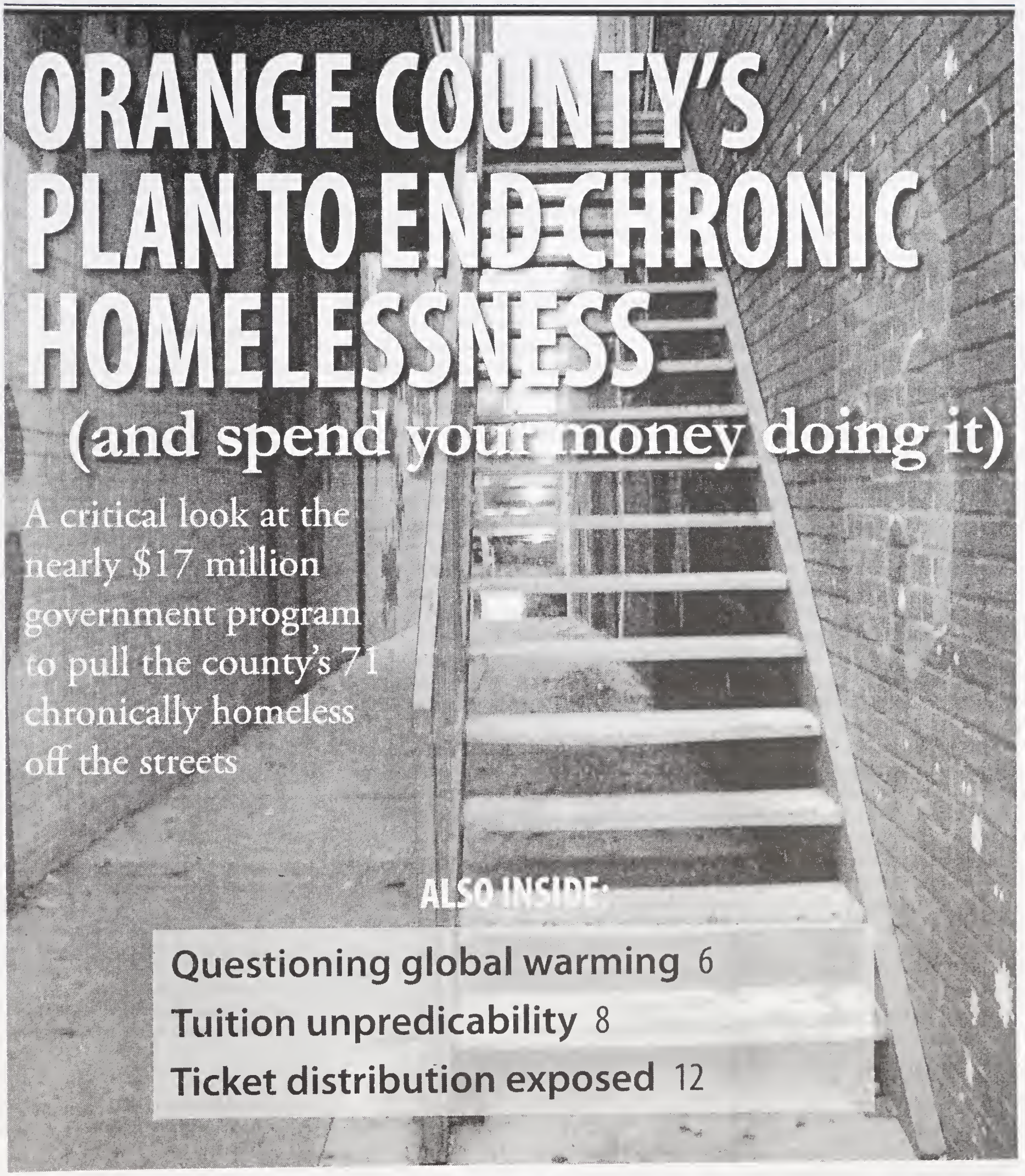
But we know Chapel Hill. If spending money is worth doing, one should at least spend it well.
Somebody should put that on a plaque and hang it at the town hall, a shiny gold plaque at that.

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December 2007 A.D.

Carolina Review



ORANGE COUNTY'S PLAN TO END CHRONIC HOMELESSNESS (and spend your money doing it)

A critical look at the nearly $17 million government program to pull the county's 71 chronically homeless off the streets

ALSO INSIDE:

Questioning global warming 6

Tuition unpredicability 8

Ticket distribution exposed 12

FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

Only in Orange County could people launch a program helping homeless people, spend other people's money to do it, and come away thinking they have done something of great moral worth.

The Plan to End Chronic Homelessness, set to spend nearly $17 million on our area's 71 chronically homeless, is set to do just that, with an indefinite amount of that money – whatever cannot be financed by outside means – being pulled from the taxpayers' wallets and being forcibly poured directly into resources to pull others off the streets.

It takes a true skeptic to critique a plan designed to help those most in need, but as John Stuart Mill argued so persuasively in his classic On Liberty, skepticism of commonly held conventions is the process by which we arrive at the truth, and this plan, devised by some of the most fallible members of a fallible human race, surely must have its inadequacies.

Never has it been more obvious that the expansive role of government in our society has deadened our sense of charity, and closed our minds to the possibilities of which the private sector is truly capable.

In our cover story for this issue Katherine Lloyd examines the inefficiencies and misguided strategies of a program to which every citizen in Orange County is made to contribute, and hypothesizes of a better scenario in which citizens themselves decide to give to charity, and decide for themselves where their charitable contributions go. It's become a foreign concept for many Americans, but in a county full of people who claim to be eager to help the poor, and just 71 chronically homeless, we believe it just might be possible to help them without the government.

Michael Smith profiles the recent tuition increase proposals and the reasoning the Board of Trustees is giving for the hikes facing out-of-state undergraduates and graduate students. As the reasoning for the increases is justifiable, the problem lies with predictability, and this is what has many student government officials frustrated with BOT officials who are not identifying with the difficulties of handling frequent unexpected increases.

Brittany White talked with Clint Gwaltney, the chief architect behind the basketball ticket distribution system, in an attempt to understand the process by which the university redid the policy for the second time in two years. Gwaltney is hearing our concerns, she says, but ultimately he is still missing the point of student frustration: just as a recipient of a government handout has no incentive to contribute to society by becoming self-sufficient, when students are not required to give effort into obtaining tickets, they value their ticket less. The result is that the people who want them the most, and are willing to give more to get them, miss out on one of the most prized experiences of being a student at UNC.

In the aftermath of Al Gore receiving a share of the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in championing the cause of global warming, Rosie Bucherati asks the we reserve judgment until all the facts are known; there are two sides to every issue, global warming included, and in a society where environmentalists who claim we are destroying the world are placed on a pedestal, and skeptics are treated as ignorant and biased, little visible objective truth-searching is taking place. This column opens our eyes to a few scientists who have something to say about global warming that may not be popular, but it proves that there are still scientists who doubt the acclaimed theory. Consequently, we still have a debate waging over a claim that is portrayed as bedrock fact, a notion that is perpetuated by the fact that support for global warming has morphed into an industry, largely due to those, like Gore, whose careers are aided by throwing their support on the "the world is ending" bandwagon.

Forgive us for being skeptical.

Sincerely,

Bryan and Ashley

CAROLINA REVIEW

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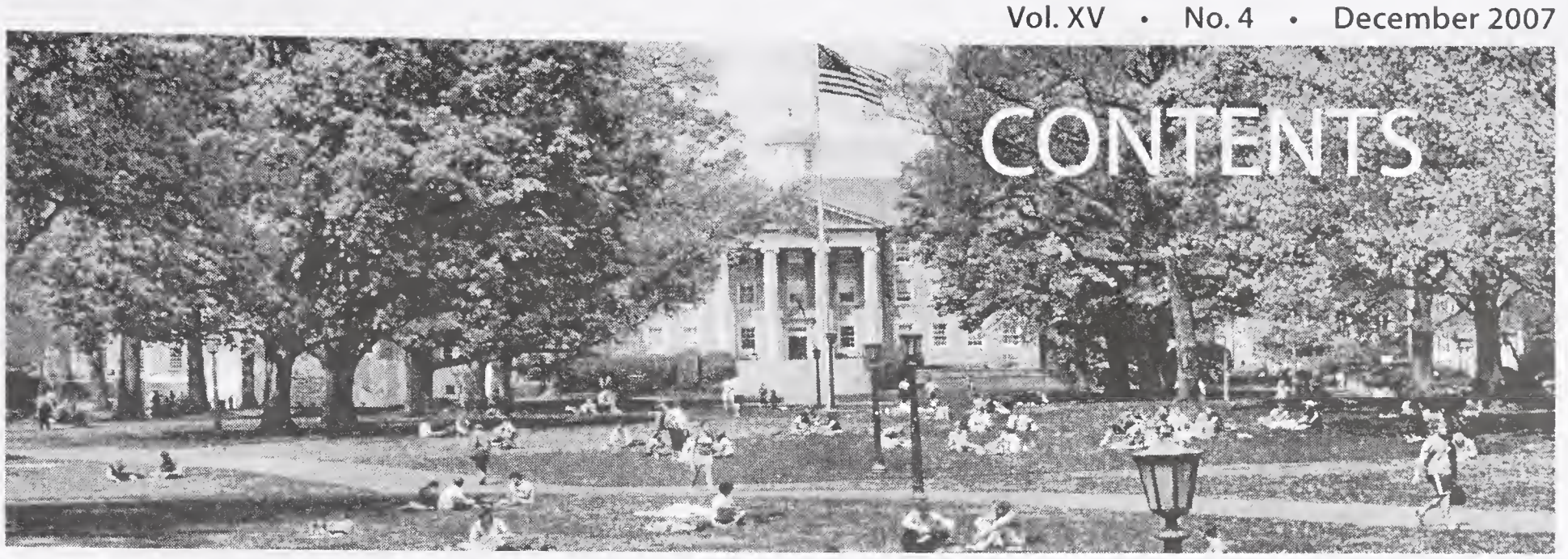
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CHEERS & JEERS

OCTOBER 2007 *The October 2007 issue offered a point-counterpoint on the university's new "smoke-free" policy going into effect at the start of the new year. It also featured the story of an abortion doctor turned anti-abortion activist, as well as an exclusive interview with Republican gubernatorial candidate Bill Graham. The Carolina Review appreciates all your comments. As usual, you can read our old issues online at* **unc.edu/cr/archive/**

↘ Comment on September stories at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.**

Liberty and the Patriot Act

To the Editors:

I appreciated what you had to say in your letter at the beginning of October 2007 issue of "Carolina Review." I fully agree that the American conception of liberty makes usunique in the world. I also agree that "the end justifies the means" does not apply toour country when the means involves sacrificing constitutional principles. I agree with Bill Zell that there is a "constant struggle between tyranny and freedom." Therefore, I was wondering what the Review's opinions are on the Patriot act and the executive branch's revealed illegal wiretapping and internet monitoring program. These programs both directly violate the Constitution, even interpreted literally (see: Article IV of the Bill of Rights), but are described as necessary by the administration to prevent terrorist attacks. If the ends in America don't justify the means when it comes to sacrificing civil liberties, then president Bush and his administration's programs are clearly departing from American values and perhaps taking a step towards tyranny. I hope to see an in-depth feature condemning these programs in a future issue of your magazine.

I would also like to express concern about one of your features on the back of the October 2007 review, in which global warming research was described as "not objective science, but...producing 'evidence' for a preordained conclusion" and it was stated that "The verdict in science on man's role in global warming is, unbeknownst to many, undecided." These statements are both inaccurate.* I would urge the magazine to print sources before making such strong claims. Please realize that the conclusion of climate change and mankind's effect on it was not some politically hatched plot, but the result of analyzing years and years worth of scientific research. To suggest that scientists created some illusion of a consensus or fabricated research for some personal gain is a direct assault on the integrity of science itself, which may or may not be the Review's intention.

John Wait
Sophomore
Physics
Durham, NC

*Editor's Note: See page 6 for a refute of this claim

Feminist's response to abortion doctor's story

To the Editors:

Next time you want to write about me in an article come talk to me first. I have no problem with being in the Carolina Review, but get your facts straight. The point of the Violinist Argument is that a person has the right to deny access to his or her body to any person for any reason.

Sara McClain



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VIEWPOINTS



1ST MAN: I'VE TRIED EVERYTHING...I JUST CAN'T GET HIM TO DISCRIMINATE
2ND MAN: I'VE GOT JUST THE THING...

"I had rather have a plain, russet-coated Captain, that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a Gentle-man and is nothing else."
—OLIVER CROMWELL

"A nation can survive its fools, even the ambitious. But it cannot survive treason from within....for the traitor appears not to be a traitor...he rots the soul of a nation...he infects the body politic so that it can no longer resist."
— CICERO

"An Englishman is a person who does things because they have been done before. An American is a person who does things because they haven't been done before."
— MARK TWAIN

"All initiation of force is a violation of someone else's rights, whether initiated by an individual or the state, for the benefit of an individual or group of individuals, even if it's supposed to be for the benefit of another individual or group of individuals."
— REP. RON PAUL

"A democracy is nothing more than mob rule, where fifty-one percent of the people may take away the rights of the other forty-nine."
— THOMAS JEFFERSON

"Before I refuse to take your questions, I have an opening statement."
— RONALD REAGAN



OH, YES, YES...HEH, HEH...I AM FOR GUN CONTROL...HA, HA

"In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way. And in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently."
— JUSTICE HARRY BLACKMUN

"Governor Dean gets enthusiastic. I don't think he's the Republicans' best friend. I think he's been a very valuable Democrat."
— REP. BARNEY FRANK

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

GLOBAL WARMING'S DIRTY LITTLE SECRET

Despite the assertions of the average 'informed' citizen, there are many reputable scientists who doubt environmentalism's most sacred 'truth'



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When I tell people that I am not sure if I really believe in global warming, I normally get three stages of reaction. First comes the silence and dropped jaws. Once they have control over their mouth again, they use it to express their shock and outrage on how I could possibly not agree with all those reputable scientists and the tons of completely accurate data they have supplied. Lastly comes the disgusted looks they throw over their shoulders as they stalk away to their hybrid cars covered in 'green' and liberal bumper stickers.

I have gotten use to these types of reactions by now, especially after coming to UNC. Here it seems like everyone has taken the word of the pro-global warming scientists as the inalienable truth and refuse to remove the blinders they have placed on themselves. What many of these people do not realize is that the debate on global warming is still going strong since, despite the arrogance of some climatologists, not all scientists believe in the theory; there is another side of the issue, one they don't want you to know about.

On November 8, UNC hosted a talk by Dr. Michael Mann, a famous paleoclimatologist and member of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the group with which Al Gore won his bogus Nobel Peace Prize. He spent most of the beginning of his talk on the early dissent among scientists, but that now they are all in happy agreement that we have destroyed our planet.

If this is true, why then did 17,000 scientists sign a petition refuting this consensus view, proclaiming that "There is no convincing scientific evidence that human release of carbon dioxide, methane, or other greenhouse gasses is causing or will, in the foreseeable future, cause catastrophic heating of the Earth's atmosphere and disruption of the Earth's climate."

One person who is not afraid to speak up is John Coleman, a meteorologist and founder of the Weather Channel. He recently wrote an article on his blog denouncing global warming as the "greatest scam in history." Coleman blames "some dastardly scientists" of manipulating data and receiving aid from extreme environmentalists and politicians to create a bogus theory.

"I have read dozens of scientific papers. I have talked with numerous scientists. I have studied. I have thought about it. I know I am correct. There is no run away climate change. The impact of humans on climate is not catastrophic. Our planet is not in peril. I am incensed by the incredible media glamour, the politically correct silliness and rude dismissal of counter arguments by the high priest of Global Warming."

Another well-known scientist who has not hidden his beliefs is Dr. Richard Lindzen, a professor of meteorology at MIT. He has staunchly opposed the theory of global warming cause by man and was one of the scientists who worked to expose the truth in the documentary *The Great Global Warming Swindle*, a response to Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth*. The film is able to present its message without the emotional propaganda that allowed Gore's to worm its way into the minds of the American people, but Dr. Lindzen is positive that the truth will be revealed one day.

"The fact that the developed world went into hysterics over changes in global mean temperature of a few tenths of a degree will astound future generations. Such hysteria simply represents the scientific illiteracy of much of the public, the susceptibility of the public to the Goebelian substitution of repetition for truth, and the exploitation of these weaknesses by politicians, environmental promoters, and, after 20 years of media drum beating, many others as well."

Dr. Lindzen also believes that the increased amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere does not have such a direct effect on global temperatures as people like Dr. Mann and Al Gore would have you believe.

"Ice ages have occurred in a hundred thousand year cycle for the last 700 thousand years, and previous warm periods appear to have been warmer than the present despite [carbon dioxide] levels being lower than they are now."

While many scientists are afraid to step forward, fifteen-year-old Kristen Byrnes is not. As a part of a science project Byrnes proved that many of the weather monitoring stations across the country install their temperature sensors in conditions that could cause them to record higher temperatures. At many of these stations, the temperature sensors are place right by air conditioning exhausts, in the middle of paved parking lots, and by metal poles to name a few.

The sad fact of that matter is that the global warming issue is now being used for economic gain. The 'green' market is now over $2.1 billion and growing. It's now cool and fashionable to be green, and many are taking advantage of that. In this day and age, many support the environmentalist cause simply for appearances, and I'm not talking about just Hollywood. An interesting statistic related to this is that almost twice as many hybrid cars that look like a hybrid sell than ones that resemble normal cars. This problem extends beyond the consumer market, with scientific research projects that give proof to global warming receiving huge grants while ones simply striving for the truth struggle.

Also, imagine how people could be exploited all in the name of the saving our planet. Dr. Lindzen goes beyond imagining as he sees what could really happen.

"When an issue like global warming is around for over twenty years, numerous agendas are developed to exploit the issue. The interests of the environmental movement in acquiring more power and influence are reasonably clear. So too are the interests of bureaucrats for whom control of carbon dioxide is a dream-come-true. After all, carbon dioxide is a product of breathing itself. Politicians can see the possibility of taxation that will be cheerfully accepted because it is necessary for saving the world."

This article is not about disproving the man mad global warming theory, only to show there is still a debate and that neither side should assure the public that they are the ones who are right. That is just bad science. And while the global warming proponents have such well known champions as Dr. Mann and Al Gore, their opponents are equally well respected in their fields with Dr. Gray, Dr. Lindzen, John Coleman, and many more. For the sake of science, we must look objectively for the truth without making assumptions. So just take your time and do your research before jumping on that global warming bandwagon. **CR**

GUEST COLUMN



TYLER YOUNTS
Senior
Speaker of Student Congress

Liberals should practice their preaching on tolerance

If there is one thing I have learned from more than two years at UNC Chapel Hill it is tolerance. I have endured countless instances where politically correctness has been imposed on me or morally objectionable things have happened, and I could do nothing about them. Many times the taxpayers of North Carolina are paying for these things, too—all in the name of tolerance.

The Carolina experience starts with the summer reading program. In years past Carolina required freshman to read books that glorify and sugar coat the militant aspects of Islam and books promoting socialist and communist world views contrary to American principles. We must tolerate violent religious sects, and oppressive forms of government, but never tolerate reading books on the Bible or books that support freedom and free markets.

One of my good friends at Carolina was instrumental in fighting this reading program. He sued the University and although he lost the suit the University no longer makes this garbage required reading.

Another example of this type of absurdity is when two years ago a gay student got into a fight a few blocks away from campus. We all know how liberals love to hold candle light vigils, usually for convicted killers on death row. This time was no different. I attended for a few minutes, just long enough to hear gay community leaders condemn President Bush and the Pope for this "hate crime." I was appalled that they would use this to further a political agenda… this in the name of tolerance.

Here, let me be clear about my beliefs. I do not hate homosexuals nor am I homophobic as my liberal foes say. I believe that homosexuality is immoral; however as a political matter I do not think the government should regulate people's private relationships. The government should have nothing to do with sexuality at all. I hear the gay community say, "Stay out of my bedroom," and I am obliged to comply.

But this isn't what they want. They want the government to actually promote that particular lifestyle. We have two gay activist groups on campus: the GBLTSA and the LGBTQ. GBLTSA is a student club that receives tens of thousands of dollars of student fee money from Student Congress. The latter, LGBTQ, is an office of the University administration, which is funded by that good taxpayers of the state of North Carolina. No word yet from the University on the creation of a heterosexual office.

Here I was ready to mind my own business in the name of tolerance, and let them mind theirs… but now they want me to foot the bill to promote their "personal business" with events like "Coming Out Week" which features drag shows, public displays of affection, and speeches from gay activists. One of their student leaders was quoted in our school newspaper as saying, "I'm not done shocking the bourgeoisie until the bourgeoisie is done being shocked." Well, I'm shocked.

Did you know all this was going on? Did you know your tax dollars are helping to pay for it? I don't intend to attack gays with these words. I just do not think you and I should have to pay to advance their cause. I would stay out of their bedrooms if they would stay out of my wallet.

Last year conservative groups on campus collaborated to bring former Attorney General John Ashcroft to campus to give a speech the day after September 11. I was working at the event that night and also had the honor and privilege of meeting and talking with Mr. Ashcroft before his speech.

Over a thousand people came, many of them radical liberals intent on disrupting his speech. The smelly hippies (and that is not an attack, just a statement of fact) congregated outside to stage protests complete with mega phones, signs, propaganda pamphlets, and beating drums. Inside, nearly every sentence of Ashcroft's speech was punctuated by outbursts from the radicals in attendance. Many times he would stop and put the person on the spot calling them out until the person either conceded their point or was ashamed to speak again like one girl who finally said meekly, "I'm sorry, sir."

Halfway through about fifty members of the Young Democrats stood up in mid sentence and rudely walked out in an orchestrated effort. I was glad though, because at least from then out I was able to hear the rest of the speech in peace.

When I was leaving someone yelled at me condescendingly about the cost of the suit I was wearing. I went back to find my assailant and finally pinpointed the source. Then he cursed me with words unfit to print. I informed him that I had inherited the suit from my uncle after he passed away. As I walked away he yelled back, "I'm going to kill you in the revolution!" How tolerant!

Henry Ford once said, "You can have any color car, as long as it's black." Today I hear the radical liberals saying, "You can have any beliefs you want, as long as you agree with us." Liberals preach tolerance. I just wish they would practice what they preach. **CR**

SEARCHING FOR ANSWERS

Out of state undergraduates and graduate students strapped with unpredictable tuition increases



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"Students are frustrated because tuition has been unpredictable. There's no telling what it could be next."

MIKE TARRANT
Student Body Vice President

The wallets of graduate students and nonresident undergraduate students are probably riddled with a small sum of cash, some spare change, a UNC OneCard, and maybe a receipt from that restaurant a few weeks back.

But a lot of money is going to be disappearing soon.

In early November, the Tuition and Fee Advisory Task Force agreed on three ranges of tuition increases that begin the arduous task of finalizing tuition increases for the following school year. The task force forwarded following plan to Chancellor James Moeser: a tuition increase between $800 and $1500 for both resident and nonresident graduate students and a tuition increase between $1000 and $1500 for nonresident undergraduate students.

Moeser, however, chose to recommend the following more modest proposal to the Board of Trustees: a $1250 increase for nonresident undergraduate students, and an $800 and $400 increase for nonresident and resident graduate students respectively.

The Board of Trustees, in their vote last week, chose to go along with Moeser's recommendations, including the $1250 increase for nonresident undergraduate students.

Student body Vice President Mike Tarrant feels the $1250 rate is a success, considering some trustees suggested as high as a $1500 increase. "We're really glad to see that the Chancellor saw where we were coming from," he said. "We told him how it would impact campus culture, how it may create a divide between out-of-state and in-state students, and we told him about the concerns out-of-state students had with predictability. I think he really respected and understood the concerns. And it really impacted his decision."

As talks progressed this semester, the web of various input, data, and opinions became more and more tangled. And in the end, the situation is, for lack of a better term, a tangled mess that has drawn the ire of students and put trustees on the defensive.

One of the main frustrations for students is the lack of predictability in increases. For in-state undergraduates, there is a cap on the increases, but no such restriction exists on any of the other categories. And this isn't the first year students have had to deal with unexpected, unpredictable increases.

The controversy can be traced all the way back to January 2007 when the Board of Trustees approved tuition increases of $250 for resident undergraduates, $1250 for nonresident undergraduates and $500 for graduates. The middle figure was the fuse that sparked the controversy in tuition increase. The task force had recommended an increase of just $500 for nonresident undergraduates. The BOT basically ignored that recommendation, and approved an increase $750 more than was recommended. While some cried foul, John Ellison, one of two members of both the task force and the BOT alongside Karol Mason, downplayed the difference. "I think the adjectives [being used] might be exaggerating the difference," he said.

Tarrant believes that last year's figures settled on by the BOT had an effect on the ranges they submitted this year. "I think it made a difference," he said. "The task force didn't want to give the trustees a number they knew would be thrown out the window."

While the severity of that number is up for debate, $750 is a modest increase, considering

the role of the task force in the recommendation process. "A lot of background information is prepared by university officials. Admissions, accounting, finance, and student aid prepare a lot of information which just gives us a lot of data which with to work," said Ellison.

With this hard data, the task force meets as many times needed to come up with an agreeable proposal.

"The Tuition Task Force is just an advisory committee, and it is the responsibility of the trustees to set the recommendation for the board of governors. It's not really the job of the tuition task force to do that; it's their job to advise the trustees," said Ellison.

Tarrant expounded further on the role of the task force. "They're charged with setting and recommendation that they see is necessary and responsible. And they must do it independently of the trustees. You do have to be reasonable and realistic."

Last year, it appears their advice, at least in one category, wasn't taken to heart. And this year, the BOT has seemed to have more influence on the task force rather than vice versa.

Perhaps influenced by the BOT's decision to overlook their recommendation for nonresident undergraduates, the tuition task force seemed to structure their proposal in a manner that the BOT would approve. According to those at the open meeting sessions of the task force, the discussion was led by Ellison and Mason, leading one to believe that the task force is, in essence, trying to 'save face' in sending a recommendation to the BOT.

According to Ellison, however, the two groups work closely together in forming a proposal. "The trustees communicate clearly with the tuition task force prior to their beginning so they have some understanding of the thought process that the trustees are going through. So that communication helps shape the thinking of the tuition task force. I think it's positive communication that enhances the final product."

But again, if the two work closely together, the question is raised of why a rather large discrepancy between the task force's proposal and the BOT's final decision occurred last year. Two reasons for it could be the apparent reasoning behind this year's increase - one, taking the needs of the university into account and two, keeping pace tuition wise with comparative institutions.

The revenue generated from the proposed tuition increases this year, between $6.7 and $11.8 million, will be put towards faculty issues mostly. "You begin by looking at needs and the needs are between $25 and $30 million on an annual basis to accomplish the things that the university really believes it is necessary to accomplish," said Ellison. "And those were faculty salary increases and more faculty members so we can teach additional course sections. We wanted to decrease the teacher-student ratio in classes, we wanted to improve the advising between students and faculty advisors, and those were the major concerns but there were others, but those were the major things we were trying to address. And it was very clear to us that it was impossible to raise tuition enough to meet those needs. So the question was - we know we're not going meet the needs - so how much should we raise the tuition given what our peers are doing, given what the BOG has asked us to do, and given the difficulty that an increase places on the student and the student's parents."

Trying to meet the university's growing needs is not the only factor influencing possible tuition increase numbers. Another, perhaps more significant and more controversial, factor is the need to keep pace with other university's rising tuition rates.

When asked if the tuition of other competitive institutions has an impact on the decision to raise tuition here, Ellison responded bluntly. "Absolutely. Sure it does. Absolutely it does." He went on to explain why UNC must keep pace with other university in terms of tuition increase.

"Those competing universities are going to become much better universities than our university - they will be able to attract better faculty because they will pay much higher faculty salaries, they will be able to attract more students because they will have more money for student aid and merit scholarships, they will have smaller class sizes than we will, and their ranking in the U.S. News and World Report will be much better than ours. The quality and value of the education Carolina has will fall. So you have to keep up or you're going to have a worse university. Over the last few years, other universities have raised their tuition faster than we have. So we have been falling slightly behind."

But herein lies the dilemma of rising tuition to keep pace in the arms race that is tuition increase around the nation. UNC is right now one of the best bargains in the country in terms of education value. The BOT then must find a happy medium, what Tarrant calls a "fine line," of staying competitive with rates compared to other universities but at the same time retaining the prestige UNC has claimed by being an elite learning institution at a reasonable price.

For the 2007-2008 school year, the national average for comparable out-of-state undergraduate students was $24,923. UNC's rates came in somewhat significantly less at $20,988. But Tarrant is quick to point out that this is what makes this university one of the best in the nation. "It's a fairly significant difference. But I think what's important is that's what sets us apart," he said. "Overwhelmingly the reason why [nonresident students] choose Carolina is because of that difference [in tuition]. I'm afraid that if we get to the level that these peer institutions are, we won't have that uniqueness and won't be as attractive to out-of state students."

So what then is to come of this debacle? More, for lack of a better term, seemingly random tuition increases? Or is it just a fair warning to all incoming students?

Most likely it will be the latter. "It's somewhat unpredictable," said Ellison. "But if I were a parent, and I've looked at what has happened over the last five years, and I would say I need to expect that we're going to have increases each year that my child is in school. And I hope, as a parent, that it's making my child's degree more valuable."

The unpredictability is what Tarrant, among others in the student government and student body, has been criticizing. "As far as out of state students go, I think some students are frustrated because in the past few years, there's been this pattern of significant increases with no real justification, other than we want to remain competitive with our peer institutions. And the other reason why students may be frustrated is tuition has been unpredictable. It could raise $100 one year and $2000 the next. There's no telling what it could be."

Just as there is a cap on in-state undergraduates, maybe a similar limit should be placed on the other tuition brackets. Or, perhaps, there could be a steady increase in tuition each year, an increase that is made known to everyone four years in advance. It is evident from at least the past two years, however, that something needs to be done so that students are able to predict, or even know for that matter, how much their tuition will be raised during their time at UNC. Right now, they are putting their faith in a select few, clenching their wallets tightly, and hoping for the best.

When taking into account the different groups of students - resident and nonresident undergraduates and graduates - it can be hard to tell when which category is going to face the dreaded tuition hike. In the end, each is likely to face an increase somewhere along the line. It is just a matter of time.

But a fair warning would be nice. **CR**

THE TICKET TAKER

After overseeing his second major change in basketball ticket distribution in two years, Clint Gwaltney understands the need for a student voice...

THE WAIT IS ON FOR WHEN HE WILL TRULY HEAR IT



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Basketball season has arrived and with it the question of whether or not cooling temperatures will again be met with steaming tempers over the revised ticket distribution system. The ticket distribution saga will continue this basketball season, but with a revised system to experience and critique, and only time will tell how UNC students will receive the new system.

Going into the 2007-2008 men's basketball season, the current mood among UNC's basketball fans is at least partially one of skepticism and unease. Last season's frustrations over the change from a bracelet system to an online system have not completely abated despite the efforts of Ticket Office officials to include students in the amendment process.

"Last season's changes were somewhat frustrating just because people could put in minimal effort and get tickets they might not even put to use," said junior Davis Creef, "whereas some legitimate fans couldn't attend the games they wanted to."

For those students new to the mania that is UNC men's basketball, the following is a recap of past systems. A new bracelet distribution system was unveiled in the late 1990s, before which students were allowed to camp out in order to get prized tickets on distribution morning. The bracelet system allowed students to pick up a numbered bracelet at Kenan Stadium during the week prior to distribution and compare their number to the "magic" number drawn on Fridays in the Pit. Then, come Saturday morning, students would line up in chronological order starting with the proud owner of the bracelet with the magic number. The closer your bracelet number to the magic number, the better the seats you would be able to get. And then lots of waiting took place until by midday most people had received their tickets. It was quite an experience and not one easily forgotten.

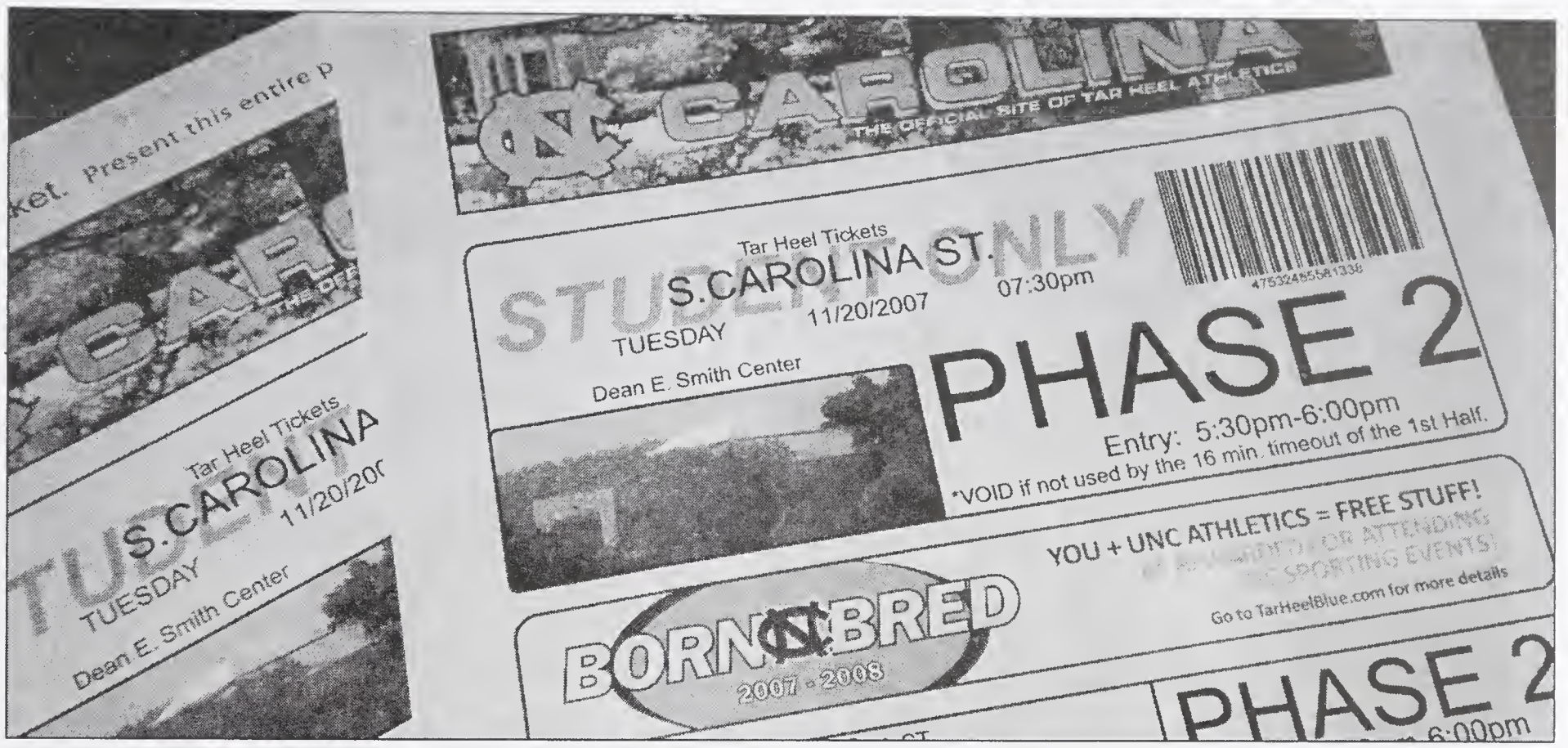
For the 2006-2007 basketball season a completely new system was introduced that allowed students with a few clicks of a mouse to sign up for tickets for all the men's basketball games in that season. Within the comfort of their dorm rooms students were able to register for games, be notified by email of their imminent joy or sorrow, and then to print their tickets if they were lucky. Tickets were awarded in pairs, but because of the online distribution groups of friends found themselves unable to collaborate in order to sit in the same area and cheer on their Tar Heels together, a major criticism of the online system.

Two of the main goals of this original online distribution system were to decrease the amount of unclaimed student tickets and to make the distribution process more equal for all UNC students. Clint Gwaltney, Associate Athletic Director for ticket and Smith Center operations and UNC alum, cited the difficulty encountered by graduate students, working students, the non-traditional students who weren't able to be here Saturday morning as reason for making a fairer and more equitable system, which he thinks the new online system is. "As we said last year one of the main reasons we were going to do it was to make it more equitable for the student body as a whole."

Gwaltney feels that for every student who pays an athletics fee you want them to have the ability to go to the game if they want to. Equity is certainly a valid concern, but many students question whether a complete overhaul of the system was necessary to fix this issue with the system.

Gwaltney has also mentioned accusations of corruption within the CAA as leading to the need for an overhaul of the bracelet system. Currently, with tickets not being distributed manually, there isn't the opportunity for corruption that had existed before when tickets were handed out to various student groups in ostensibly fixed amounts.

For the men's basketball season that is just now getting underway, a revised online ticket distribution system has been implemented. The 2007-2008 system was modified after several public forums hosted throughout last season by the CAA, Student Government, and Ticket Office. Gwaltney says, "We listened to what the students were saying at these forums" and made some changes based on their input. As indicated by Gwaltney, the new online system was not created or planned surreptitiously, but with the aid of student representatives. "The student leadership has continually been involved in every bit of this discussion, had input . . . this has not just been a unilateral decision." The dialogue between the Ticket Office and the Student Government began under the administration of Matt Calabria in 2004 and every succeeding administration has been kept informed of the progress of the new system. Discussion has continuously taken place between Gwaltney,



Student Government, the CAA president, and the Graduate and Professional Student President.

Under the revised system, when students can enter the Dean Dome depends on what phase, 1 through 7, they were awarded through the random ticket assignment and seating is open within student sections. The phases stagger entrance times with students with phase 1 tickets entering 2.5 hours before the game and students with phase 7 tickets entering 15 minutes prior to tip-off. The aim of staggering the entrance times was to avoid the traffic jams that would usually occur at the student entrance to the Dean Dome directly preceding games. The number of tickets distributed for phases 1 through 3, approximately 2,000, corresponds to the number of available student seats in the risers and the lower level.

Gwaltney states that he feels that the revised system addresses the issue of group seating by allowing general admission where groups of friends, "in larger groups than maybe you ever have [been able to]," can enter and sit together. The only catch is that the group of friends must enter at the time allotted for the person with the highest phase ticket. Senior Frances Fawcett, formerly opposed to the online system, thinks the general admission change this year is "a good compromise between the new system and the aspects of the old system that people valued."

One of the merits of the general admission concept according to Gwaltney is that it gives more seating options to students based on their preferences. Another improvement present in this system aims to decrease the amount of unused student tickets by way of a standby line. At the first television timeout of the game, any unclaimed student tickets will be dispensed to students with numbered bracelets in a standby line and they will be allowed to enter and watch the game.

Under the new system, self-proclaimed "die-hard" fans complained that acquiring tickets was too easy and that it allowed for "fair weather" fans to register dispassionately for tickets. To questions concerning whether or not some part of the system could be made to require more effort on the part of the students, Gwaltney states that the revised distribution system for 2007-2008 takes that into account by having multiple online registration opportunities for groups of games instead of one registration period for all games. This way, students must be continually aware of when the next ticket registration is instead of clicking and forgetting.

Another way that the Ticket Office feels it has compromised with students on the issue of having students work for tickets is having the tickets for basketball games that are played over winter break be available on a first come-first serve basis the day of the game. In this respect, it seems that the Ticket Office has somewhat missed the point that students were trying to make about wanting the process to involve the investing of some amount of time and energy into procuring tickets. Registering online five or six times does not require that much more energy than registering online once. Students value basketball tickets and they want the process of getting those tickets to reflect that.

In some respects, Gwaltney has been vilified for his office's new online ticket policy. To student detractors who have suggested that Gwaltney be fired he said, "Walk in my shoes for a day or a week and understand what goes on in the process. And in some regards I would say this is not an easy job." Did the Ticket Office anticipate the breadth and severity of student complaints? No, not to the degree to which they have been voiced. Yet they believe they have made up for that by being particularly open to criticism and revision. Throughout last year's ongoing debate Gwaltney offered those against the new policy, opportunities to meet with him to discuss their concerns.

So, yes, there have been major revisions made to the ticket distribution system for this basketball season based on student concerns and input. Is this system perfect? Undoubtedly it will not be, but as students, while we may not approve wholeheartedly of the new system, we must acknowledge that our concerns are being heard and if we continue to have concerns we should continue to voice them.

However, when questions have been raised over the issue of tradition in regards to obtaining tickets in person, Gwaltney doesn't seem to value this aspect of the ticket system on equal terms with equity and fairness. Perhaps this is because as a UNC student, Gwaltney never obtained tickets through an online distribution himself. Perhaps students were so outraged because they thought they were losing a Carolina tradition and the person heading the changes didn't seem to understand how the previous system made them feel connected to a sport and school they love.

UNC students fear that the ticket distribution process has become impersonal and officials seem to have missed the point that students have been most adamant about: they want a system that requires effort on the part of fans. **CR**

Orange County's Plan to End Chronic Homelessness (and spend your money doing it)

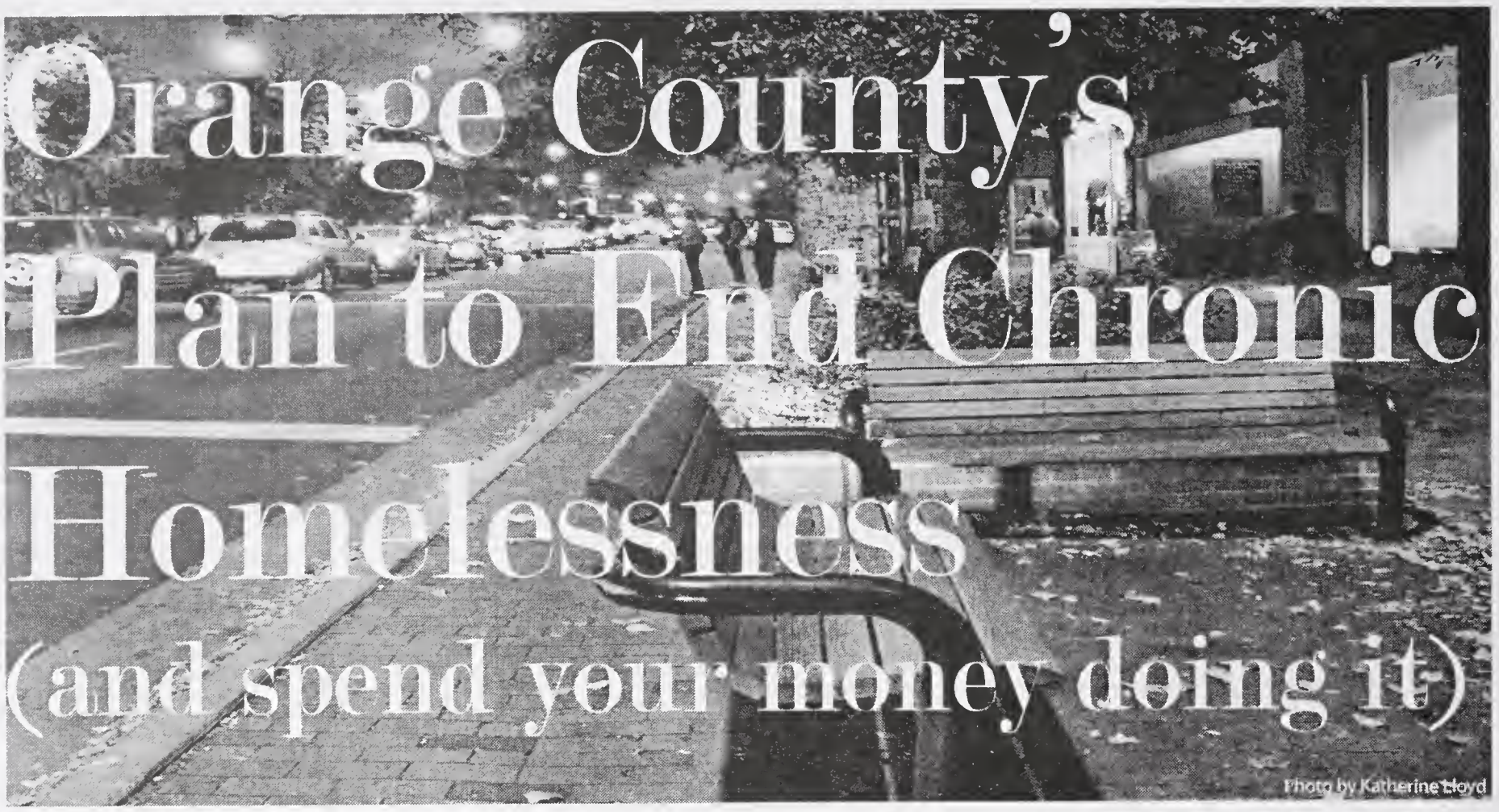


Photo by Katherine Lloyd



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A critical look at the nearly $17 million government program to pull the county's 71 chronically homeless off the streets

"It's the most wonderful time of the year" – holiday season is upon us and yet again we are reminded to be thankful for our blessings and give to those less fortunate than ourselves out of kindness and generosity. Christmas and Thanksgiving are traditionally times of great charity where men and women, regardless of how much they have, feel inspired to give to those in need. Whether we call it "The Christmas Spirit," or "The Spirit of Giving," we all tend to frown upon those "Scrooges" who do not embody the attitude of goodwill.

For Orange County and the Towns of Chapel Hill, Hillsborough, and Carrboro, this goodwill towards men (and women) will not be an option – it will be a law. The Orange County Plan to End Chronic Homelessness is a 10 year, $16,740,000 plan to – well, "end homelessness" in Orange County. The plan, which went into effect September 5 of this year, will include construction of 40 permanent supportive housing units for the chronically homeless, extension of public transportation routes, a 24 hour per day "One-Stop-Shop" resource facility with internet, phone, on site health care, child care, and personal storage space, reform in our state hospitals and prisons, and many more features.

At the risk of seeming Scrooge-ish, one must ask whether a close-to-seventeen million dollar budget for 0.2 percent of our county's population is the most effective way to "end homelessness." Rather than promote financial independence and work ethic in order to receive benefits, Orange County plans to give those benefits to the homeless freely – using other people's money, that is.

A closer look at the details of this plan reveals Orange County's concern is perhaps less for the homeless individuals and more for reputation and aesthetics, all at the ultimate expense of the taxpaying community.

A 2007 survey revealed there are 224 people experiencing homelessness in Orange County, and 71 of those were identified as chronically homeless – meaning they have either been homeless for a full year or in and out of homelessness for the past three years due to a disabling condition. While the total number of homeless has decreased from 237 since last year, the number of those chronically homeless has risen (from 39). The plan, led by the Partnership to End Homelessness, targets these individuals and, based on these numbers, will give $235, 774.64 to each chronically homeless person over the next ten years – over six times the median yearly household income for Chapel Hill.

The reason for such high costs? According to a news release from the Town of Chapel Hill, this is "a departure from traditional past approaches" that "have focused on making homeless people 'housing ready' by completing rehabilitation programs." The focus now is on a form of aid known as "Housing First" that provides immediate, permanent residences for homeless individuals with the belief that having a house, in and of itself, will provide the person with the stability needed to rejoin working society – regardless, apparently, of whether or not they are "housing ready" or still crippled by a problem such substance abuse.

Stan Holt, a Triangle United Way representative and executive team member of the Partnership, put it this way: "We care about ending substance abuse, but it is not our primary goal – ending homelessness is."

This seems a little backward – especially since the plan outlines substance abuse as one of the main causes of chronic homelessness, along with mental illness, insufficient incomes, and the housing gap. Yet while the research portion of the plan covers these conditions extensively, the plan itself seems to do little to address them, only scarcely mentioning a need to "develop a plan to address gap in affordable housing" and to "assess the actual need … for those exiting inpatient substance abuse."

Instead, the plan focuses on five major goals, outlined in the Executive Summary, available through the Partnership's website: "Reduce Chronic Homelessness," "Increase Employment," "Prevent Homelessness," "Increase Access to Services," and "Increase Public Participation in Ending Homelessness."

It all begins with placing permanent supportive housing for the chronically homeless in "the most fair and effective places within the county" – a development effort with an approximated cost of $4 million dollars. Decisions have yet to be made whether or not housing will be dormitory style or apartment style, and if units will be single or multiple person residences.

And while having a roof overhead will certainly alleviate the stress that life on the street must cause for the homeless, it does little more than mask the problems dwelling underneath. Ending homelessness cannot be done simply by giving the homeless houses. At best, it functions as a band-aid for a serious wound – in this case, an extremely expensive band-aid.

While maintaining that homes must come first

before attempts to re-enter the workforce can become a reality, the plan does very little to make work seem like a reality any homeless person would want. Some of the plan's tactics, although they appear helpful on the surface, have a high probability of disheartening those homeless who are simply experiencing hard times and completely discouraging the chronic homeless from ever maintaining employment.

One example is how the "Wheels for Work" program, part of a "Work First" initiative, is scheduled to undergo change so that homeless who have received "Housing First" may also get rides to work through the program. Mixing those who have been given housing and are considering employment with those who prioritize gainful employment in order to achieve autonomy through housing will only take focus away from current program participants; participants will inevitably ask what the point of working for housing is if the government is handing out houses regardless of whether you seek employment or not.

Perhaps the best example of these duplicitous strategies is found under the "Increase Employment" goal, stating that Partnership members will "develop a strategy to publicly recognize" employers who increase the number of homeless they hire and develop "tax breaks as a means of incentive for the participating employers." The plan also insists that "employers who are supportive will hire homeless," effectively alienating the homeless in the work place even before they manage to be hired – instead of getting jobs of their own accord through hard work and perseverance, the homeless who seek jobs will realize their employment was not only mandatory, but the business will receive public recognition and tax breaks as a result.

This completely undercuts any sense of pride one might have in his or her work and keeps the homeless psychologically indebted to the government even once they are able to support themselves. Homeless people who ask for donations are able to make their own purchases with money they have been given. When the government gives the homeless jobs that provide them with money, they are adding to the equation without changing the final sum, in effect, telling the homeless that their one qualification for employment is their homelessness. It does not change the situation at all.

Ultimately, the "help" that the plan entails, from permanent houses to voice mail boxes and from food and clothes to personal storage space and therapy, enforces the separation between normal society and those who are homeless. Rather than research and implement cost-efficient methods of providing basic services for those in need and help them help themselves, Orange County is prepared to provide every possible service imaginable to the homeless, using terminology such as 'One Stop Shop' and considering the development of a "super campus environment designed to assist homeless individuals."

The Partnership purports that this plan will end and prevent homelessness by giving homeless individuals the tools they need to become successful members of society, but giving homeless individuals these kinds of "tools" – reduced or free dental and health care, free transportation, free food and clothing, free legal assistance, free permanent housing – allows homeless people to become very successful *homeless* people.

Freely providing the services that most people work hard for does not encourage the homeless to work hard, but to remain homeless. It does not encourage financial independence and employment, but teaches instead that having nothing gets you everything- and basic laws of physics tell "everything" must come from somewhere.

To be fair, the Ten Year Plan to End Chronic Homeless does not really say from where the funds for the plan are coming; it names the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development as a financial source for the development of half of the proposed permanent units at a cost of $4 million and claims the execution of the remainder of the plan will require "funding support from the local government and private resources." Although how much of the plan these sources will fund remains unclear, the plan stresses "community based advocacy" and a need to "develop strategies that demonstrate proven result to the tax payers of Orange County" – most likely because the tax payers will ultimately bear the financial burden of this plan.



Photo by Katherine Lloyd

If this is truly the case, the moral issue must be called into question of whether goodwill is really goodwill if you are forced to do it. Orange County's tax payers deserve to decide whether or not they want to support a specific charitable cause. Those who do support 'Work First' programs should not be forced to support 'Housing First' programs if they disagree with those methods.

If funding this plan will be mandatory through the taxation of Orange County citizens, who has the ultimate say over who deserves the benefits the plan promises – say, individuals as opposed to families, or the mentally ill as opposed to the down-and-out? When the government steps in to serve as middle man, it seems all question of 'choice' or 'right' is quickly eliminated.

Many homeless people agree that the plan eliminates their freedom to choose, as well. Those who live on the street will no longer be able to decide whether to accept help from social services or not because the plan forces them to accept help, physically relocating those currently and chronically homeless into permanent supportive housing. They will not get to choose whether they feel comfortable accepting government aid or not because that decision must be made under the roof of a government funded residence.

As a result of this paradox, some of the homeless currently residing in or near downtown believe this "Housing First" initiative has an ulterior motive – clearing the homeless away from Franklin Street. One woman, who asked not to be named, asserted that the Ten Year Plan is a bunch of "b.s." and a move to increase town aesthetics, going on to say that the policy makers could not care less if the people on the street "froze or starved to death."

Another woman voiced her resentment for the local government's treatment of the homeless as "babies" who are given "resources" but ultimately no freedom, and handed over what they want to earn or choose not to. Those most vocal about their opposition to the plan agreed that "adults shouldn't tell other adults what to do" – with their money, their time, their energy, and their lives. The homeless would prefer to have available services, not obligatory services.

The logical solution would be to have a community sponsored collaborative effort that involved the teamwork of both private and public agencies in order to make services more readily available – an effort that was in existence prior to the creation of the plan. The Community Initiative to End Homelessness was a coordinated, community based system of organizations that provide services to those in need, now dissolved under the umbrella of the Orange County Partnership to End Homelessness and instructed to work with the soon-to-be-hired Coordinator to execute the plan.

Sally Greene, the elected body liaison for the Partnership, was quoted as saying "[the plan's] goal is to coordinate numerous efforts occurring throughout the community." One wonders why, if this cooperation was already taking place, there was a need for government involvement. Greene declined to comment for this story.

Perhaps it has something to do with the $290,000 budgeted for salaries of the plan's implementers, including a $60,000 yearly salary for the Executive Director. Or perhaps the motivation was to create more jobs – hence the $320,000 budgeted for hiring and training new employees for future service facilities. Maybe government involvement was needed so that taxpayers could see the benefits of the projected "$860,000 [savings] per year through implementation" – savings taxpayers might see if the plan is successful.

It seems that perhaps it was all about money, and Orange County's desire to rid downtown areas of an 'eyesore' while simultaneously and shamelessly promoting their benevolence, ignoring the real need of the homeless population to preserve their self-respect while receiving help.

In the end, Orange County's Ten Year (and $16,740,000) Plan to End Chronic Homelessness will be successful. Orange County will have no more homeless. Instead, we will have a quickly growing number of wards of the state.

Bah, humbug. **CR**

The Recruitment of Radicals



by LYDIA WALKER
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Society endangers itself by its own tolerance of Islam and suppression of Christianity

Today the world is in an age of relativism, both moderate and compromising. Judgments are held back and acceptance is the world's embrace. However, this progressive society opens the way for a lethal consequence – exploitation, with radicals always finding ways to utilize such relaxed restrictions for their own agenda.

In this age where being politically correct has become a higher virtue, society can get so preoccupied with tearing down majorities that it forgets that minorities are not always serving the greatest good. For example, a lawsuit brought against Prison Fellowship, a Christian organization that volunteers and missions in prisons, has driven out men working to help prisoners turn away from their extremist crimes, like Matthew Alexander of Charleston, South Carolina, and left an open path for radical Islamic terrorists.

One of the most potent and recent examples of this exploitation is the radical Islamic recruiting for jihad. Since the 1980s, Fundamentalist Muslim groups, who believe in the complete annihilation of Western traditions for traditional Islam society, have used the tolerance of the age to enlist soldiers for their cause. Though Fundamentalists make up a small percent of Islam as a whole, they have proven themselves a crucial impact on society, especially in the abuse of modern liberalism for recruiting young people.

According to the Canadian Security Intelligence Agency, Islam has the youngest demographic of any major religion, with the average age of 28, and that radicals consciously seek out dejected youths and lead them on with forceful propaganda.

"They are given interpretations of Koranic verses that have been deliberately chosen so as to lead them to rebel against their parents, their families, and even against the society in which they live," said Dr. Muhriz Al-Husseini, Director of the Center for Dialogue and Research.

The Arab News, the leading Middle East daily, also explains how fanatics convert the youth by "exploiting the half-formed convictions of young people who have hardly attained manhood where youth still adopts ideals and imagines that they have the power to change the world. It is this normal stage in young men's intellectual and psychological development that Osama bin Laden and his followers seize and manipulate so insidiously."

The true catalyst of this movement is the Internet. In a world where pictures and YouTube have become universal, the camera becomes the new weapon of choice.

For the past nine year Professor Gabriel Weimann of the University of Haifa in Israel has researched the growing threat of Cyberterrorism. He found that from 1997 to 2006 the amount of websites "advocating or inciting terrorism or political violence" increased from about a dozen to 4,700, an increase of nearly 400 percent.

In his book *Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, the New Challenges*, Weimann divides terrorist sites into two functions: communicative and instrumental. The commutative focuses on different form of propaganda, geared towards race and social status, while instrumental concentrate on "data mining, networking, recruitment and mobilization, instructions and online manuals, planning and coordination, fundraising and attacking other terrorists."

Even al-Qaida realizes the effectiveness of such Internet movements, calling it the "Islamic jihadi media." Terrorists utilize the Hollywood movie obsessions and modern graphic techniques to draw in Americans and Europeans.

Al Sahab, al-Qaida's media operation, for the past few years has release an average a need video every three days globally and even daily from insurgents in Iraq.

The mastermind of cyberterrorism is Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the former leader of al-Qaida in Mesopotamia, who died in June 2006. Interviews with some of Zarqawi's militants revealed that he ordered them to take cameras on all their missions and to be filmed as they made bombs so that if they died "their expertise would not be wasted."

Many of Zaqawi's efforts were turned toward making converts of young "American and European brothers." He went so far as to compare the jihad and Islamic motives to Malcolm X. To further capture vivacious young America, a promotional rap music video was made in 2004 that created a montage of images of Western leaders, oppressed Arabs, and scenes of American troops cheering as they shot injured Iraqi civilians.

But Fundamentalists do not limit themselves to just the Internet. Today they infiltrate universities and colleges recruiting and spreading their radical gospel.

In the U.K. the threat is especially great; known extremists have admitting to working at Oxford since 1980. Professor Anthony Glees, the director of the Brunel Centre for Intelligence and Security Studies, found that 48 universities in the U.K. in the past two decades have been recruiting grounds for the radical terrorist group al-Muhajiroun, an extreme Islamic movement that openly supports al-Qaida and bin Laden hoping to create a global Islamic caliphate.

"We used to have open discussion sessions inside the Student Union," Omar Bakri, former leader of al-Muhajiroun, said in an interview for the British newspaper *Spectator* in December 2005. "We were there every Wednesday or Thursday, but we never used an Islamic name. We always had a variety of names — 'peaceful society' 'shisha society', 'intellectual society'. No one paid any attention to us. They didn't see us as extremists but as intellectual students."

Barki's second in command, Ajem Choudary, who was interviewed with *Spectator* as well, confirmed that he and Barki toured the U.K. as part of a nationwide recruitment campaign, which boasted seven student converts a day, according to Choudary.

As of 2005, the British Security Service, MI5, has approximately 2,000 individuals under surveillance for connections to extremist, but it is believed that the reservoirs reach up to 200,000, most of whom are university students.

While it may seem that all the university recruiting is isolated overseas, America must not believe herself to be impenetrable. Great statistics are not yet researched, but there is already evidence of

hometown terrorism.

Houssein Zorkot, a third-year medical student at Wayne State University in Michigan, was arrested on September 8 for carrying an AK-47 through a park in Detroit, dressed in camouflage and with his face painted as if going into war. He ran a website where he posted daily material promoting Hizballah, the Shi'a Islamic terrorist organization, along with photographs Ayatollah Khomeini, who developed the Hizballah ideology.

A North Carolina native, Samir Khan, after he saw bin Laden's videotape to Americans in September 2007, was inspired to bring the message of jihad to the nation. His website now serves as a relay station for terrorist multimedia productions and "inspirational" propaganda aimed particularly for Western audiences. He is only 21 years old and ran the site out of his parent's house.

Two students at the University of South Florida in Tampa, Ahmed Abda Sherf Mohamed, 24, and Yousef Samir Megahed, 21, were arrested for carrying several homemade pipe bombs near the Naval Weapons Station, in Goose Creek, South Carolina, and no one at Chapel Hill can forget Mohammed Reza Taheri-azar, the Carolina student that drove an SUV through the Pit, deliberately trying to kill people and succeeding in injuring nine.

Terrorism has found its way into our home.

Even the prisons, where we send criminals away to protect our homes, have become breeding grounds for radicals.

A national study, titled "Out of the Shadows," conducted by George Washington University and University of Virginia monitors the Islamic movement within prisons. The study shows that "the U.S. . . . is at risk of facing the sort of homegrown terrorism currently plaguing other countries." Research suggests that prisoners are confronted by radical inmates and outside extremist organizations, which have a fairly simple outline of propaganda that plays off the bitterness of criminals to "get back at society."

Several known al-Qaeda affiliates that participated in the study revealed that recruiters the absence of "monitoring by authoritative Islamic chaplains" permits "materials that advocate violence [to infiltrate] the prison system undetected." Such materials are meant to "[urged Muslim prisoners] to wage war against non-Muslims who have not submitted to Islamic rule."

"In most prisons, the Nation of Islam is used as a sort of gang affiliation and it offers protection to inmates after arriving at a particular facility," said Matthew Alexander, an employee of Prison Fellowship, who spends much of his time personally working one-on-one with prisoners. "Whereas often Christian conversion occurs through group meetings and services in prison, Islamic conversion typically takes place through individual contact. On a side note, the American Muslim Mission and the Institute of Islamic Information and Education have a system designed to propagate the faith among the prisoners."

No one can deny that we live in a blessed society here in America where our views are respected and our natural liberties are legally protected. Yet we have allowed ourselves to fall into a false sense of security and have become so obsessed with complete tolerance and political correctness that we forget to be vigilant.



Photo courstesy of The New York Times

Abu Omar makes an instructional video to help soldiers build homemade bombs. He is stationed in Iraq, but is able to reach thousands of soldiers world-wide through the Internet.

This folly has paved the way for extremists to infect our country like a virus. It slips secretly into our veins, destroying us from the inside.

We must find ways to block the extremist efforts. Why are we allowing websites or YouTube videos to exist if they encourage others to "smite the non-believers" or teach any disturbed kid to build a bomb?

Our society says not to condone anything. So we foster a world of acceptance, but also a world full of weak people who are too afraid to stand up to their neighbor and say that what they are doing is wrong because they might break laws of political correctness. But terrorists must praise the day that the codes of political correctness took over because it paved their way into our land. They have nothing to fear as they plot our demise because we are all chained back by social dictates.

Jihad means "war." The purpose of most Fundamentalist groups is to establish a completely Islamic social and political world free of all non-believers.

The biggest problem is that we are fighting our brethren, such as Prison Fellowship. The organization was sued in June 2006 in Iowa on the grounds that the group violated the constitutional separation of church and state. Prison Fellowship is no longer allowed to help those in prison.

Alexander exclaims that the outcome is "absurd" given that the recidivism numbers (the number of inmates who will be re-incarcerated within 3 years of their release) for graduates of the IFI program with Prison Fellowship dropped to a mere 7 percent as opposed to the national average of nearly 70 percent. Why are we fighting people who are helping society and allow those who seek new soldiers for terror to fun free?

Our society is full of hypocrites to completely embrace some just because they are minorities, yet reject the majorities simply because they are the majority.

The world is not full of perfect people that strive for the prosperity of all mankind. Some actions are just not acceptable.

"Allah gives permission in the Quran for the followers of Allah to attack those who have raged war against them, with the expectation of eternal paradise in case of martyrdom and/or living one's life in obedience of all of Allah's commandments," said Taheri-azar, the Carolina's own terrorist. "Out of hatred for Americans, but out of love for Allah instead. I live only to serve Allah, by obeying all of Allah's commandments... In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate, I have made the decision."

That is the will by which radical Fundamentalist live. We cannot allow this deadly will of Allah to harm our country. **CR**

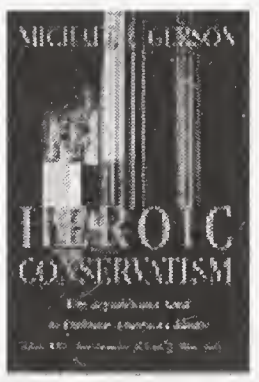
Slouching toward STATISM

Former Bush speechwriter's book argues for compassionate "conservatism"



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I generally do my best to follow the teachings of Ronald Reagan as closely as possible. But, after reading the Michael J. Gerson's recently published book *Heroic Conservatism*, I'm afraid I'm bound to break Reagan's 11th Commandment: "Thou shalt not speak ill of a fellow Republican."



P.J. O'Rourke once wrote that "A little government and a little luck are necessary in this life, but only a fool trusts either." Well, I can't personally speak to whether Michael J. Gerson trusts in luck or not, but after completing Gerson's book it is abundantly clear that he proves the rest of O'Rourke's witticism as much as recent events show just how 'flaming' the residents of California are.

The goal of this book seems to be the same as Gerson's goal for entering politics - "giving Republicans a message of social justice." Gerson served as Bush's speechwriter for seven years, and he had significant influence on policy decisions (he's largely to blame for 'compassionate conservatism,' which rationalized an increase in the national debt by $3.25 trillion). It seems like he had ample time to make his views known.

The first failure of this book, then, is that it fails to justify itself. Gerson argues for the same positions with the same arguments in this text as he did in years of presidential speeches. Perhaps this would be less intolerable if Gerson did not lace his points with extensive quotations from his speeches. The implicit message: if you heard any of Bush's speeches, you really don't really need to read this book.

But this is not necessarily a fatal flaw. Indeed, if those arguments were riveting or persuasive enough, then it might even be a pleasure to revisit them. Personally, I've watched Reagan's "A Time for Choosing" speech a few dozen times, and it still makes my pulse race. However, Gerson's arguments are neither riveting nor persuasive, to put it generously.

No review of this book's flaws could be exhaustive, but hopefully it can be illustrative. Gerson's domestic policy is most enervating. Unsurprisingly, he advocates the very same "compassionate conservatism" that he did while a part of the Bush administration. But, his repetition does provide the opportunity to rehearse the arguments against this common-good "conservatism."

Gerson supports the principles of subsidiariness and solidarity (in the mode of the German Christian Democrats). To explain: he supports welfare, stating "we have a positive obligation to order society in a way that benefits the powerless and suffering." However, he thinks those public funds should be delivered by private charities and churches (faith-based initiatives). He writes, "On complex human challenges like addiction, homelessness, and the moral choices of youth, government bureaucracies are blunt and ineffective instruments."

Somehow, this is supposed to reconcile welfarism to conservatism. The problem with welfare is not that it involves the government giving money to the poor, but that it involves the government taking money from the rich (and the not-so-rich). Conservatives tend to view this as immoral. As John Locke said, "The reason why men enter into society is the preservation of their property." To violate property right in pursuance of any other 'rights' is an inexcusable over-extension of government.

Beyond that, "pro-poor" activism (...welfare) is counter-productive. For a multitude of reasons, we believe that the free market economy is the only system that can provide for general prosperity. Gerson, on the other hand, exhibits an infantile- or, well, a Keynesian 'understanding' of the economy, wondering "are the poor best served by new social spending or tax cuts."

Moving away from domestic issues, Gerson's pet project is 'humanitarian' aid to Africa. Gerson claims that "Americans should be proud of the part they have taken in" foreign aid and constantly calls for increased aid. He writes, "America is called by our interests to promote development and fight disease in the world."

The refutation of aid to Africa runs on the same lines as the refutation of domestic 'compassion.' Gerson is very affected by the derelict conditions in Africa, as any good Christian would be. However, he thinks that our government should extract money from our people to fight those problems, as any good liberal would.

We most definitely are "called to become neighbors to everyone, and to show favor to those who are the poorest, most alone, and most in need," as Gerson says. This sort of thing, however, should be left to private charities as opposed to government philanthropy, because government philanthropy is supported by government coercion. To take money from others to fulfill one's own goals is to violate

the Kantian categorical (categorical!) imperative (imperative!) that no man should use another man as a means to accomplish his own ends.

At this point, it is likely become abundantly clear that Gerson's 'conservatism' isn't all that conservative. But, he does support the war in Iraq and the pre-emptive military strategy (again, for the exact same reasons as in years of Bush's speeches), and there might be some lingering doubts (I mean, the title has the word "Conservatism" right in it), so I'm moved at this point to compare some of Gerson's ideas with those of... well, actual conservatives.

Gerson dismisses libertarians as anti-government (anarchist?) Social Darwinists. President Reagan (who was something of a Conservative) said, "I believe the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism... The basis of conservatism is a desire for less government interference or less centralized authority or more individual freedom, and this is a pretty general description also of what libertarianism is."

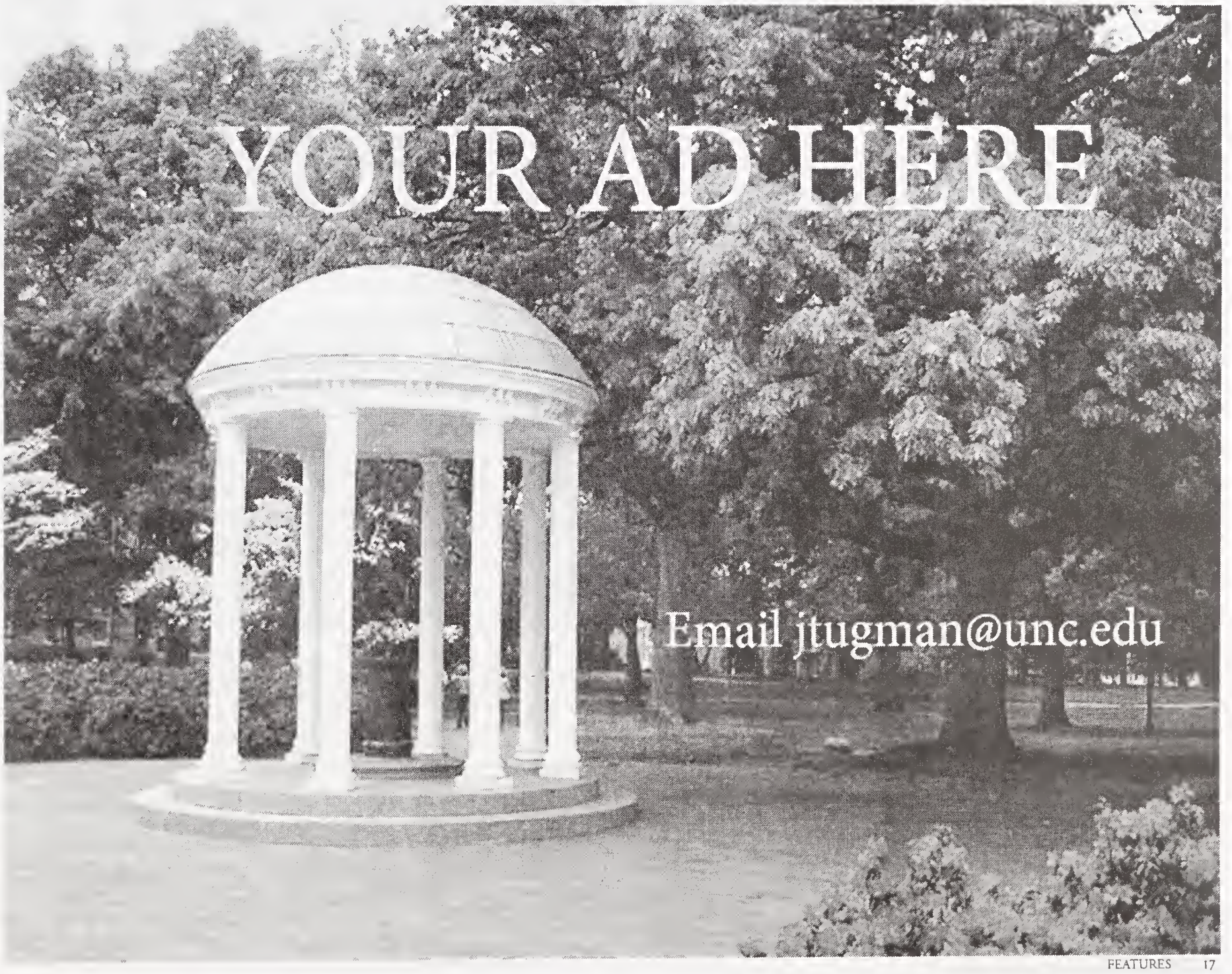
Gerson adamantly believes government needs to intervene in the economy to promote social justice and rid the world of inequality. Milton Friedman once wrote, "A society that puts equality before freedom will get neither. A society that puts freedom before equality will get a good degree of both."

So, Gerson's 'conservatism' is radically different from conservatism. Indeed, this is to be expected, as Gerson's stated purpose is to change conservatism (or, as he arrogantly puts it, "save conservatism from its worst instincts"). But Gerson divergence goes to the root of conservatism itself. His view of the individual's place in society is, frankly, progressive, as are his notions of justice. He writes, "An impartial rule of law- equal legal treatment for everyone- is not enough to guarantee justice." This is an unabashed support of 'social justice,' which is, in the words of one of F. A. Hayek's book's titles, a "mirage."

Conservatives haven't gone wayward from the foundations of conservatism (as per Ron Paul and similar reformers), in Gerson's view, but conservatism itself is wayward. But hey, if you're a conservative who can't stand conservatism...

Other complaints about this book abound (i.e., he tries to write Barry Goldwater - literally "Mr. Conservative" - out of the Conservative Movement), but I think it has already become fairly obvious that Michael Gerson is about as much of a voice for the future of the American Conservatism as Ron Paul is an expert at beating the standard error in National popularity polls. **CR**





Interview with Political Science Professor and Supreme Court expert Kevin McGuire

by BRYAN WEYNAND

Q: What is your favorite class that you teach?

A: I suppose my favorite that I teach is one that I don't teach as often as others, and that's the first half of Constitutional law, Separation of Powers and Federalism, and then the other half is Civil Liberties and Civil Rights. It deals with the Supreme Court's decisions that relate to executive power, judicial power, Congressional power, and the balance of power between the national government and state governments. I don't teach that quite as often, but I suppose it is one that I enjoy more than the others because I think it is more interesting to talk about the balance of power between the branches and between the national government and the state governments than it is to discuss issues of civil liberties and rights because most people in a class believe that freedom is a good thing, so you tend not to get as much variety. In the other case people don't have as strong ideas on issues of federalism and separation of powers, so it's fun to think about those issues for the first time.

Q: What spawned the interest in your most recent article on the influence of lawyers on the justices of the Supreme Court?

A: I've done that for about twenty years. I've been interested in how interests get articulated to the justices, thinking that justices make decisions based on their preferences, but they also need help from outsiders to help them understand how best they can reach the point they would like to reach. What that article came out thinking is that lawyers probably matter, but they don't necessarily matter all the time. In some cases when the court has thought a lot about things already, there's probably not much you can do to talk them out of it, but if there are cases that maybe are not particularly salient that the justices don't have well-formed preferences on, that they haven't in effect decided already, lawyers can play a role.

Q: Is there a particular case that demonstrates this?

A: I don't know if there is a particular case. I would say that most of the cases we hear about in the news are cases in which the justices have probably already made up their minds. But if its a case where there is conflict between the lower courts, and the justices maybe don't care a lot about it, but they feel, "look, we need to resolve this case," then someone who is better at articulating a standard that seems sensible and appeals to your judgment is one that is more likely to win.

Q: Is there a particular justice that demonstrates a particular level of stubbornness or susceptibility to influence?

A: It depends on how far you go out from the center. Someone like Ginsburg or Stevens on the liberal side is probably less susceptible to legal argument in the same way that Thomas and Scalia are going to be. They are less likely to be convinced that what they think already is the wrong thing. But the closer you get to the center the more you have lawyers on either side tugging at you with arguments that sound reasonable, so you have more justices who are willing to be talked into one position over the other.

Q: Is there a particular court case in history that you think was decided incorrectly?

A: If you want one that I think is just silly, there was a case involving searches of high school students who wanted to participate in extra-curricular activities where the Board of Education had anyone who wanted to participate in extra-curricular activities had to pass a drug test. Previously the court had said it was reasonable, say, if you had a football team with a reputation for drug use [to have them pass a test]. In that situation [drugs] could affect their play or be dangerous to them. But what this case said is that a test can be required for anything. So if I want to be in the choir or in the chess club, I have to have a drug test. Why? Because the school is concerned about drug use. Well, is there any indication that people in the chess club are using drugs? No, it's just the opposite. The people who you are going to be screening are the least likely to be using drugs. I don't know if any decision is wrong, but I'd say that is probably the dumbest decision. I can defend to a class the court's rationale with a straight face for almost any case, even with non-specific Constitutional rights, I can say there is a long tradition even though it is more subject to qualification. Here, I'm not sure I can defend this with a straight face because it makes no sense for someone in the Honor Society to have to urinate in a cup when there is no suspicion that anyone in the Honor Society has used drugs.

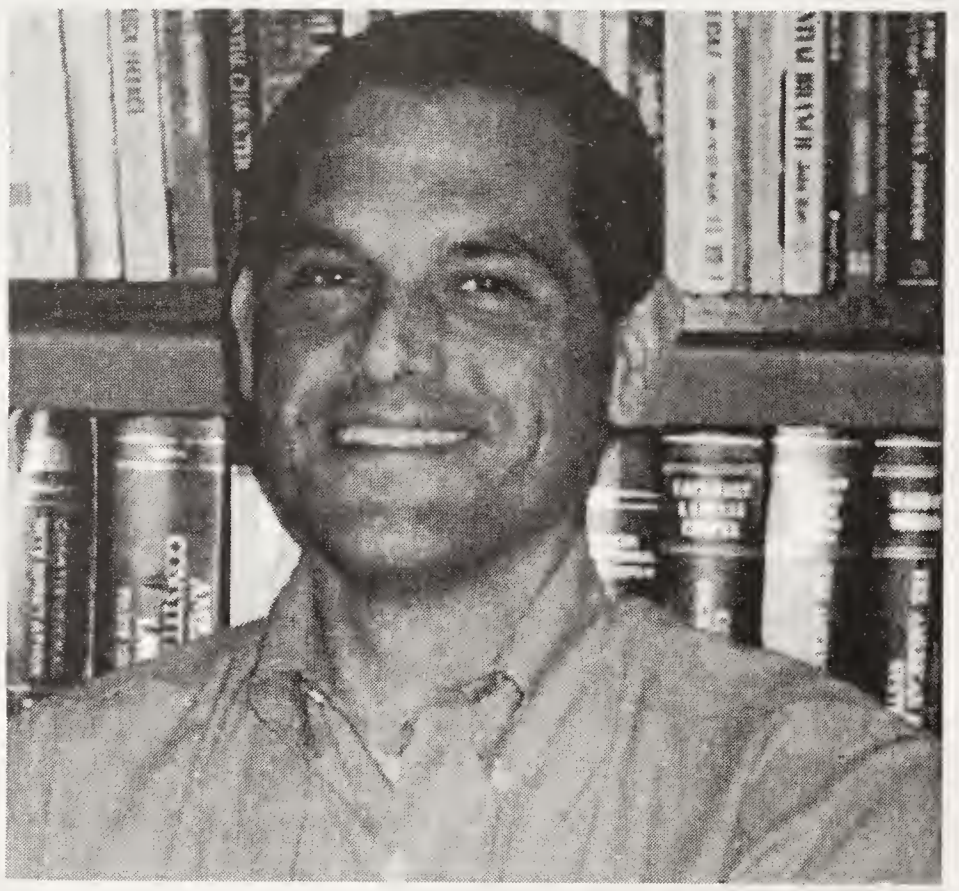


Photo courteousy of UNC

Q: To what extent is the presence of Chief Justice Roberts and Justice Alito being felt and going to be felt in the future?

A: You can identify certain ideas with certain justices. Justice Ginsburg cares a great deal about gender discrimination, Justice Scalia cares a great deal about abortion. I'm not sure whether we know enough about them to see if they have those kinds of passions. I think for the time being what they are likely to do is to continue to nudge the court in the [conservative] direction it has been headed. We aren't likely to see major upheavals in the law, but we will see continued quaifications on existing precedents. We aren't likely to see the court overturn a lot of liberal precedents, but what we will see is a lot of "Yes, but...'s." We are likely to see precedents qualified rather than reversed.

Q: What are the prospects of Roe v. Wade being considered by the current court, and is there a possibility it would be overturned if it was?

A: It is very unlikely that the court would overturn it explicitly because for all of the controversy it has created, it is very important to a large number of people, and the decision is not so much important anymore as what it represents is. For a lot of woman it represents the idea of automony and freedom from government control over something they regard fundamental to their lives. For the court to say that is no longer protected by the Constitution is hard for me to imagine. If I were on the Supreme Court, even if I disagreed with it, I would have a hard time saying that in a judicial opinion because I know it would create such a firestorm. Practically speaking, there is not a whole lot left of what the Court said in Roe, so although they have not overturned it, they have allowed the states a lot more room to regulate it.

Q: At the core of Roe is the "right to privacy." Do you have anything strong thoughts on this so-called "right?"

A : I like privacy; I think everyone likes privacy. We are better off with it than without it. If you can detach privacy from the subject of abortion, it is easier to discuss it. You can say, "Do you think there is a right to privacy in the Constitution?" and it is easier to say "no." If a place a great reliance on the written text of the Constitution, it is easier for me to say, "I don't see a right to privacy there." I think there is a good case to be made that those who wrote the Bill of Rights thought that something like privacy was protected, but to say directly "Does the Constitution protect the right to privacy?" since its not there, its harder to make the case. **CR**

The Rub

BY JONATHAN TUGMAN

In case you didn't know – because I'm sure you didn't – grammar is sexist.

The Gender-Neutral Manifesto

You see, there aren't any gender-neutral – or transgender – pronouns in the English language.

Someone alert the GLBTQZF-XSPL/A

By that, I mean that we don't have words that can simultaneously signify both the male and female genders.

Because it's unnecessary verbiage

It's even the same cross-culturally. In Spanish, for instance, "ellos" can refer to a group of men or a mixed-gender group whereas "ellas" only means a group of women.

Whaddaya know…sexism has diversity

Sexist morphology is quite problematic when journalists attempt to follow the style of the Associated Press, another sexist organization.

Run entirely by male chauvinistic pigs

It's against AP style to write "he or she" or "him or her" – instead, one must use only the masculine pronoun.

Part of the underground misogynist movement

And, of course, journalists can't break concordance rules by using the plural form "they" to refer to a singular person.

Somebody missed 2nd grade

Hence, or otherwise, the Rub intends to do something about this grave injustice. Basically, I'm going to establish a comprehensive set of transgender pronouns.

A logical fallacy if I've ever heard one (and I have)

First, we'll combine "him" and "her" to get "shim," adding an "s" at the beginning to distinguish the extreme neutrality and transgenderness of the pronoun.

Ironically similar to the name of Noah's son Shem from whom came the Middle East

Then, we'll combine "his" and "her" to get "sher," once again adding an "s" just for giggles.

Don't panic: This isn't supposed to actually make sense

Lastly, we can integrate "he" and "she" with the gender-neutral "it" to come up with a transgender subject pronoun.

Use your imagination on this one

I hereby declare that these three pronouns will be used from now until eternity whenever it is necessary to portray a sense of gender neutrality and to keep our language from rebelling against us and becoming sexist.

Because gender neutrality isn't really neutral

Ay, there's the rub.

The Gender-Neutral Manifesto

Paradigms and Principles

Students for a Democratic Society at it again with another mindless protest

Somehow, they managed to do it again.

For the second time in a calendar year, UNC's Students for a Democratic Society finds themselves on the back of a *Carolina Review*, and, somewhat unremarkably, it is again for a misguided, illogical, and morally offensive protest.

The group, known more for its hippy character and reluctance to leave the 60s in the past than for its credibility has a political advocacy organization, chose this year as the object of their disgust with the Iraq War the military recruitment office on Franklin Street. In classic SDS style, they marched through campus to the office in protest.

Targeting the recruitment center validated all of the negative claims about the organization: SDS is senseless and irrational when determining the best ways to express it views in campus. No one at that recruitment center has ever made a policy decision related to whether the United States is in Iraq or not; unless someone there gets a massive promotion, no one at that recruitment center ever will make such a decision.

Instead of attempting to mobilize student opinion so that it might be felt by those actually deciding how long this war lasts, SDS seemingly chose to blame the troops who bear the weight of these decisions and go fight for our government, the same troops for whom the group claims to care when they cite the most recent death toll in the war.

The protest not only dishonors those troops, but it defies all reasonable standards by which this country operates. Military recruiters, as with any other employer, are welcome on a college campus because they advertise potential career options for college-age people. They are owed the right to present their opportunities just like SDS is owed the right to embarrass the university they represent. If their concern is the military coming to seek students to join their ranks, for their next protest they ought to storm the next Law School Fair.

Neither the military nor the law school coerces students into joining them; they just present their case, and let us willingly decide whether to join them or not.

Find an offense in that. There isn't one. It seems that Students for a Democratic Society wanted to have a protest, and they chose the easiest one they could find. In the process they demonstrated total lack of regard both for our troops and for rationality.

It is unfortunate that SDS has a right to hold such protests; they are, have been, and likely always will be nothing short of an embarrassment to this university.

BLUE DEVILS BEWARE:

ESPN says end may be near for basketball dynasty



Source: Wikipedia

It isn't often that the *Carolina Review* deviates from the realm of politics and into that of sports, but seeing as this is the December issue, being printed just as basketball season in Chapel Hill begins to heat up, we couldn't pass up a chance to make sure everyone took notice of this beautiful headline gracing the cover of the most recent issue of ESPN the Magazine:

"Is this the end for Coach K?"

(Note: this is the issue *after* Tyler Hansbrough appeared on the cover)

Take it as an early Christmas present that Dookies of all ages are beginning to show frustration with their basketball program's inability to meet expectations, and the question is being raised of whether Mike Krzyzewski is reaching the end of the dynasty which he built. Upon the announcement that he missed out on yet other highly touted high school post player (one of his most recent declines came from this lanky kid named Brandan Wright) when Greg Monroe chose Georgetown, a columnist for the *Duke Chronicle* went so far as to declare Duke basketball "dead" – and wrote a mock eulogy for the program that is poised again not to contend for a national title, which would make the class of 2008 only the second in over twenty years to never witness a Final Four team.

All this in the midst of a UNC team that is only three years removed from a national title itself, barely missed the Final Four last season, and is a favorite to win another title this year.

As the Duke columnist put it: Duke will be holding a memorial service for its program – "from November to March."

What a shame.

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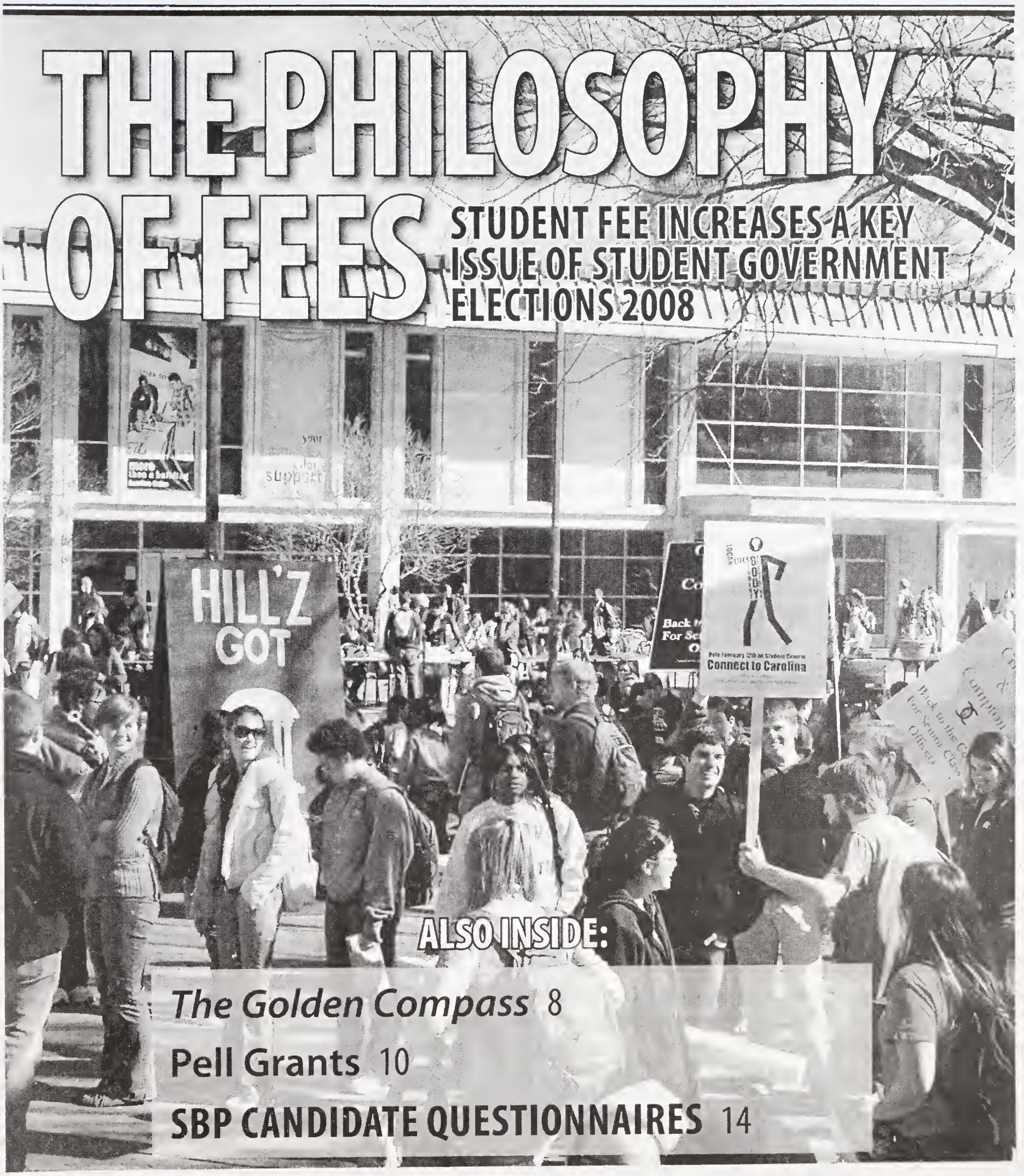
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February 2008 A.D.

Carolina Review

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FEES

STUDENT FEE INCREASES A KEY ISSUE OF STUDENT GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS 2008



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FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

It's that time of year again.

On February 12, students at UNC (most of them if we are lucky) will log into Student Central and cast their votes in Student Government Elections. At stake are positions in Student Congress, the presidency of the Carolina Athletic Association, and the much coveted and highly scrutinized race for Student Body President.

For the past two weeks students have been likely been bombarded – in ways completely compliant with Student Code campaign regulations, of course – with the platforms of the three candidates vying for the 2008-2009 SBP title. Meticulously analyzing certain key campus issues but also filled with vague platitudes regarding issues over which they have almost no control, the platforms contribute to a process by which students select their preferred candidate that is perhaps even less of an exact science than the one by which many Americans chose to latch themselves to a particular candidate during this year's Presidential Primaries, to the degree that one wonders if we as students have created for ourselves the best system of selecting our most prominent advocate for student issues.

Whether it is one that has been thrust most prominently into the limelight or not this election season, one highly important issue over which the SBP and other student government officials can have a great influence is the issue of student fee increases. Somewhat depressingly it is an issue in which few students show much interest, perhaps because they are not the ones paying for their own college, or perhaps because they have simply grown desensitized to the fact that student fees, like taxes, never go down, and rarely seem to even stay constant.

We have chosen to get the discussion started. In this issue Kelly Esposito examines the philosophy of SFAC, the Student Fee Audit Committee, in passing proposed fee increases, and exposes circumstances in the past year where student money was abused through such increases.

Also inside you will find our yearly questionnaire issued to each SBP candidate. J.J. Raynor, Logan Liles, and Kristen Hill answer questions regarding student fees, tuition, and other platform issues, as well as some less serious questions in order that you can hopefully get a glimpse at the true person of the names for which you will be voting on Tuesday.

Nash Keune offers an examination of the recently passed increases to federal Pell grants for low-income Americans trying to pay for college. Lost in Congress' perceived demonstration of compassion that is spending other people's money and calling it charity is the often ignored economics behind the Pell grant system. Keune approaches the subject from this perspective and questions whether the increases were the best thing for college education in the United States.

Rosie Bucherati argues that the failure of The Golden Compass proves that Christians in this country have not yet succumbed completely to the temptation of Hollywood culture and morality, and says that it may teach the movie industry a lesson that it could stand to heed.

To answer the question I proposed earlier of whether we have established for ourselves the best system, it is certain that in our democracy we have that system. The key is for students to hold candidates accountable for what they tell us in their campaigns.

The candidates will be forced to respond, and with respect to issues like student fees, we might actually make some positive progress.

Sincerely,

Bryan and Ashley

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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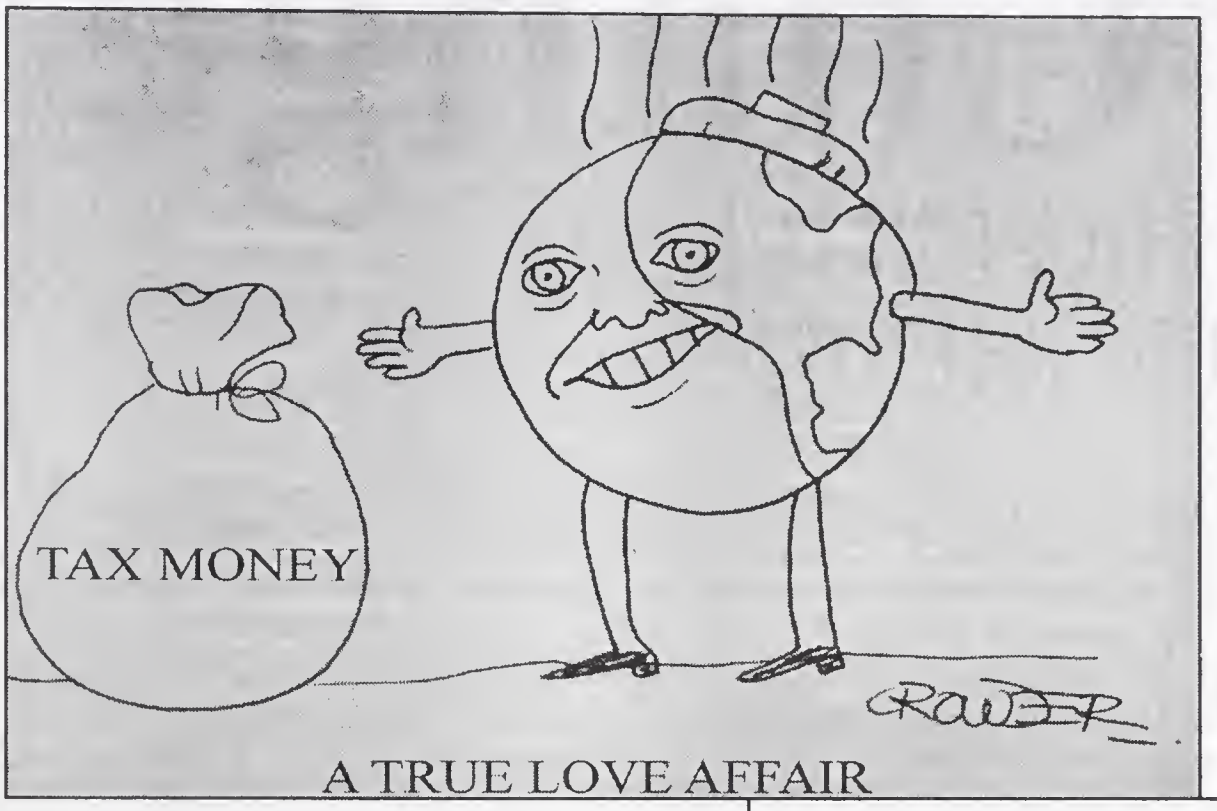
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VIEWPOINTS



A TRUE LOVE AFFAIR

"A mere forty years ago, beach volleyball was just beginning. No bureaucrat would have invented it, and that's what freedom is all about." –Newt Gingrich.
— NEWT GINGRICH

"Nobody spends somebody else's money as carefully as he spends his own. Nobody uses somebody else's resources as carefully as he uses his own. So if you want efficiency and effectiveness, if you want knowledge to be properly utilized, you have to do it through the means of private property." –**MILTON FRIEDMAN**

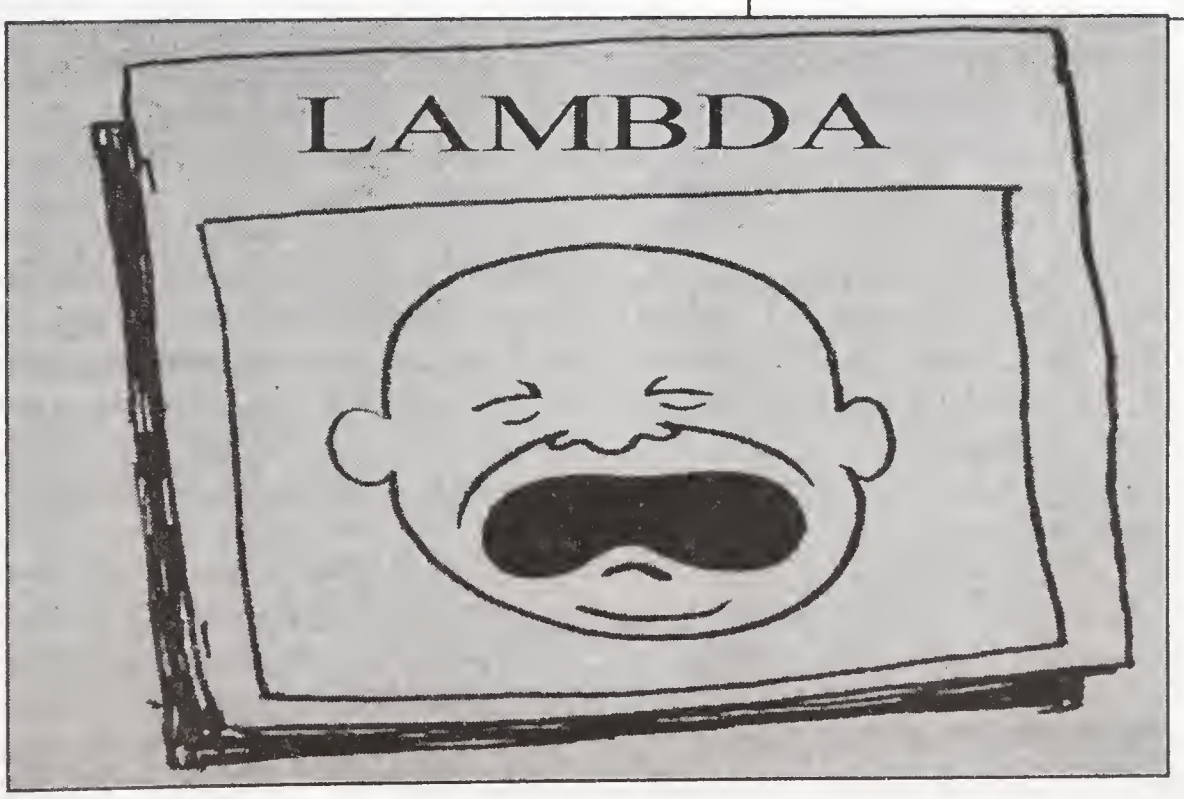
"I would never die for my beliefs because I might be wrong."
— BERTRAND RUSSELL

"Fairness doesn't just happen. It requires the right government policies."
— HILLARY CLINTON

"It isn't pollution that's harming the environment. It's the impurities in our air and water that are doing it."
— CLIMATE CHANGE EXPERT AL GORE



THE HOMELESS OF ORANGE COUNTY



"You don't have a soul. You are a Soul. You have a body."
— C.S. LEWIS

"Most people do not really want freedom, because freedom involves responsibility, and most people are frightened of responsibility."
— SIGMUND FREUD

"If everyone is thinking alike, someone isn't thinking."
— GENERAL GEORGE PATTON

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

Real Change

GINGRICH INSPIRES HOPE IN THE FACE OF ELECTION'S EMPTY RHETORIC



by NASH KEUNE
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The current presidential election has turned the word 'change' into a trite buzzword. The ideology of change so closely connected to certain candidates—who are as wedded to Big Government and special interests as anyone in our history—is nothing more than cosmetic rhetoric (unless, of course, one accepts that the half of Obama that is black constitutes a significant paradigmatic shift).

Thus, it is understandable to be a tad leery of Newt Gingrich's new book, *Real Change*. But such suspicions are misplaced. Gingrich's book is a clarion call for systemic reform. He provides a blueprint to achieving "real change" which ranges from personal advice to party-wide policies, and this alone should be enough to earn him a spot amongst the Conservative pantheon.

Gingrich starts by saying that, "our current system of government is on a course of decay, decline, and disaster." There is hope, though. He produces pages of survey data that show the general unity amongst the American populace. This is not the tautological unity of Obama that says Americans are united because they are all Americans; this is a "natural majority" that believes in a certain style of government, a certain entrepreneurial spirit that, if given the chance, will save America.

He explains why the Republicans have not delivered such reform and simultaneously diagnoses the Republican midterm election defeat, saying the party's recent "base mobilization strategy" called for "hostile messages" constructed by political consultants and aimed at appealing exclusively to certain demographics. This left no room for a "more powerful, majoritarian, solution-oriented, governing model" like the one embodied in the "Contract with America" and realized by the Welfare Reform of 1996.

On the other hand, Democrats cannot produce any significant reforms both because of their co-dependency with unions and bureaucrats and their "ideological unacceptability." The union members and bureaucrats' main objective is to preserve the unions and bureaucracies. The Leftist cabal that dominates the Democratic Party is tied—ideologically and politically—to this "dictatorial bureaucratic model," the same one that has gotten us into our current mess.

But we know that change is possible because change has happened. Gingrich, who has a doctorate in modern history, uses examples taken from America and from abroad, ranging from the Jeffersonians to the Thatcherites, in which real change has been accomplished to prove that it can be done.

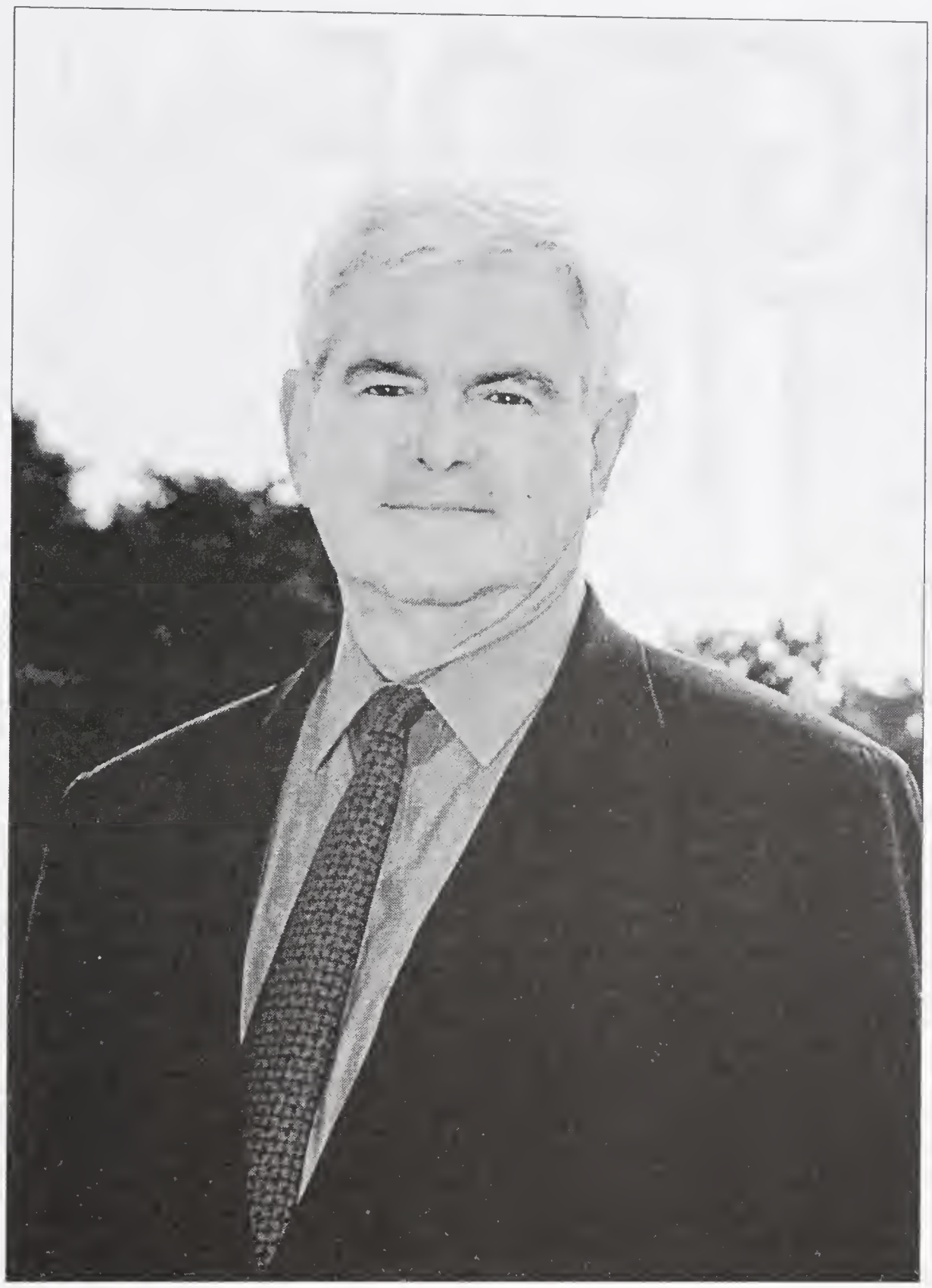
He then explains how. The most basic agent of change in Gingrich's campaign is the citizen. "Only we, the American people," he says, "can insist on the change in politics and government necessary to create a better, more prosperous, safer, and freer future." His advice on "becoming a citizen leader" is personal and direct, covering everything from verbal habits ("a team that says 'yes, if' is probably ten times more productive than a team that says 'no, because'") to suggested reading material ("Peter Drucker's *The Effective Executive*... changed my understanding of effectiveness so decisively that for the last thirty-nine years I have been recommending it to audiences").

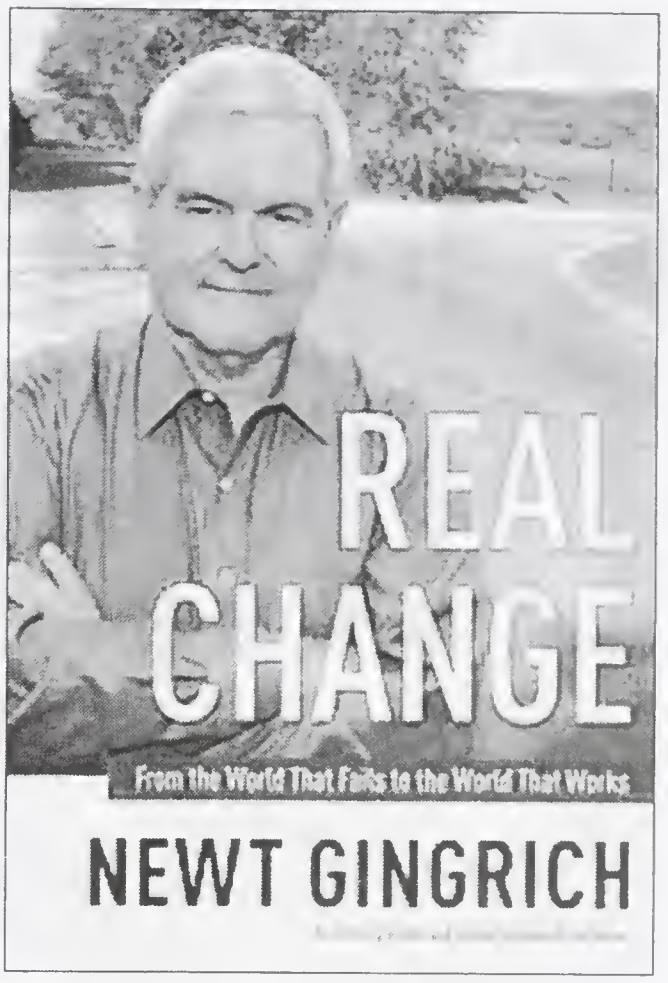
If they follow his guidance, "all readers of this book should become leaders in their neighborhoods, in their civic groups, in every aspect of their lives where they can help drive the demand for change." Then, they will be able to lead the charge in "electing leaders–mayors, governors, presidents (and also congressmen, senators, police chiefs, and school board members)–who share our values and our commitment to effective change."

Gingrich goes on to describe that "effective change" in greater detail. The key difference between the "world that works" and the "world that fails" is that the world that works is run by entrepreneurs, driven by market forces towards ever greater efficiency. "Entrepreneurs," he explains, "must know their markets and provide customers with goods and services they will voluntarily purchase. When new entrepreneurs develop new ideas, new goods, new services, and new techniques of productivity, customers' range of choices increases."

By contrast, the world that fails is stymied by "entrenched bureaucracies," which "contain inherent patterns of decay; over time the bureaucrats think more and more about their own positions, their own prerogatives, and their own incomes." Instead of attending to the needs and desires of the citizenry, they focus on accruing political clout, which secures their position and paychecks but also leads to gross inefficiency and waste. That's all fine by the bureaucrats, because "in the bureaucratic model, failure is simply a reason to raise taxes and give even more money to those who are failing."

Even within the necessary and proper jurisdiction of government, there must be a change. Gingrich gives the example of how Rudy Giuliani revolutionized crime prevention in New York. Giuliani and police Chief Bill Bratton established new metrics to measure police efficiency. Whereas police had previously just analyzed response time, Giuliani and Bratton "wanted to know how many crimes had occurred, where they had occurred, and what time they had occurred," so they would be able to more intelligently position their forces. This new thinking elicited confusion and frustration from the





<NEWT GINGRICH
Photo from SavetheGOP.com

city's precinct captains, three out of every four of whom retired or were reassigned. It also elicited a 75% drop in crime and made New York America's safest city. Police Chief Bratton used the same techniques in Los Angeles and made it America's second safest city.

Finally, Gingrich devotes the last chapter to applying his principles of government to several contemporary issues. Perhaps his most controversial chapter, at least to a conservative audience, is his chapter on "Green Conservatism."

"Green Conservatism combines concern for the environment with concern for freedom and economic growth," he said. "It holds that biodiversity and the environment can be better protected by a system that encourages science, technology, entrepreneurship, creativity, and free markets than the Left's system focused on big government, more bureaucrats, more red tape, more litigation, and higher taxes." His approach focuses on decreasing regulations, allowing more nuclear power development, and using tax credits to incentive development of renewable fuels and the like. This will allow the entrepreneurs to discover solutions to issues like the energy situation, replacing the mode of bureaucratic dictation.

Although many conservatives think that climate issues are overblown, they have to favor Gingrich's solutions to the "pain-based" methods of the Left, which are bound to fail as emerging countries like China and India are not likely to reduce their own economic opportunities in order to preserve the environment. Unless conservatives present an alternative plan, the mode of central direction is bound to taken by default.

The one criticism that can be made of this refreshing book concerns Gingrich's survey data. He repeatedly uses survey data compiled by his research group called American Solutions to support his notion that there's a "natural majority" of between 70-90 percent concerning most of the values that (should) underlie our government. While his numbers seem reasonable enough, one must wonder whether they are in any way skewed by the fact that his group conducted the survey.

Otherwise, this is a remarkable book, and if conservatives read it and take it to heart, they might avoid another electoral defeat and, more importantly, usher in a new golden age for America. **CR**

CHANGE OF DIRECTION

The flop of *Golden Compass* shows that Hollywood's influence can be tempered



by ROSIE BUCHERATI
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It was hyped to be the next Lord of the Rings or Narnia, the newest and greatest children's fantasy epic. With big name stars like Nicole Kidman and production costs soaring at close to $200 million, The Golden Compass seemed like a guaranteed box office hit. That is until the American Christian population got wind of the movie's hidden anti-religious message, and the monstrosity of a film came tumbling down.

The film is based on the book of the same name, the first of Philip Pullman's award-winning trilogy, His Dark Materials. More famous in Pullman's native England than J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter series, the trilogy has long been a favorite among children, and Pullman has been compared to fantasy greats like J.R.R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis. His literary creations seemed like a sure bet for a film adaptation even in America where the books are less well known. What the filmmakers at New Line, the company that produced the movie, did not consider, however, was the series's blatant anti-Christian theme and America's reaction to it.

Since Pullman's books have not been as popular in the United States, many Americans were unaware that he is a self-proclaimed outspoken atheist and God-hater. He despises any sort of organized religion and uses His Dark Materials to fight what he sees as inherently evil institutions.

"I'm trying to undermine the basis of Christian belief," Pullman once claimed in an interview. "I've been surprised by how little criticism I've got. Harry Potter's been taking all the flak. I'm a great fan of J.K. Rowling, but the people—mainly from America's Bible Belt—who complain that Harry Potter promotes Satanism or witchcraft obviously haven't got enough in their lives. Meanwhile, I've been flying under the radar, saying things that are far more subversive than anything poor old Harry has said. My books are about killing God."

The books are reminiscent of Milton's Paradise Lost, a work beloved by Pullman in which he believes the wrong side won in Heaven's great war. He corrects this 'mistake' in His Dark Materials, whose very name is taken from the epic poem.

One of Pullman's greatest motivations for writing his famous trilogy was in response to C.S. Lewis' beloved Narnia series, well known for its strong Christian themes. Pullman considers the series Christian propaganda and is quite honest about his 'distaste' for it.

"I hate them with a deep and bitter passion, with their view of childhood as a golden age from which sexuality and adulthood are a falling away," said Pullman when asked about Lewis' books in an interview. "[They are] one of the most ugly and poisonous things I've ever read."

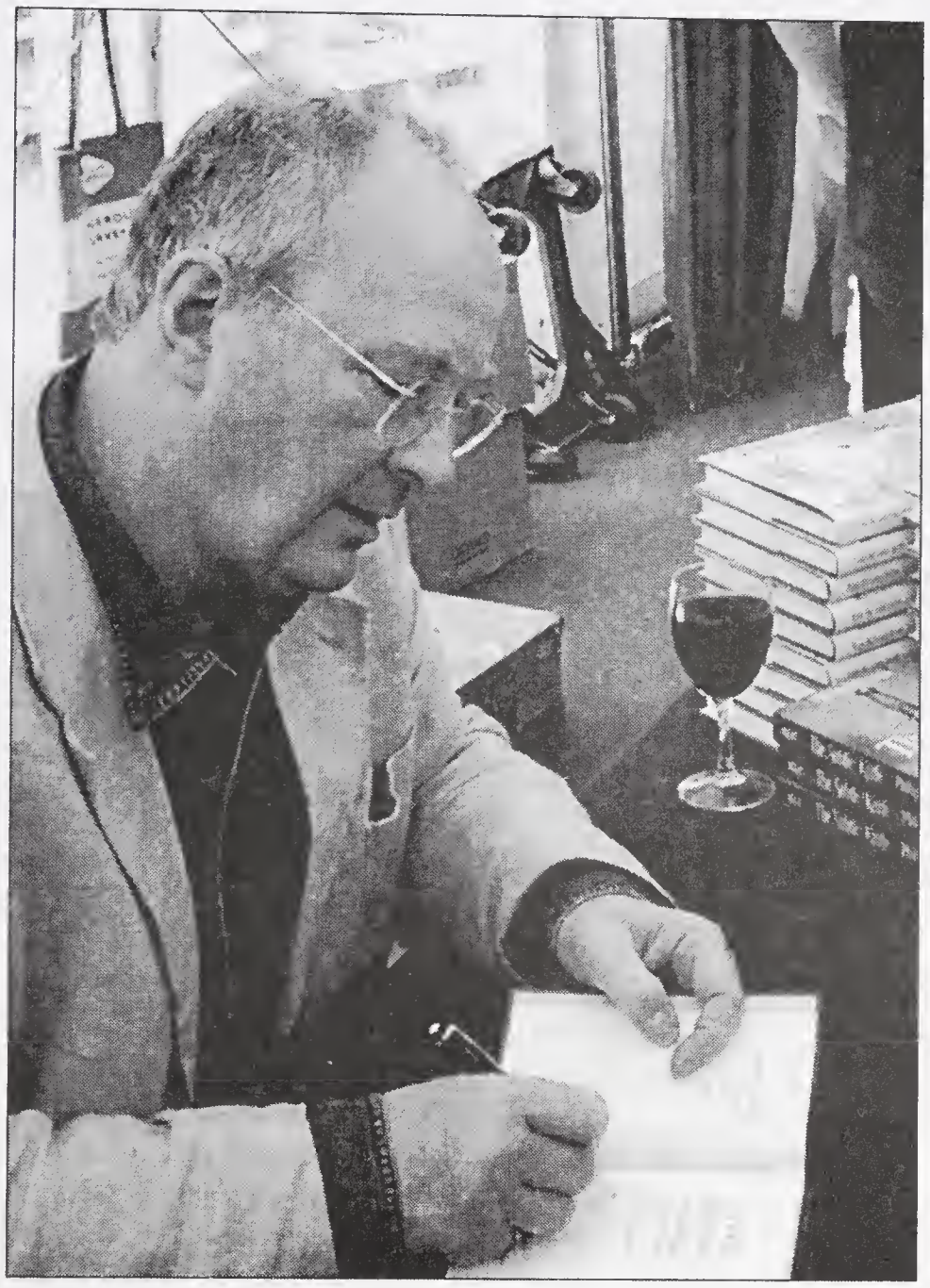
The one thing that no one can say about Pullman, however, is that he is not honest, unlike liberal Hollywood. The atheist author loudly proclaims his beliefs to the world while the filmmakers did everything they could to hide the book's real agenda of undermining organized religions, especially the Catholic Church.

The Golden Compass is the least anti-religious of the trilogy, but Pullman's hostility toward Christianity becomes more and more apparent as the story continues in The Subtle Knife and the acclaimed final installment of the trilogy, The Amber Spyglass, which ends with the main characters killing God. New Line claims to have cut most of the Christian references out of the movie (though they left most of the anti-Catholic bits), but the main reason for that was profit.

"New Line is a company that makes films for economic returns," said Chris Weitz, the movie's screenwriter and director. "You would hardly expect them to be anything else. They have expressed worry about the possibility of HDM's [His Dark Materials] perceived anti-religiosity making it an unviable project financially."

Pullman has become less vocal about his atheist beliefs since the announcement of the movie's making with both New Line and Scholastic, his publisher, wanting to keep him quiet as to not hurt the film's chances.

The problem here is not that New Line took a blatantly anti-Christian book and





AUTHOR PHILIP PULLMAN

Images from Wikimedia

turned it into a movie aimed at children; they had every right in the world to do that. Freedom of speech is a wonderful thing; we should be thankful the Founding Fathers guaranteed that for us. What New Line did, however, was to try to hide what they were doing by supposedly cutting out anything controversial, but that is simply not possible with a book like Pullman's where the anti-religious message is woven into every aspect of the plot.

"We live in a time when radical secularists will stop at nothing to advance their agenda," the Catholic League said in their response to the film. "It is one thing to be indifferent toward religion, quite another to unleash an anti-religion crusade. This is exactly what the new atheism is all about—a dogmatic plundering of religion, especially Christianity, done in the name of tolerance."

Instead of being open about it, liberal Hollywood disguised Pullman's message in a children's fantasy movie, hoping unsuspecting parents would take their kids to see it and then buy them the books for Christmas. What they are trying to do is promote the atheist message to children. Christianity is in many cases the base of conservative belief, thus making it an enemy to liberals. Many conservatives view God as their ultimate authority, while many liberals believe that a government, run by themselves of course, should occupy that spot instead.

Hollywood is carrying Pullman's torch by attempting to undermine Christian belief in children so that there will be a 'D' on their card when they register to vote. So while New Line had every right to make The Golden Compass, so do we as Americans have the same right to boycott it.

As the truth about Pullman and his award-winning books spread across the country, many took notice and vowed to not see the movie. The Catholic League was the first organized Christian group to declare that they were boycotting and many others soon followed. The results of these boycotts were drastic.

It cost close to $200 million to make The Golden Compass and many were expecting it to bring in quite a haul at the box office, but they were stunned when the movie made only $26 million its opening weekend. As of now, well over a month since its release, The Golden Compass has pulled in more than $300 million, but only 20 percent of that amount has been from domestic box office sales. That translates to less than $70 million made in the United States. Compare these numbers to those of The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, The Witch and the Wardrobe. It made over $65 million its opening weekend, almost as much as The Golden Compass has made domestically in over a month, and brought in almost $750 million worldwide. For a movie with such a large budget and so much promotion, The Golden Compass has been a catastrophe and utter financial disaster.

America proved that Hollywood cannot pull the wool over its eyes and expect to get away with it. When united, the conservative Christians of America are a force to be reckoned with and liberal Hollywood will not soon forget it. **CR**

Paying for Pedagogy

CONGRESS IGNORES NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF INCREASING FEDERAL PELL GRANTS



by NASH KEUNE
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History
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In November 2006, a deeply frustrated American electorate mobilized to anoint a new, Democratic Congressional majority, who took office exuberantly pledging the resurrection of the American Republic. They promised to get American soldiers out of Iraq, to pass reams of their oh-so-magnanimous legislation and to "drain the swamp" (in Pelosi's words) that Washington had become.

Luckily, those soaring promises went largely unfulfilled. There has been a surge in troop totals, the majority has experienced numerous legislative defeats (SCHIPS and the like), and corruption has just become more institutionalized, even protected (Appropriations Committee Obey has announced that earmarks would be hidden from bills as they work through Congress). But they did do something about high tuitions.

Congress is right that college tuitions are skyrocketing. As if there was any doubt, the College Board published a report showing that the cost of attending a four-year public institution has risen 31 percent above inflation over the last five years. They are also right that something should be done. But Congress is not right about the solution.

In late September, Congress passed the ambiguously named College Cost Reduction and Access Act, which President Bush immediately signed into law by a vote of 292-97 in the House and 79-12 in the Senate. The most significant part of the bill increased federal Pell grants, which were established by the Higher Education Act of 1965, by $11.4 billion and increasing the maximum individual grant from the 2007 cap of $4,310 to $5,400 in 2012. It will also lower interest rates on federal loans, offer greater loan forgiveness and fix future payments to a set portion of a graduate's income.

Passage of the act elicited the typical platitudes. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.), head of the Senate's Education Committee, called the bill "an important down payment by Democrats on our commitment to help families with high college costs."

"This bill will help ensure that no qualified student is prevented from going to college because of the cost," said George Miller (D-Calif.), Chairman of the Education Committee in the House. He continued, declaring that the legislation "provided the greatest investment to help students and parents pay for college since the G.I Bill and has delivered on our promise to make college more affordable and accessible for families."

But the bill is rife with flaws beyond its dubious Constitutional basis. Pell grants are awarded solely on need, taking into account income (of course), but also savings, assets, etc. Critics argue that this system rewards bad behaviors by paying less to those who save. Families that make less money but plan more wisely could get less than those that make more but plan less responsibly.

Further, Pell Grants are awarded independent of merit or any sort of accomplishment beyond poor financial planning. It stands to reason that if we are going to subsidize people to go to college, we should at least subsidize them to perform well. Or, perhaps, we might choose to base our funds on a student's field of study. Kennedy himself often bemoans our lackluster achievement in science and technology, saying that if success in those fields will determine our success in the global economy, why not dole out higher funds for science and math majors?

The worst consequence of this nostrum, though, is that it will inevitably lead to a rise in prices, just as the last four decades of Pell grant increases have done. Subsidies lead to higher prices as often as Tuesday leads to Wednesday. It's rather simple: a subsidy inflates the demand with no corresponding change to the supply. The quantity (the number of people being able to pay for college) expands, but so does the price. The federal loan policy is tantamount to an additional subsidy, further



exacerbating the problem.

Basically, high tuition costs led to a rise in grants, which will push prices higher, which will lead to calls for more grants, which will push prices even higher, and on in a imbecilic vicious cycle.

Moreover, a subsidy such as this adds another wrinkle because federal grants supplant the loans that students would have otherwise attained. This could very well push loaning institutions out of the market (at least the college market), meaning that many who do not qualify for Pell grants would be left out completely.

These grants create a final related effect. The Commonfund Institute, a nonprofit group that measures college expenditures, details that colleges have borne an increase of 48 percent in costs above inflation (as reported in the November 12 issue of Forbes). For instance, utility costs have jumped 124 percent for colleges while they have risen only 60 percent for the commercial population (according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics). Rising costs for colleges mean fewer people can be educated at a higher price. There's no reason for colleges to try to cut costs because the federal pocketbook (supplied by taxpayers' dollars) is always open.

Congress was not done there, however. On November 15, the House Education Committee approved a much less far-reaching (and thus much less flawed) bill, titled the College Opportunity and Affordability Act.

This act included measures to put controls on file sharing and prevent the establishment of a federal student information database, but the salient part of the act would set up a watch list for institutions that raise their tuitions significantly faster than the national average.

This is an utterly ineffective measure. Anyone who wants to find out a school's tuition can do so in a two-minute trip to that school's website. The only thing this provision could possibly do is increase wasteful bureaucracy.

We should not be too surprised at the inadequacy of these solutions. Combining the federal government with the administrative faculties of America's colleges unites two bodies so self-righteous and effete that a scheme that is only horrible is probably the best alternative. While it seems we cannot do without the latter in our education, it seems obvious that we cannot do without getting rid of the former. An end to grants, federally subsidized loans and toothless 'watch lists' would lower costs and finally end this mind-numbing pattern of ever-more government and ever-more whining. **CR**



Photo from Wikipedia

TED KENNEDY

THE ENDLESSNES

Student fee increase process needs improvement to encourage saving rather than spending



by KELLY ESPOSITO
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Student fees. Few phrases uttered on UNC's campus are as polarizing, and rightfully so - fees cost students money. Fee increases are proposed many times each school year, and many are met with intense opposition. Some proposals for increases are, of course, legitimate, and rational students must begrudgingly admit that the fees they pay are quite necessary in many instances…basketball tickets, anyone?

Although the athletic fee may have obvious and tangible benefits for the student body, there are other fees whose purposes are considerably less apparent. Various organizations wrestle with fee increases every semester, and while some of the more heated conflicts make campus news, the vast majority of the student body remains blissfully unaware of most of the debates that directly affect their finances.

Two organizations comprised of students that set and regulate fees are Student Congress and the Student Fee Audit Committee. Student Congress has control over eight fees; the SFAC is responsible for many more. The SFAC works together with the Student Fee Advisory Subcommittee, which is a subcommittee of the Board of Trustees.

In theory this seems reasonable; the student body elects representatives to Congress who supposedly act in the best interest of their constituents regarding such decisions. However, the SFAC determines the majority of fee hikes, and it is not easily recalled when the last time someone campaigned for a spot on the committee. The members of the SFAC are appointed, not elected.

This reeks of oligarchy. The logical line I draw from appointed officials wielding power over fees is that whoever is doing the appointing is probably the fat kid on the seesaw—they determine where things go and it probably never balances out.

Student Congress Speaker Tyler Younts described the SFAC as little more than a small hurdle for proposed fee increases. He said it usually approves just about every increase that comes across its desk with little to no opposition. It seems the committee is advocating the fiscal practice of giving groups a blank check when they are "in trouble" and letting them find ways to spend it instead of encouraging frugal methods of managing the funds they already have.

"SFAC is basically a rubber stamp," Younts said. "They rarely vote 'no' to fee increases."

Apart from power-wielding committees comprised of unelected officials, students do have some say in a few important fees via Student Congress. Congress sometimes votes to put fee referenda on election ballots so the student body can weigh in, a method that should certainly continue and expand in its usage. However, a problem arises when the student body approves certain uses for funds that are, for lack of a better explanation, completely ignored.

An example of this has arisen in a recent fee debate in Student Congress about the Safety and Security fee. It is a relatively small assessment, currently at $1.70 per student per year, but the debate illustrates the much larger issue at hand.

Last semester, a $0.25 per semester increase was proposed for the Safety and Security fee, specifically to supplement the Victims Assistance Fund, which allegedly was in the hole. However, just a year ago this fund had a year-end balance of about $100,000. So where did the money go?

The major expenditure responsible for depleting the Victims Assistance Fund was an $85,000 layout for blue lights at a number of off-campus locations. At first glance, this seems reasonable. Blue lights enhance security, and since many students live off campus, the potential benefit for blue lights off campus is obvious.

The problem, however, does not lie in the well-meaning intentions of the project. When the referendum allocating funds for blue lights was passed by the student body, it only stated that the lights should be on campus. A referendum that specified off-campus lights would have passed quite easily, but the fact that the official will of the student body was ignored is rather disturbing. It seems that referenda on the ballots may be little more than thinly veiled facades meant only to give the impression of democracy.

"Most of the Safety and Security fee is labeled for 'discretionary use,'" Younts explained, a vague delineation that provides great freedom for how the money is spent. "Some of that money is used as a deficit fund for [Safe Ride] buses." It seems that the Victim's Assistance Fund uses its emotional appeal to get increases and then spends the money however it sees fit.

Another example of an exceedingly loose interpretation (read: blatant disregard) of the rules is how portions of the Renewable Energy Fee have been spent. The money is supposed to be spent on campus, but it was recently used to install expensive geothermal pumps at the N.C. Botanical Gardens, an off-campus locale. Again, the pumps probably have some sort of important purpose, but it is not the intention that is the problem. The rule for the fund says "on campus," and the Gardens clearly do not fit that description.

Perhaps the most alarming aspect of the entire student fee debate is that most of the

OF INCREASES

people reading this have probably never heard of some of these issues. The average student probably does not want to spend his or her days engrossed in the nuances of geothermal pump installation, but it is safe to say that most students are interested in how their money is being spent.

The SFAC's virtually guaranteed stamp of approval for fee increases is encouraging to groups who know they can easily get funds whenever they want. Furthermore, "discretionary use" stipulations give groups free reign as to how they can spend their nearly unlimited supply of money. This is unacceptable—students should have a greater say in how their money is used, and the present situation provides only an indirect influence at best.

Transparency is the key—it is the potential panacea that will remedy the many problems plaguing how money is treated and spent at this university. Disinterest among students is certainly not the problem; it is a lack of available information about when, where, why and how fees are being managed. At the very least, campus media needs to dedicate more coverage to this issue and publicize meetings students can attend to keep track of their money.

Student Body President candidate Logan Liles has fee transparency as one of his platform planks. He advocates an audit of the fees currently in place and an overhaul of the SFAC and of the request form groups use to propose increases. He also proposes pushing the process back to later in the year, and training SFAC members to improve their familiarity with the fee process and ultimately make them more accountable. No matter who is ultimately elected SBP, it would behoove the student body for the new president to adopt something similar to Liles' proposal.

People tend to be a lot more careful with things when there is a watchful eye over their shoulder. The student body, the source of the funds, should be able to know where every penny they lay out is going. Frivolous spending and disregard for the rules might just diminish ever so slightly if there are 28,136 sets of eyes keeping the people in charge honest. **CR**



LOGAN LILES

STUDENT BODY
PRESIDENTIAL
CANDIDATE
2008

WWW.UNC.EDU/LILES08



THE UNIVERSITY

How do you feel that the University and the Town of Chapel Hill should approach parking issues?

The absence of consistent planning for growth has made Franklin Street become less attractive to people other than students, so now Franklin Street relies on students for revenue. I think the town and the University should partner in developing a plan for long-term growth that includes cheap parking for everyone – students, residents, workers and visitors. The town should not use parking as a primary revenue source, but rather use parking fees to help pay for new parking places. With new development, we need to consider where to put new parking to accommodate the growth.

What is the one big change you would make to the University's long-term building plans?

The change we want to make is not in the 50-year plan itself, but the implementation of the plan. We must put campus security higher on our list of priorities because with every added building, there are more safety issues. These issues commence with construction on campus. Construction crews often eliminate lighting creating a safety hazard. As Student Body President, I will advocate for temporary lighting at construction sites. Also, I will work with the University administration to urge construction crews to not leave the security gates down that allowed the Pit incident in 2006.

What position do you take on the out-of-state admissions cap?

Out-of-state students bring so much to this University and to the state of North Carolina. However, all students within the state who qualify should be able to come. I do not think we should have a set cap, but this is the University of North Carolina first and foremost.

What approach would you take in dealing with tuition increases?

My unique experience has informed me of the necessity of a multi-prong approach when dealing with tuition. Our approach will include lobbying the General Assembly, which I did as a Chair of Carolina Advocacy, for a consistent commitment to fund our growing university. The approach also includes greater fee oversight, which I strove for on the Student Fee Audit Committee. Tuition predictability and pushing for accountability also compose our plan of action. It also includes making sure that professors, who are the biggest drivers of increase in tuition, have other reasons beyond money to stay at Carolina.

What do you consider to be the most pressing issue facing UNC students?

There's always tuition, security, and academics. However, since Chancellor Moeser announced his retirement, finding a new chancellor is a top priority that will affect the future of every student. We need a competent, foreword-thinking, and intuitive mind to serve this role. Serving on the Advisory Committee to the Chancellor's Search Committee has familiarized me with the far reaching effect that planning has on students.

What steps would you take in reaching

out to students across the political spectrum?

No matter what your political identification, student government is about students. With the upcoming election, we will work together with groups like Young Democrats, College Republicans, Vote Carolina, and the Black Student Movement to increase voter registration. We want students who back all ideologies to express themselves in the classroom. To help with this, we will work with Special Assistant to the Provost Steve Allred to implement academic responsibility.

How do you view your role as a student representative to the Board of Trustees? What steps do you plan to take to increase their awareness and understanding of student issues?

My role as the student voice to the Board of Trustees is the most sacred role entrusted to the Student Body President. In addition to the experience from advocating at the General Assembly, I bring a plan to place more students before the Board of Trustees. We will form a Student Advisory Committee to the Board of Trustees that will speak to the Board of Trustees during the University Affairs Committee meeting on important student issues. The committee will also find students able to give a diverse student perspective to the Board of Trustees.

How would you assess Chancellor Moeser's performance?

Chancellor Moeser has great insight and is a visionary. His Carolina Covenant and Carolina First Campaign have changed the future of the University for the better. It will take a person of extraordinary skill to fill his shoes, but we will help the next chancellor continue the open lines of conversation between students and the administration in the University by continuing The Chancellor's Open House. The new Chancellor will most likely not be a Tar Heel, so we want a new chancellor orientation to introduce him or her to the Carolina Way.

How do you feel about the current policy governing the distribution of men's basketball tickets? Will you try to change that policy if elected?

I miss being able to get basketball tickets when I want them. That's what standing in line allowed you to do. This issue is best handled by the Carolina Athletics Association, but we will advocate for what students want out of their University.

What are your feelings on AI, and what do you see as your role if the university attempts to institute it again?

I helped defeat AI when the topic came up the first time and will lead a fight against AI again if necessary. The index promotes non-collaboration between students. Grad schools don't use it as a measure. And it takes the focus off the real problem: grade inflation.

Give your critique on the University's current philosophy and procedure regarding the increase of student fees. What, if any, improvements can be made?

We need more oversight to make sure that not a penny of student fee money is wasted and that it goes exactly where the University says it is going and that every fee raise is reasonably justified. I served on the Student Fee Audit Committee and with that experience I have an intimate knowledge and clear vision of how to reform the student fee process.

Overall, in what ways do you feel that UNC is either succeeding or failing in its role as a public university?

I think that the University is succeeding in the services that it provides the community. The Friday Center for continued learning has done a great job in fulfilling its role of enriching and educating those in the full-time work force. I think that the Carolina Covenant and resistance to following the funding patterns of the University of Virginia, University of Michigan, and other elite public universities illustrates its continued commitment to the state of North Carolina.

Basic Info:

Full Name: Logan Winder Liles
Year/Major: Junior majoring in Political Science and History
Birthplace: Zebulon, NC
Hometown: Zebulon, NC
Favorite city: Florence, Italy; Washington, D.C.; and Chapel Hill
Favorite book: "How the Grinch Stole Christmas"
Favorite movie: *Shawshank Redemption* and *Tombstone*
Favorite student publication: *Bounce*
What you did last summer: Studied abroad in Florence, Italy
Future/Career plans: Law School
What are your three most important traits? My ability to relate to students and people on a personal level, my sense of humor, and my ability to be introspective and critical in looking at issues.
Describe yourself with one word: Tar Heel is two words.
Who is your favorite US president? JFK
Who is your favorite philosopher? Martin Luther King Jr.
What is your favorite class at UNC? History of Seapower
Three historical figures you'd like to meet: Dean Smith, JFK, and Winston Churchill
Who is your hero? My Grandma (Ahmama)

Less Serious Questions:

What advice would you give to Coach Williams?
Run the scramble more, tell Tyler to pass out of the quadruple team, and let Danny dance.

Which barbeque sauce is better – tomato or vinegar base?
Vinegar

What is your favorite (not necessarily most successful) pick-up line?
This is the worst pickup line ever: "Are you from Tennessee? Because you are the only Ten-I-See."

Tell us a joke:
Who killed Soulja Boy? YOOOOOUUUU

Why should students vote for you?
I am an advocate for students – I believe we are the dynamic force that needs to be connected to the University in order to achieve change. I have the experience to connect students to Carolina and make it what it was meant to be, the University of the People.

KRISTEN HILL

STUDENT BODY
PRESIDENTIAL
CANDIDATE
2008

WWW.UNC.EDU/HILL



THE UNIVERSITY

How do you feel that the University and the Town of Chapel Hill should approach parking issues?

I think we first need to acknowledge that there are indeed parking issues. Secondly, we should consider increasing the temporary parking space on campus and around the town. Many times students and residents just need to run in a building and drop something off but they have to go to a parking deck and walk 15 minutes to their destination because there aren't any temporary parking spots. Long term, I hope that we could consider looking into another parking deck.

What is the one big change you would make to the University's long-term building plans?

I would make all of the buildings on the main quads classrooms. There are a number of administrative buildings right in the heart of campus. Making those buildings classrooms would increase student space.

What position do you take on the out-of-state admissions cap?

I think that because we are a state university, there does have to be a cap on out-of-state admissions. While I think that out-of-state students provide so much in the way of enriching the experiences of all students here, I think the fact that we are a state university remains. I would love to close the strategic loopholes that some do to "get around" this like counting full scholarship and international students as in-state students.

What approach would you take in dealing with tuition increases?

The Board of Trustees (BOT) will meet each year and will continue to propose and approve increases in the tuition of nonresident undergraduates, mostly because funding is needed to keep pace with the nation's top universities and to continue expansion. My platform supports a Student Commission on Tuition, a team of students that would research methods of making nonresident undergraduate tuition more predictable. My hopes are that this student committee will be able to present our concerns and research in an organized way to the BOT for consideration.

I also think that tuition hikes would not be so highly contested if there were an audit to report where all of the money is going. Eve Carson has been working tirelessly alongside the BOT to make this happen, I hope to see it through.

What do you consider to be the most pressing issue facing UNC students?

Access. Access to information, access to meeting space, access to web space, access to other students, the list could go on and on. As Student Body President, I hope to break down some of these barriers to access by facilitating forums for student groups to meet and collaborate for events or just learn how to get their website running on the web space that they already have. Most every student at Carolina is involved in a student organization and I think that focusing on them and getting them what they need is one way to create a better experience for a large number of students.

What steps would you take in reaching out to students across the political spectrum?

One of my favorite planks addresses

the 2008 presidential election. It will undoubtedly be one of the most historic ever. With campaign news constantly changing, I want to keep everyone abreast of the course of the election and the latest information. I hope to increase awareness about the election by encouraging student organizations to co-sponsor debate viewings and encouraging non-partisan student organizations to hold voter registration drives and other activities. On this campus, there isn't often an opportunity for students to hear both sides, I want all interested to have access to knowledge of all candidates. This is history in the making and we're in the middle of it!

How do you view your role as a student representative to the Board of Trustees? What steps do you plan to take to increase their awareness and understanding of student issues?

I see myself as the voice of students. As a student representative to the Board of Trustees I think I am charged with the task of communicating student opinions and concerns to the board on all issues. The students that come in "cash cow" costumes to the tuition decision meetings will continue to come. I hope that I will be able to engage in conversations with students prior to any meeting with the Board that concerns student issues so that I can prepare organized documents and presentations that expressly state the position that our student body holds on certain issues.

How would you assess Chancellor Moeser's performance?

Two words. Carolina Covenant.

How do you feel about the current policy governing the distribution of men's basketball tickets? Will you try to do change that policy if elected?

If elected, I will not touch the ticket policy unless invited to give my opinion. I believe that is why CAA elects their own President. I don't want to overstep my boundaries. If asked, I will give my opinion.

What are your feelings on AI, and what do you see as your role if the university attempts to institute it again?

I detest AI. I think it has the potential to create an atmosphere of unnecessary competition at this highly competitive university and create a lot more work for the registrar's office. I hope that the University will not attempt to institute it again. If they do, I will likely follow in the footsteps of our current Student Body President, Eve Carson. Student Government took an affirmative stance of opposition to AI and then Eve created and AI Taskforce of students to brainstorm combating its' implementation. Eve appointed me to the taskforce and we e-mailed professors whom we thought would side with us, explained our stance against AI, and encouraged them to attend the meeting to vote on it. As a result, we are AI-free at the moment and I think we'll be prepared if it rears its' head again.

Give your critique on the university's current philosophy and procedure regarding the increase of student fees. What, if any, improvements can be made?

Predictability and accountability. I think it almost falls into the same realm as tuition issues. Students want to know exactly what they're paying for in their tuition as well as their fees. I think having access to that information will make hikes (because they will keep coming) more bearable and justifiable. If we are to remain one of the top universities in the country, these hikes will keep coming.

Overall, in what ways do you feel that UNC is either succeeding or failing in its role as a public university?

I think UNC is succeeding in its role as a public university. The vast majority of the students that matriculate here are from North Carolina. We reach out to all areas of the state in service and education. We give back to and work well with our Chapel Hill community. We strive to create financial aid packages for all accepted. We provide opportunities for students to see the world. All things considered, I'd say we're doing rather well.

Basic Info:

Full Name: Kristin Michelle Hill
Year/Major: Junior, Journalism - Advertising
Birthplace: Atlanta, GA
Hometown: Charlotte, NC
Favorite city: Atlanta
Favorite book: *The Pact*
Favorite movie: *Major Payne*
Favorite student publication: The Daily Tar Heel

What you did last summer: Service work in Argentina – Interned at Plan Provincial Contra El Abuso de Alcohol y Drogas – facilitated Drug and Alcohol prevention workshops in high schools
Future/Career plans: Marketing in the entertainment industry
What are your most important traits? My ambition and my commitment to people,
Describe yourself with one word: Funny
Who is your favorite US president? Bill Clinton
Who is your favorite philosopher? Plato
What is your favorite class at UNC? Race, Sex, and Place
Three historical figures you'd like to meet: Martin Luther King, Jr., Princess Diana, Plato
Who is your hero? My mother

Less Serious Questions:

What advice would you give to Coach Williams?
Take your jacket off more often and earlier. I feel like last year when a game was getting close, Roy would whip his jacket off in a fit of frustration and then all of a sudden our guys were energized (maybe terrified) and propelled to victory. I've seen too much of Roy in his jacket this season. Give 'em a sign Roy.

Which barbeque sauce is better – tomato or vinegar base?
Tomato!

What is your favorite (not necessarily most successful) pick-up line?
Hey…so I noticed you noticing me, and I just wanted to put you on notice, that I noticed you too.

Tell us a joke:
Q: What do you call cheese that's not yours?
A: Nacho cheese!

Why should students vote for you?
Because I want to represent students. The absolute last person I'm in this race for is me. I've had an incredible experience here at Carolina so far and I want to know what will enable everyone else to have an even better experience. I want Student Government to work for students. I want us to represent student interests and to tackle issues that students care about. A vote for me is a vote for yourself.

J.J. RAYNOR

STUDENT BODY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE 2008

WWW.UNC.EDU/JJ



THE UNIVERSITY

How do you feel that the University and the Town of Chapel Hill should approach parking issues?

The University and the Town of Chapel Hill need to approach parking as a long term necessity in any expansion or renovation plans. As we develop more businesses on Franklin St. or add facilities to campus, these additions must come with plans for additional parking. In the present, the Town of Chapel Hill should reassess how it prices and restricts the use of town parking decks. *What is the one big change you would make to the University's long-term building plans?*

I would move towards maintaining a more centralized campus. Currently, the long-term plan is to create two poles for the campus – one on south and one on north campus. This ultimately divides the student body and makes it harder to create a vibrant and unified campus community. *What position do you take on the out-of-state admissions cap?*

UNC is a state university. It makes sense that the majority of our students be in-state. What is more important than the actual percentage of in-state vs. out-of-state is how we integrate in-state and out-of-state students into the Carolina community. I plan to integrate the campus from the second students come to Carolina through a Freshman Mentoring Program that will pair older students with small groups of freshman from across the University. I'm also going to do my best to help both in-state and out-of-state students get a better feel for North Carolina through an NC Experiences program that will include field trips, a barbecue day in the pit, and other cool North Carolina staples. *What approach would you take in dealing with tuition increases?*

We have to be realistic about tuition increases. Tuition has been increasing from the early 1990s and for as long as tuition has been increasing student government has been fighting those increases, for the most part unsuccessfully. The Board of Trustees has asked every student body administration the same question: can you prove that these increases are hurting students? Looking at our coverage of the neediest students, where financial aid increases to meet the increase in tuition, it is hard to show where these tuition increases are hurting students. The real impact of tuition increases is felt by the middle class – those students who are neither covered by financial aid nor so well off that their families don't feel the pinch of the increase. *What do you consider to be the most pressing issue facing UNC students?*

The most pressing issue is who is going to be our next Chancellor. The Chancellor is the ultimate decision maker in most university policy directly affecting students. Many students don't even realize that student government, all three branches, is a delegation of the Chancellor's power. In the first year of any Chancellor's term, that Chancellor will lay out his/her goals for the rest of his/her time at UNC. Those goals will not only shape the next few years, they'll also determine who UNC is and what our student body looks like for years to come. If we want Carolina to still be Carolina, we need a Chancellor who will understand and support students. *What steps would you take in reaching out to students across the political spectrum?*

Most of my leadership experience comes from working with the Roosevelt Institution, a non-partisan student led think tank. This has given me a lot of experience bridging the political divide through policy. A couple of key steps I will take, based on this experience, are to preserve the open campus speech environment through protecting the

free speech areas in the pit and in the Campus Y, supporting efforts to preserve academic freedom in the classroom, and finding areas of agreement between the two sides.

How do you view your role as a student representative to the Board of Trustees? What steps do you plan to take to increase their awareness and understanding of student issues?

My role as a student representative to the Board of Trustees is to serve as a spokeswoman for Carolina students, to let the Board of Trustees know what students want, and what policies they need. To be successful in advocating for students, I will have to approach my role in a way the Board of Trustees can understand and respect. The Board of Trustees is mostly comprised of former businessmen and women – they like facts and figures to back up arguments. When I approach the Board of Trustees to argue against tuition increases, I will do so with numbers – numbers about who is really being hurt by tuition increases.

How would you assess Chancellor Moeser's performance?

Chancellor Moeser has done a terrific job of articulating and maintaining our commitment to affordability, through the Carolina Covenant program, and to North Carolina, through UNC Tomorrow. He has also made sure that we can maintain this commitment financially through his incredibly successful capital campaign. On these measures, and in making UNC a global leader, he has been incredibly successful and prescient.

What are your feelings on AI, and what do you see as your role if the university attempts to institute it again?

The Achievement Index is absolutely ridiculous and completely non-transparent. The negative impact on students' ability to assess their performance on the AI measure and on student employment opportunities is far greater than any redress AI offers for the disparity between humanities grading and grading in the sciences. There will be an attempt to reintroduce AI – that is guaranteed. However, my campaign has already sought further guarantees from top deans and administrators that they will fight alongside students against AI. Once that fight is over, however, my administration will propose a task force of students and faculty to reopen the issue of grading policy and seek a solution that is acceptable to all students and to faculty members.

Give your critique of the university's current philosophy and procedure regarding the increase of student fees. What, if any, improvements can be made?

We are fee happy – right now we increase fees every time we add a new program and the process of proposing those increases is very difficult for the average student to understand or even find out about. We need to make this process more transparent and open – allow more student body participation at all stages of the process. We need to assess where the money from these fees is going – is the money going to meet continuing needs? Or is it funding projects that either are not continuing or no longer require so much money?

Overall, in what ways do you feel that UNC is either succeeding or failing in its role as a public university?

UNC has been incredibly successful in fulfilling its commitment to keep education affordable for the neediest students. Despite dramatic tuition increases, our Financial Aid Office has been able to guarantee affordability to the neediest students through programs like the Carolina Covenant and work study assistance. We still need to reassess our commitment to middle income students, but at the end of the day we are doing a good job on our commitment to affordability. Unfortunately, we still have a ways to go when it comes to accessibility, getting needy students to Carolina and past the barriers of poverty and unequal educational opportunity.

Basic Info:

Full Name: J.J. Raynor
Year/Major: Junior, Economics and Peace, War, and Defense
Birthplace: Charlotte, NC
Hometown: Charlotte, NC
Favorite city: Boston, MA (except in the winter)
Favorite book: *Intruder in the Dust* by William Faulkner
Favorite movie: *The Lives of Others*
Favorite student publication: *Carolina PASSPORT*

What you did last summer: I worked with a non-governmental organization in Krabi and Bangkok, Thailand investigating the developments surrounding Thailand's recent coup.
Future/Career plans: Working in international conflict resolution after completing a joint JD/PhD in International Law and Economics.
What are your three most important traits? I am goal driven. I believe in honor. I'm a little bit goofy.
Describe yourself with one word: Driven
Who is your favorite US president? Jimmy Carter for what he has done after his predidency.
Who is your favorite philosopher? Immanuel Kant
What is your favorite class at UNC? The Political Economy of Southeast Asia with Kevin Hewison
Three historical figures you'd like to meet: Gertrude Bell, Gregory Peck, Winston Churchill
Who is your hero? Eleanor Roosevelt.

Less Serious Questions:

What advice would you give to Coach Williams?
Teach our boys some defense!

Which barbeque sauce is better – tomato or vinegar base?
Vinegar base, my dad's side of the family is from Duplin County, NC. They make their own vinegar base and it is the best stuff around. No lie.

What is your favorite (not necessarily most successful) pick-up line?
"How much does a polar bear weigh? Enough to break the ice. Hi, my name is . . ."

Tell us a joke:
An invisible man marries an invisible woman.
The kids were nothing to look at either.

Why should students vote for you?
I know why Carolina, as one of the few truly public universities, is important. I understand how our unique Carolina Community and campus culture feed in to making us who we are. Ultimately, I have the skills and the experience from being a campus leader to fight to preserve this culture and our status as the preeminent public University.

Interview With Public Policy Professor and Foreign Policy Expert David Schanzer

by JESSICA THOMPSON

What courses do you teach at Carolina?

I teach a course called "9/11 and its Aftermath" in the Public Policy department that's cross listed in Peace, War and Defense. And this semester I'm going to be lecturing in the "Great Decisions" class.

Q: Could you describe for me your experience working with Terrorism?

A: I had some experience with national security and terrorism issues when I was special counsel to the General Counsel of the Department of Defense until 2001. Then I had broader responsibility as Legislative Director to Senator Jean Carnahan when 9/11 occurred. I participated in the legislative debates relating to the use of forces against both al-Qaida and Iraq, border security, immigration issues, the PATRIOT Act, the laws that created the Transportation Security Administration the Department of Homeland Security, all of which took place when I was working in the Senate from 2001 and 2002. Then I became the minority staff director of a new committee that was formed in 2003 called the Select Committee on Homeland Security, where we conducted oversight and drafted legislation relating to homeland security. The committee also worked on counterterrorism strategy issues for House Democrats. We also developed a document called "Winning the War on Terrorism" which had about 135 recommendations in it for directions the government ought to pursue to do a better job fighting against al-Qaida, many of which are eventually echoed in the 9/11 Commission Report. At the end of 108th Congress, I left Washington to come to North Carolina. Currently, besides being a professor at both Duke and UNC, I'm the director of a joint endeavor between the universities and RTI International called the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security.

Q: How do you feel the current terrorism situation would be effected by a removal of US troops from Iraq?

A: Well I reject the theory that President Bush espoused during the 2004 campaign that the war was attracting jihadists to Iraq who otherwise would be directing their attention to attacking the United States. I think that was a simplistic and inaccurate way to look at the problem. Before we invaded Iraq there was no Sunni fundamentalist, religiously based terrorist organization within Iraq at all, now there is al-Qaida in Iraq which has caused significant damage and stoked sectarian strife. Our policy going forward cannot allow Iraq to disintegrate into shambles in which al-Qaida could form an even stronger organization than it has now. On the other hand, I do not believe that a continued long term, large scale U.S. occupation, is in our long term national security interest. The challenge for the next administration will be to continue to find ways to reduce our footprint there, to extricate ourselves as much as possible, while preventing the emergence of a sanctuary for al-Qaida. I think in the long term, it is a fool's mission to continue trying to cobble together a national government that is going to harmonize the Kurds, Sunnis, and Shia. I think the country is devolving towards fragmentation, and the question for us is: Can we find ways to allow that to naturally occur without causing chaos? In other words, can we contain the adverse impacts of what is really already happening on the ground, which is a devolution of power to the regions and a ultimate fragmentation. I don't think either a withdrawal of most combat troops within a year or a continued massive presence, the strategies offered by the two parties' presidential candidates, are feasible or wise policy. Regardless of who takes the White House, we'll be finding a middle path that will lead to a very gradual disengagement.. Such policy would reduce the burden that our troops, families and our budget have felt from the Iraq war; and try to eliminate many of the war's adverse effects in terms of recruitment of radicals, and diversion from other priorities, yet ensure enough of a troop presence that chaos does not ensue and the radical groups are not able to develop a stronghold.

> "WHEN WE USE THE TERMINOLOGY "WAR ON TERRORISM," IT IMPLIES THAT WE HAVE ONE STRATEGY TO DEFEAT ONE PARTICULAR ENEMY. THAT IS JUST NOT THE CASE - WE NEED A MULTIPRONGED, MULTIREGIONAL STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE SERIES OF RELATED, BUT DISTINCT CONFLICTS OCCURRING AROUND THE GLOBE."
> -DAVID SCHANZER,

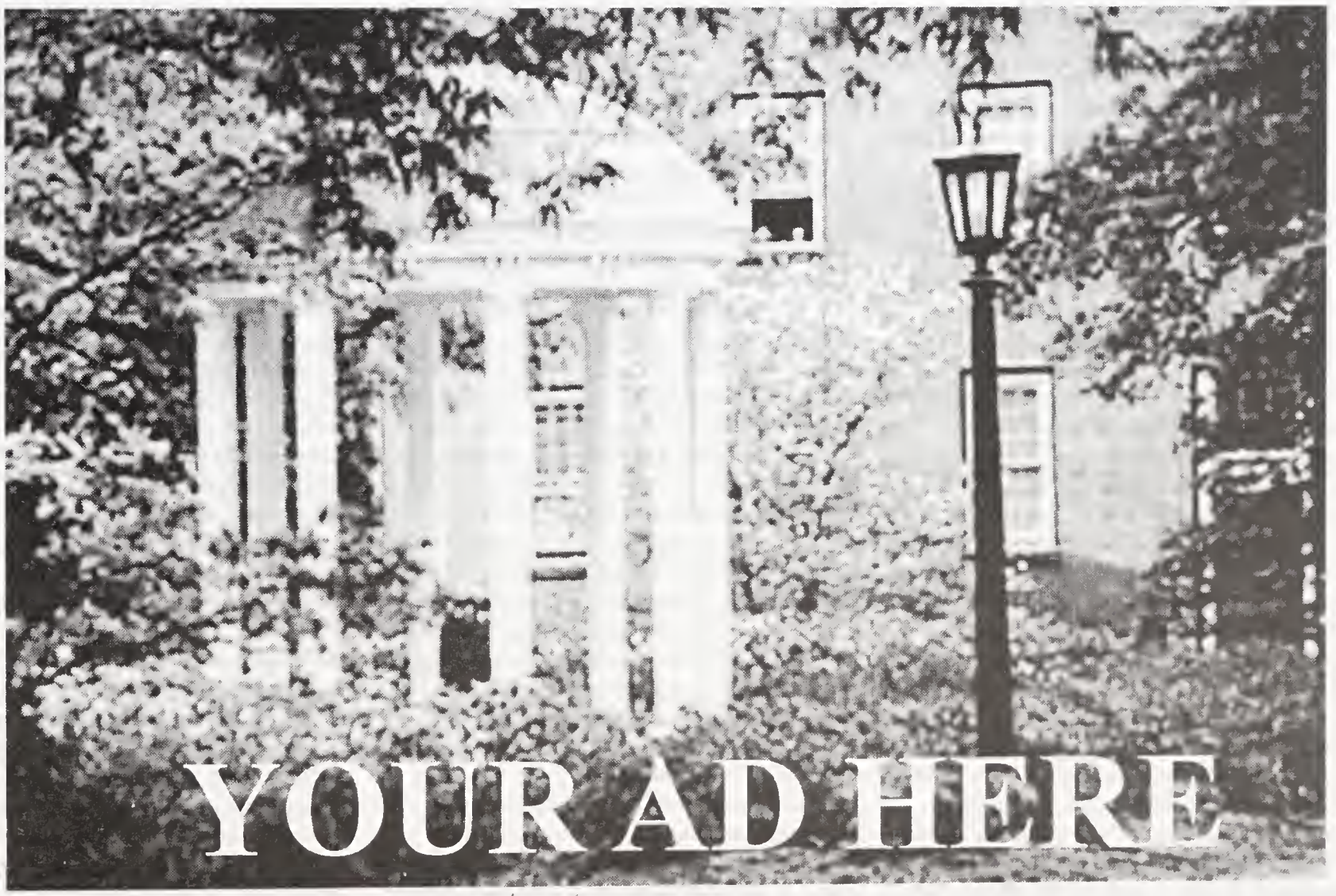
Q: With respect to the War on Terror since it began shortly after 9/11, what progress have we made? What is the status of our position now, and where do you think we should go from here?

A: I don't like to use the term "War on Terrorism" for a variety of reasons. It's not that I am hopelessly dovish or that I don't believe that this conflict requires the use of force – it does. But when we say a "War on Terrorism", we simplify the difficulties and even the idea that we have some monolithic enemy, when that is not the case. There are many terrorist groups across the world, and many inspired by Islamist fundamentalist, that do not all have the same philosophy goals or aspirations. Some are Sunni, some are Shia; some that are much more focused on regional conflicts like Hamas and Hezbollah. Al-Qaida,, in constrast, is a a global insurgency. When we use the terminology "War on Terrorism," it implies that we have one strategy to defeat one particular enemy. That is just not the case – we need a multipronged, multiregional strategy for dealing with the series of related, but distinct conflicts occurring around the globe. Second, I don't like to use the term "war on terrorism" because it's perceived outside of our borders, as a war not just against fundamentalist radical groups that use violence against civilians, but as a conflict against Islam in general. Or even against people who object to our policies with respect to Israel and other issues in the Middle East. By declaring a war in which we've asked the world to choose either us or the terrorists it has made it seem as if we are taking issue not only with the radical fringe, but against anyone in the Muslim world that disagrees with us on Middle East policy issues, our cultural values, or even those who resent our global economic and military power. Finally, by using the metaphor

of war, we heighten the legitimacy and power of our adversary. It gives them the status of combatant and victim which heightens their own prestige within their community. So, I much prefer to use the terminology "conflict against fundamentalist extremist groups, namely al-Qaida. This more narrow targeting of the enemy is a much more legitimate and realistic objective, and clarifies that we are on the same side as the broad majority of Muslims who do not want to live under the type of world that bin Laden wants to create. We help divide and therefore conquer our potential enemies, and we don't suck in every single regional conflict under that umbrella.

With that said, how are we doing? Our initial military efforts in Afghanistan, which unfortunately were incomplete, were at first very effective at denying sanctuary to al-Qaida and significantly , damaging its infrastructure and ability to execute attacks. Our efforts to cripple and cut off financial paths, hasn't eliminated al-Qaida's ability to raise money, but it has made it much more difficult. Our intelligence gathering and the intensive focus on identifying and finding the terrorist networks, wherever they may be, has made it much more difficult for them to communicate and to plan. Those are all good things. And finally our law enforcement efforts on the international basis, identifying people who are involved with organizations and surveilling them and arresting them, interrogating and finding out more information and using that information to go after more people. All of those efforts are important and combined are responsible for us not having suffered any new attacks inside the United States.

On the other hand, when you look at our broader objective, as I said, in the long term, which is to reduce the threats which we ultimately face from radicalized fundamentalists, many of our actions and policies have enhanced the grievances that many Muslims feel against the United States and fostered recruitment to radical organizations. These trends have allowed both core al-Qaida, and al-Qaida affiliated groups, and individuals who are not linked to al Qaeda but have developed an acute sense of grievance and adopted al Qaida's the radical ideology, to grow. I fear they are growing on a exponential level, so the map of the world looks much worse today than it did six years ago when Bin Laden was holed up in Tora Bora. You have the Taliban resurgent in Afghanistan, a country we did not effectively rebuild, leading to a reemergence of the Taliban in many parts of that country where they are really taking the fight to US and NATO troops. The Afghan government has not been able to assert its authority over most of the country and gain popular support. When you have that, it is a recipe for growth of fundamentalism that creates threats to us. You have the situation in Waziristan, the Northwest Territory of Pakistan, where al-Qaida is now developing a safe haven. You see their ability to release messages to launch suicide bombings into Pakistan on a multiplying rate so there is great concern about Pakistan. 27:23. the situation in Iraq, which although has improved over the past 6 months, we have to note that that only brings us back to the levels of violence that were in effect in 2004, we're hardly out of the woods in Iraq. The new counter insurgency strategy has been effective in diminishing al-Qaida in Iraq, but it is still active. The conflict in Iraq has continued to serve as a rallying point for jihadist across the globe. There are other hot spots like Algeria and there are potential problems throughout Western Europe. We have seen a growing radicalization of the Muslims there, which were responsible in many respects for the attacks in London, the attacks in Madrid, the thwarted attack against the U.S. and Britain...So when you look across the globe, I think you see, and I think the best way the characterize it is a growing global insurgency that is motivated by this fundamental Islamist ideology. We have not done a good job of thwarting it and we have not developed a strategy that is effective. In fact, many of the things we've done, principally the Iraq war, but other things have thrown fuel on the fire and made the situation worse. So when I look at the course of the seven year, I see it as a mixture of successes and failures, which lead me to believe we'll be dealing with this conflict for many decades to come.. **CR**



The Intolerance Of Tolerance

by MILES O'NEILL
Guest Columnist
Campus Director-
Campus Crusade for Christ



One need not walk very far on campus or simply have a brief interaction with our present cultural norms to understand that a high value is placed on the ideal of tolerance. However, I would like to ask a question, is tolerance actually tolerant? Tolerance at its root means to 'tolerate' one another. Thus, if I disagree with you or have a different background or see things in a different light, if I have a different world-view, I should tolerate you and your differences.

Given this understanding of the issue I am bridging the conversation to a memory from high school. During those years, I remember a common discussion with my friends about our personal level of 'tolerance'. In that context it meant the amount of alcohol that we could consume without going over the edge. In other words we were referring to how much of a substance we could endure without letting it affect us negatively. Likewise, when we talk about tolerance today, we inherently mean the endurance of a negative substance, person or idea. To tolerate then is to carefully sustain a foreign object until we can relax once again after the subject is removed from our vicinity.

The ambition of the tolerance movement is much different from the result mentioned above. Tolerance is couched in terms of accepting others, valuing differences and creating harmony. One does not need to perform an in-depth study to discern that we are not experiencing the achievement of that goal in our culture. I would suggest that mere agreement to a norm of tolerance will never achieve such a state, and in fact it is impossible for it to do so. What we need is not a mantra of tolerance. What we actually need is a commitment to open discussion. What we need is a commitment to pursue truth and love. What we actually need is an atmosphere of religious pluralism.

I am an evangelical Christian personally (though according to my last sentence some may not believe me). I hold that Christianity has real truth claims that pertain to objective value in the real world and that there is real objectivity that is indeed discoverable and knowable. Of course, some would argue whether such objectivity is even possible. That is another discussion. I even believe that if people were really to see truth they would think like I do, as arrogant as that may sound in our present discussion.

Some of these real truth claims then are divisive and exclusive, I must admit. So how could we just simply accept one another in an appeal to tolerance when such fundamental epistemology is at stake in the core of who we are? Tolerance, the kind of tolerance that produces acceptance, love and harmony just does not exist by ignoring, or tolerating one another's foundational suppositions. My tolerance of others' views or, conversely, others' tolerance of me will never reach the goal we are looking for.

For me to tolerate another's views would simply mean that I marginalize or ignore their opinion and we get nowhere. None of us are better off and we will simply separate and divide into separate tribes to find a tolerable solution. Instead there needs to be a value of truth and love. If I would love, I would pursue understanding of others. There would be healthy debate over things that really matter, truth claims. Views would be allowed and even encouraged to be exposed and not marginalized. People or claims would not just receive air time simply due to the current popularity of such ideas. People could listen to each other and not instantly relegate differing opinions to the island of heresy.

For example given that I am and evangelical Christian and the predominant stance of our country is secularism, I am naturally marginalized as people 'tolerate' my views. My views are in the minority and therefore must fight to be heard. Many in the majority tolerant camp would even claim that evangelicals do not deserve tolerance from others because our views are inherently intolerant on several issues. But if tolerance indeed is the value admired, then the hypocrisy is quickly seen. No one wins. Evangelicals are marginalized by the prevailing views of the culture and tolerance is quoted as the paradigm but real tolerance is non-existent. We must take a higher ground. Of course in suggesting a 'higher ground' I am indeed claiming a moral absolute that an a priori good exists. Given the current atmosphere of epistemological debates in our culture, I cannot take for granted that your higher ground is the same as my higher ground. Therefore once again, tolerance results in bankruptcy because nothing can be discussed or evaluated.

Finally I want to present a case study. I recently sat in on a lecture given by a professor at UNC. He criticized the lazy, video game playing college slacker and told of how his life has vastly more inherent value.

Let me reflect on what happened in that dialogue. The professor claimed a superior moral life to the average 'slacker' in our culture. None of us would disagree would we? Discipline and academic pursuit are honored in our world, and though many of us actually do live the 'slacker' life, none would claim satisfaction or at least be validated by such a life. So as a person of academia (the upper position in tolerance) he is free to be intolerant of other ways of life. In truth he has no moral absolute system on which he stands in order to make such a moral value statement. But of course we hold the 'slacker' to be a self evident failure, so we are aligned with that public truth but to the demise of real tolerance which includes a provision even for slackers.

My attempt is not to gain standing for slackers, or to condemn them on the other hand. My point is that this professor sat in the majority seat with the power of position behind him. He stated what really was no less than an intolerant opinion and was easily agreed with by the majority by the heads that nodded and mouths that laughed with him.

People's intolerance of the Judeo-Christian worldview is based on the same fallacious foundation. If we were to see them through a 'tolerant/intolerant' lens, we would find them guilty of the cardinal sin. They are not tolerant at all! Yet because they are on the winning, majority side, their moral accusations go unchecked, whether true or false....and who will define either?!

What we have ended up with is intolerant tolerance which is nothing more than a philosophy of the majority view. If we allow a majority view to dictate epistemology, if we squelch instead of promote love and truthful dialogue we stand to lose the very republican ideals on which this country was founded and are dangerously close to acquiescing to intolerance as a nation and a culture.**CR**

The Rub

BY JONATHAN TUGMAN

Men, watch out: UNC wants YOU.

Project: Brokeback Hill

Our illustrious Department of Housing and Residential Education has established a new learning community called "Men at Carolina," inspired by – you guessed it – the feminist theme housing, Women's Experiences: Learning and Leadership.

Clearly, having the women's theme housing to brainwash women with feminist propaganda just wasn't enough for University officials because they were excluding the men.

Now we're separate but equal

Residents of WELL in McIver are required to take a Women's Studies course and participate in a monthly speaker series.

Totally sexist, actually

But housing officials have taken the M@C program to a whole new level: They're trying to turn men gay.

Where's the love for Men's Studies?

According to the description on the housing department's Web site, residents are required to take part in "men's group and self-reflection journals."

Conspiracy with the GLBTQF/-\PZX-SA

"The group will meet weekly for a chance to spend time together sharing thoughts and experiences and learning from each other. Journaling will be used to enhance one's self, community and societal exploration."

Who does this??

As if that isn't enticing enough, the community is located in the newly renovated Cobb Residence Hall.

Enough to turn even Chuck Norris gay

And for their last act, participants are required to take part in a MENtorship program.

Only way they're getting people to sign up for it

"Residents will be paired with a campus and/or community mentor to enhance their leadership on campus and/or explore career possibilities."

Thought that one up all by themselves

Thanks for the offer, housing folks, but I think I'll just stick to my heterosexual theme housing.

Read: Member of NAMBLA (North American Man-Boy Love Association)

Ay, there's the rub.

At least what's left of it
Project: Brokeback Hill

Paradigms and Principles

Hillary at it again with old tricks

She's really outdone herself this time.

Just when we saw a glimmer of hope that Barack Obama's campaign would overtake and finally kill Hillary's power-hungry, life-long pursuit to be Queen of the United States, she pulled what was perhaps her deftest move yet. It was more skillful than her make-over from hippie to housewife so Bill could regain the Arkansas governorship, more shrewd than the staged photographs of a happy marriage after the Lewinsky affair, and more impressive than her recent wiggling out of illegal fundraising allegations; in her boldest move yet, Hillary pretended to cry during an interview.



Source: Wikipedia

Yes, in about ten seconds of slightly shaky speech that hinted of womanly emotion (not the sobbing waterfalls implied by the media shortly following the interview), she simultaneously confronted what has been the biggest stumbling block to her dream of Hillaryland, calling the grossly exaggerated event a turning point in her road to the White House. Apparently, when one is losing a presidential race, one's most logical decision is to completely abandon a lifetime of feminist philosophy and turn things around by appealing to those who have historically been turned off by statements like this: "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas, but what I decided to do was to fulfill my profession which I entered before my husband was in public life." (thehill.com)

Now, thanks to the suspiciously excessive coverage of Hillary's girly breakdown, cookie-bakers around the country can rest assured that underneath the manipulative, calculating, radical feminist lies a warm-hearted, sometimes-emotional lady—one of their own, really. The whole lifelong-disdain-for-homemaking-and-traditional-female-roles thing, that was obviously just an example of what women have to do to play with the boys in politics. You see, Hillary's just a victim of the male power structure comprised of chauvinistic pigs, and in any case she does it all for the people, of course.

Instead of rewarding Hillary for lying convincingly to housewives that her campaign is based on emotional, tear-inspiring concern for our country, maybe we should use this opportunity to finally call out the hypocrisy, deception, and phoniness that actually comprise her character and her campaign.

PAULINE PORK:

Perhaps Ron Paul needs a lesson from his own philosophy

Ron Paul, the achingly idealistic top contender for the college vote, has built a surprisingly well-funded, well-manned campaign around his nearly fanatical ideological purity.



Source: Wikipedia

But alas, we have not discovered Camelot in Representative Paul. A Dec. 23rd visit to "Meet the Press" revealed that Congressman Paul (whose 14th district already gets $4 billion from federal coffers) solicited $400 million in earmarks 2007, for waterway maintenance, supports for shrimp fishermen, and the like.

Of course, "Dr. No" is known for reflexively voting against any spending bills on the docket (which the rest of Congress passes almost as reflexively), and he defends his earmark requests by likening them to tax credits for his constituents.

Then again, these "tax credits" aren't exactly going to his constituency en masse, but rather to those select few shrimp fisherman who receive his largesse. Of all people, Ron Paul should know that it is most certainly not the responsibility of the federal government (or, arguably, any level of government) to prop up Bubba Gump. That money could go to, say, eliminating Osama bin Laden or the monstrous national deficit.

In the end, the most damaging words are his own. "Deficits mean future tax increases, pure and simple. Deficit spending should be viewed as a tax on future generations, and politicians who create deficits should be exposed as tax hikers." No matter how he votes, $400 million of current spending and future taxes are directly attributable to Paul.

It's odd to realize that Ron Paul is a tax hiker, but the most frightening thing to realize from Paul's startling indulgence is the sheer irresistibility of pork spending. Earmarks are seductive enough to ensnare even the most rigid ideological purist. This should inspire all who think that the hard-earned money that American taxpayers send to Washington should be spent wisely to redouble our labors. Perhaps it's time to start petitions, call congressmen, etc. to fight profligate spending. Maybe we could ask Dr. Paul for a subsidy for our efforts.

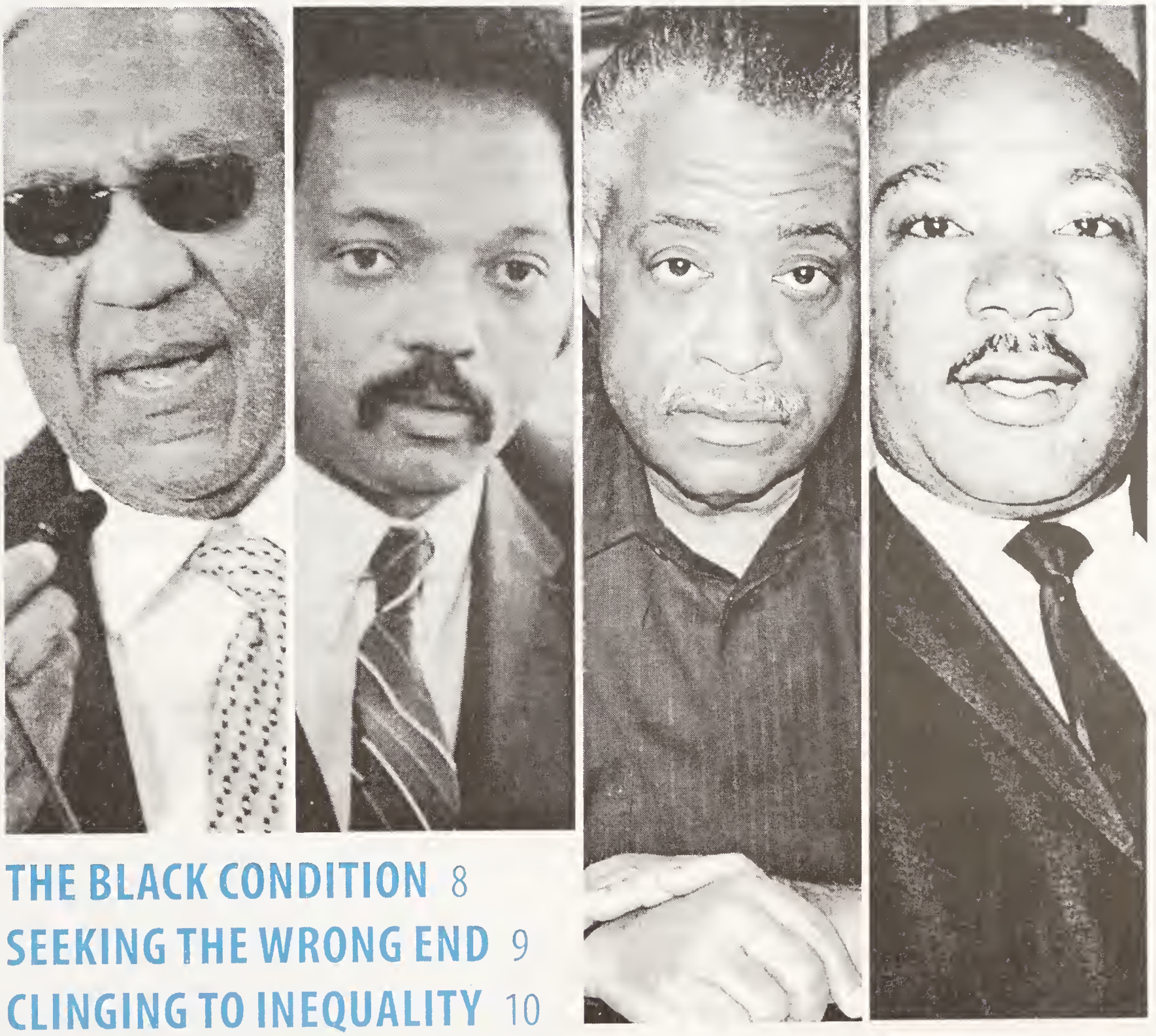
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April 2008 A.D.

Carolina Review

The State of the Civil Rights Movement



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FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

In the March 5 murder of Student Body President Eve Carson, UNC lost a friend, a leader, a hard worker, and they lost someone who brought unparalleled enthusiasm for not only her job but simply for life and for being a Carolina student.

Nearly everyone who was fortunate enough to have any interaction at all with Carson has a story to go with it that tells of this exuberance and how it contagiously inspired others to follow, and perhaps the solace that can be taken from the past month's events is that these stories are being brought out and told around the university.

Though I was never able to develop much of a friendship with Eve, I did run into her frequently as the editor of this magazine and as a representative in Student Congress; my story that sticks with me whenever I remember her comes from shortly after she was elected last spring, now over a year ago. Then a staff writer, I had been assigned to do our annual interview with the newly elected SBP, and instead of meeting her in an office, or even in the Student Union, it being a nice day, she asked me to meet her out on Polk Place where she was going to be relaxing and reading.

She later told me in that interview that one of the foremost memories she would take away from her time at Carolina was just that, her time spent on the quad sitting under a tree with a book. Here was someone who had pushed herself as hard as anyone. In the traditional sense of having the time to relax on Polk Place, what she called one of the "quintessential" aspects of Carolina, she didn't – she made time, and that was what her life was about. There are few people so devotedly determined to living the Carolina experience and maximizing their time spent here as she was, and she did it all in what she referred to as "the Carolina Way."

I miss running into Eve at the student government offices, and seeing her at our Congress meetings; but I am thankful for hearing the countless testaments to her character and her life from others who knew her better than I. She lived life at the pace that all of us wish we could, going hard and squeezing every ounce of the Carolina experience out of our limited time here, never taking for granted that it would someday run out. I only hope I took some of that mentality from knowing her and hearing those stories over the past few weeks. On the back cover you will find a memorial page to Eve, including the quote I referenced above during our interview last spring. I encourage you to take it to heart, and never forget to live the Carolina Way.

Prior to the death of Eve, we had decided to dedicate this issue to the state of the civil rights movement, and as you saw on the cover, we proceeded with this theme. Inside Lydia Walker offers her thoughts on where we have come from and where we are going in the future with race relations, and what she sees as the end goal. Michael Betts II examines the core of the "Black Condition" as it is sometimes attributed to the black race, and how he envisions it escaping the stereotypes. Finally, I offer a critical look at the ramifications of the Black Student Movement's 22 Demands on the campus climate as it relates to race relations.

I hope that you will find that what we have in mind for our campus, and for our society, is a vision not of false equality, but of true, genuine equality through a color-blind lense.

Sincerely,

Bryan Weynand
Editor

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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CHEERS & JEERS

February 2008 *The February 2008 issue examined the prevailing philosophy governing student fee increases at the university and offered thoughts on what ought to happen to ensure efficient spending of students' money. It also criticized the increase of federal Pell grants and featured a guest column on tolerance and truth. As usual, you can read our old issues online at* **unc.edu/cr/**

Comment on February stories at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com.**

Tolerance avoids reality

To the Editors:

I just wanted to tell you that I really enjoyed reading the Feb. issue's guest columnist's piece on the true meaning of tolerance. I have long thought that our university's "mantra of tolerance" seems to fly in the face of reality. It seems impossible to value any and every opinion that someone can come up with, because by their respective definitions, not every worldview can be true. It seems naive to say that we should all try to reach "harmony". Instead, maybe we should, as O'Neill points out, practice lovingly engaging those who do not share our own belief system as we collectively pursue Truth and learn how to defend those opinions which we hold.

Blair Mikels
Freshman
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Columnist misunderstands tolerance

To the Editors:

Miles O'Neill should not assume he knows what "the goal we are looking for" is, particularly when it comes to those on the Left who champion what he deridingly calls the "mantra of tolerance." Tolerance, for us, means "acceptance, love and harmony," but it also often means fighting hard to make members of historically ostracized groups feel welcome and safe. Furthermore, if he thinks that our culture's epistemological orientation "must take a higher ground," he needs to suggest where it should come from. If his suggestion contains the words "my own," "Bible," or "God," he should not be surprised when he is thrown out of the building. If "truth" is what O'Neill is looking for, then here it is. Our public schools are secular for a reason. When schools were infested with Christian pseudo-science and absolutist morality, students were feed all kinds of ridiculous nonsense, from the connection between masturbation and blindness to the assertion that homosexual traits are not present in non-human animals. And when twisted pedagogy is combined with talk of Hell (which Christians have toned down quite a bit over the decades), a child's psyche can be greatly damaged. How many children have had to repress natural desires and traits in themselves, driven even to the point of depression and
suicide, because of religious teachings about "sexual deviancy"? When push comes to shove, I will ostracize you, I will shout you down, I will throw you out, to prevent this from happening.
The Left has not, as O'Neill intimates, failed to achieve its goal of tolerance: it is a work in progress. The Christian right can try all it wants to roll back moral standards
to the Dark Ages. In the end, it will be, and is being, crushed by the wheel of history.

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VIEWPOINTS



OBAMA CHOOSES TO SWITCH HIS TALKING POINTS UP A BIT
I CHANGE WE HOPE CAN YES BELIEVE

"If you play the theatrics too much, you get in the way of your own cause."
— AL SHARPTON

"I'm undaunted in my quest to amuse myself by constantly changing my hair."
— HILLARY CLINTON

"We need to internalize this idea of excellence. Not many folks spend a lot of time trying to be excellent."
— BARACK OBAMA



A WASHED UP ACTRESS, MARTHA GOT HER BIG BREAK WHEN A PLAYWRIGHT, THINKING THE *V-MONOLOGUES* TOO INCLUSIVE, PENNED THE *BUTTOX MONOLOGUES*

"Books constitute capital. A library book lasts as long as a house, for hundreds of years. It is not, then, an article of mere consumption but fairly of capital, and often in the case of professional men, setting out in life, it is their only capital.
— THOMAS JEFFERSON

"Above all, we must realize that no arsenal, or no weapon in the arsenals of the world, is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have."
–RONALD REAGAN



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"Seek not the favor of the multitude; it is seldom got by honest and lawful means. But seek the testimony of few; and number not voices, but weigh them."
— IMMANUEL KANT

"Associate yourself with men of good quality if you esteem your own reputation. It is better be alone than in bad company."
— GEORGE WASHINGTON

"It felt good, man. There's a lot of people in the country that don't like Greg Paulus."
— DANNY GREEN

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

ONE-ON-ONE:

THE STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT-ELECT ANSWERS

BY OLIVIA BLANCHARD

So what first inspired you to run for Student Body President?

JJ: I just love what Carolina stands for. I love that we're a public university and that students from all backgrounds can come here and really make Carolina what they want it to be. And so when I thought about all that Carolina had let me do and let other people do; my dad, and other people who were only able to come here because it's so affordable and accessible So that's what really first inspired me, that vision of a specifically public university.

What do you think separated you from the other candidates to help you finish so strongly?

JJ: I'm still figuring that out. Honestly, it's the biggest shock of my life! We were picturing a run-off, maybe even second place in a run-off. I think what really helped us is that we worked hard throughout the entire process. So instead of just focusing on the platform or just focusing on outreach, we did everything; we pretty much killed ourselves trying to do it all!

What were you thinking right before election results were announced? Were you surprised?

JJ: Honestly, I was so sick. I actually had a really bad fever and bronchitis so it was one of those things where I was worried about a run-off because I was wondering if I would physically be able to do it. But I was also just so happy with what we did because everyone had worked so hard. It was like, "Whatever happens, we should be proud. We did an awesome job, and at least we have our ideas out there. Worse comes to worse, we've done a lot of what we said we'd do." I honestly didn't even notice that they were late with the results!

It must have been a daunting task to organize such a well-run campaign. How did you go about getting everything in order, and did you ever feel overwhelmed by the process?

JJ: There were definitely some scary moments, especially dealing with the forums since we didn't really figure forums out until the end. It was one of those things that sort of built gradually. You talk to one person and you're like "Hey, I'm working on this, will you help?" and slowly you've gotten three hundred people to help, and you don't even realize that it's happened. And a lot of it just spread by word of mouth; people saying, "Okay, my friend's helping you, I hear you're interested in this, I really like this idea, can I come help too?" So it almost just snowballed, which is weird when thinking about what it was like when I first posed this idea to my friends. That we would get that type of massive support; it's not something I ever would have thought, particularly because back when we started there were like 16 people running or something ridiculous! So it wasn't even on my mental landscape of what I thought it would look like.

In your platform, you've mentioned your three main philosophies of ownership, community, and transparency. With respect to these issues, how do you envision Carolina a year from now?

JJ: For ownership what I really like is that Carolina is big enough and small enough for you to really shape your own experience, and that relies on several factors. One is having the services in place so that if you're interested in sports you can go play sports or if you're interested in research you can go do research. So one thing I really want to make sure of is that we expand students' resources but also expand people's knowledge of them. Because right now there's a ton of really cool things going on but not everyone can access it; so a year from now I'd love to see students even more aware of those services. And ownership is a second idea: student input needs to be on every single level of the decision-making process that affects students. So it's not just OK for Student Government to come in and weigh in by the time something has made it to the Board of Trustees or by the time something makes it to the chancellor. We need to weigh in as soon as these issues appear, so that we can let them know when we think there's a "solution" that isn't acceptable to students. So that's what I really want to see: Student Government and student voice in every single layer of the University. And for community, we have an amazing one. You walk around and people are happy, smiling, working together, so I want to make sure that we really preserve and maintain that. For transparency, I would love it if, a year from now, I could grab a random person and ask them "So what has student government done for you?" So I really want to work on educating students on a couple of things: what do we do and why is it important for me? For instance, last night at the Carolina North forum, people came because they were curious, and when they left they understood why it is important for me. Because I know when I come back as an alumna or when I come back five years from now, this is what Carolina's going to look like. So getting these messages across is really important, and that really comes down to transparency because if people can see what you're doing and see why it's important and how you can help, then I feel like you will get that same snowball effect that we had in the campaign.

So what's the first thing you plan to work on in office?

JJ: Actually, that's a really funny question, because I really like to delegate. I like teams, I like teamwork, I like making sure that I don't get stuck doing everything! So right now what I'm doing is building my committees and cabinet, going out and getting people to apply, and as I'm doing this I'm delegating projects to each one so that as soon as we come into office they

J.J. RAYNOR

QUESTIONS RANGING FROM TUITION TO FAST FOOD

come into office too, and we can start working on it right away. What I personally want to handle: Chancellor. We need to let the new Chancellor know that Student Government is important and will be a resource for him or her to really shape his or her time in office.

What aspect of being SBP are you most looking forward to?

JJ: I'm a tinkerer; I love working on projects and getting things done, so this is probably the best place to keep me happy! I'm really excited because we spent so much time coming up with ideas that were really feasible, so I'm really looking forward to looking back and saying, "Wow, can you imagine that this idea became this?"

I know you're really passionate about freshman integration—in and out of state—into Carolina. Which programs do you think need improving, and how do you plan to change them?

JJ: I think that to identify one program as the problem would be unfair; what I think is more of an issue is that in-state students come here with a network. The problem is for out-of-state students. They might be one of four from their state, so they get to campus and they don't have that automatic group they can hang out with. So when you talk about WOW freshman events, that experience automatically looks different. It's really important to get them a network as soon as they get on campus, so that they're not sitting in their dorms the Sunday before classes. So that's where the freshman mentoring program comes in, because it gives you a "pod" of twenty people and an upperclassman, so if you are getting really stressed out or lonely there's someone there. And it will be a good mix of in- and out-of-state students so that everyone will have a network faster.

As you are well aware, there has been a lot of tension this year about seemingly random tuition rates, especially the discrepancy between in-state and out-of-state tuition. How do you plan to work with the Board of Trustees to represent the student body on this issue?



JJ: One thing is we're starting early. I've made a commitment, and I've asked my officers to make a commitment, to be here over the summer because the tuition process begins in September and if you don't have a proposal to present to them at the first meeting yours will not be considered. So we're working to get a proposal that we'll introduce at the first meeting, and we're going to work with them beforehand, familiarizing them with our proposal, so that they're ready to agree on something at the meeting. The other thing is, we really want to approach it professionally. At the last meeting, although Eve was doing a good job of working with the Board of Trustees and being responsible about tuition, there was still a lot of tension there because the Board is very used to being attacked. So we need to say, "Look, students can be responsible about tuition, but you have to be fair and responsible with us as well." They need to show us where that tuition is going. We're going to be asking for an expense report to come out before tuition is decided; that would make sense, right? So we're going to ask them to listen to us and listen to the numbers. And we're going to be working really closely with the financial aid office about how tuition is affecting students. As students, we know intuitively that tuition affects our pocketbook, decisions about our education, and study abroad so we need to get numbers on how tuition will affect the goals of UNC as a state university. And on the Board of Trustees, most of them don't live here, and they're business people. We need to make the cost-benefit analysis really clear for them because often for them their goal is "revenue maximization" instead of "university maximization." So we need to see how these numbers affect the goals of the university, and if there are discrepancies we need to point them out. For instance, we've been seeing a massive squeeze on the middle class, so that middle income students are being squeezed out of the picture and that's happening even more dramatically for out-of-state students.

So my last question is a sillier one. What's your favorite place to eat on Franklin Street?

JJ: I was actually talking to someone about this the other day. I'm a craving kid so it's all about what I'm craving at the moment. Right now I'm craving burgers, and I don't know where the best one is! I love Sutton's for reubens, and I'm also a junk food kid. I go to Franklin Street Pizza and Pasta way more than I should, Cosmic for tacos, and Chipotle if I really want something spicy. And I'm currently searching for a burger place, so if anyone knows...

The Black Condition



by MICHAEL BETTS II
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"If Christ is to have any meaning to us, he must leave the security of the suburbs by joining black people in their condition. What need have we for a white Christ when we are not white but black? If Christ is white and not black, he is an oppressor, and we must kill him."

-James H. Cone's Liberation: A Black Theology of Liberation

What is the definition of this condition? I am willing to make the assumption that the condition being referred to is the stereotypical black lifestyle, the one which occurs in the ghetto includes food stamps, welfare and high crime rates. This condition incorporates an embrace of the "critical race theory," according to Rev. Jesse Lee Peterson, founder of BOND and open critic of leaders such as Jesse Jackson. "It states that there is no such thing as objective reality- that 'rationality' is simply a tool of the white male and is designed to oppress minorities."

I would venture to say that this condition is one that heavily maintains mental oppression. This is the condition which 'gangsta' rappers' lyrically worship and much of America's youth - not just black, but all shades - attempts to mimic. And ultimately this is the condition which has kept the black stereotype alive and much of the black race defeated, feeling as though their lack of success is someone else's fault.

When we were young children we were taught to be responsible for our own actions because it was through this honesty that we would build character and foster healthy relationships with other people. Yet, the black race has allowed for the largest finger-pointing exercise in history to maintain itself, blaming whites for something that ended 200 years ago. I understand that it took through the civil rights movement to actually gain social acceptance, but the fact that we as a race continue to dwell on the past only shows our lack of confidence in the future we would create for ourselves.

This lack of confidence is seen in the lack of pursuit for education within the modern day black community. Look at the overall classroom and test scores for our society, the motivation to do the best one can in a classroom setting has been replaced with using school as a haven for athletic and social advancement. The focus on grades and extra curricular activities not centered on sports has been removed from the main frame of this picture.

Black parents are working multiple shifts and several jobs to provide for their families, and the attention that should be properly given to children's study habits is severely neglected. Essentially, we are setting our children up for a failed future and indirectly keeping ourselves inside of this perpetual rat race which ends in us saying that "...it is the white man's fault we cannot succeed."

It would drastically helpus as blacks in this cause if we did not have ignorant self-appointed mouthpieces to speak for us a community. Individuals such as Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, James H. Cone and many more continue to assert that racial hatred still exist from the white community, when in actuality the real hate message is coming from the center of the black supremacy circle. These are the proponents of agendas such as affirmative action, and these are the ones who feel as though the black community has no double standards and that all whites are out to get all blacks. If one were to truly recognize what these individuals are, one would quickly note that they are the ones who help blacks to maintain the stereotypes which exist. These are the very leaders who want blacks to remain where they are.

In the coming issues I will continue to define, discredit and discuss the stereotypes of the [stereotypical] black race beginning with the public disowning of speakers of truth in the black community, such as Bill Cosby due to its double standards. I want to voice the opinions of the non-ignorant side of the black community, as well as the opinions of those who feel less "qualified" to talk.

Seeking the wrong end

VISIT UNC.EDU/CR FOR A FULL LIST OF THE BSM'S DEMANDS

BSM'S 22 DEMANDS AIM FOR DIFFERENT GOAL THAN THE ORIGINAL CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT



by BRYAN WEYNAND
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It seems apparent to me that there is something inherently wrong with the ideals and attitudes behind platforms such as the 22 demands of the University upon which the Black Student Movement proudly founds its movement for "freedom through revolution." I know with certainty that there is something there that cannot be reconciled to my view of a rationally functioning society, mush less a free and colorblind one – with calls for a separate division of Student Affairs solely for blacks, and for all student fee money paid by blacks to be spent as a separate fund by blacks.

But then again, I have never been black; you could say the same thing about me that Barack Obama's church minister said about Hillary Clinton. Tactless and inappropriate as that statement was, there remains to an extent an element of truth in that fact.

However, there is something about those demands, and the ideals behind them, that cannot be reconciled, not only to my view, but to the vision of the originators of the civil rights movement, and that became clear to me as I sat down to write this column, and I began to read Martin Luther King's famous speech, "I Have a Dream."

There is a facet of the speech that is silently understood, largely because of its plain obviousness, but that could perhaps serve as a striking wake up call to today's civil rights movement; it struck me as I was searching for the comparison, and contrast, between the vision of Dr. King and the mindset of leaders such as Jesse Jackson and the students who base an organization on the demands of the BSM.

It doesn't require quoting from the speech to claim that what Dr. King proposed on that day, and what he sought in everything for which he fought, was eschatological in nature; that is, Dr. King had in mind a clear vision of what he thought things ultimately should be, and his problem with the way society functioned then was that it did not function in this ideal form. He, however, had an end in sight, and it was the day that the barriers of racial inequalities and stereotypes were torn down.

Forget for a second that the present day movement for black equality has its origins in that of people like Dr. King, and it would be difficult to imagine the two ever being related. Where Dr. King strove to break down barriers, leaders from the prevailing civil rights movement today seek to entrench permanent divides.

Nowhere is that more apparent than here in Chapel Hill, where the BSM, the self-proclaimed single authority for all blacks on campus, presents its message in the context of those 22 demands. The seventh demand mandates that "a new office be created... entitled Dean of Black Students;" the thirteenth calls for all money collected from the student activity fees of black students to be given directly to the BSM (as if every black student ought to be coerced into supporting their organization by virtue of being black), and the fourteenth requires a separate honor court system for blacks.

Hardly in need of mentioning is that these demands stand categorically distinct from the vision of Dr. King. They not only serve an entirely different end, but they deny that this end is even possible, and that is an insult to the progress made by both races in the past 40years.

When contemplating the demands I wonder what exactly the end is in sight for the BSM. As the de facto representative of blacks on campus (though they do not possess the unanimous voice of their race they sometimes claim to have), everything they do will serve either to unify or divide, and their demands reek of explicit, permanent divide. They seek the very vice they used to be fighting, the separation and isolation of their distinct racial identity within the broader social context. That's some wish for an organization functioning within a society that generally considers color-blindness a fairly esteemed value.

I also sometimes wonder how many members in BSM actually adhere to the beliefs behind these demands. My guess, for which I am thankful, is not many.

The harm remains, though, in that an organization that could offer a great deal of good to the campus has its intellectual credibility called into serious question for promoting such radical and in some cases absurd ideas. The idea, for instance, that all student activity fee money paid by black students should automatically be given to the BSM, a student organization, is one that lacks the legitimacy for the BSM to be taken seriously; few would actually argue this point, so why does the BSM continue to promote it?

The BSM is an organization which holds the capability to be a force for unification, and instead makes itself in the eyes of many an intellectual embarrassment to our campus. I hope that soon we will see them join us in the present day search for true unity between the races.

Clinging to Inequality

THE FAILURE TO MOVE PAST THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT PERPETUATES THE PROBLEM ITS ORIGINATORS SOUGHT TO CORRECT



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Martin Luther King Junior's famous phrase, "I have a dream," has become a wonderful cliché in American society today.

I have a dream that someday soon Carolina will win a national championship.

I have a dream that one day Lenoir will equally serve macaroni and cheese and potatoes with gravy.

But it is imperative to remember the meaning of those words and of that movement to our world today. We must not forget that this phrase came from a dark and evil time in our nation.

Since this speech, our country has seen two Civil Rights Acts, the Voting Rights Act, and the death of Jim Crow laws. But many still believe that this is not enough. Many protest that racial inequality still plagues our society. Many say that the dream of King has yet to come true.

I say that "many" have gone too far.

The civil rights movement still has a place in our world today; however, it seems to keep alive a distorted form of activism that was beautiful and necessary in the 1950s and 1960s but not in the present.

To quote the "I Have a Dream" speech: "We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities... as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one... as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by a sign stating "For Whites Only"... as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied. . ."

The main distinction between King's version of civil rights back then and today's Jesse Jackson version is an understanding of de jure and de facto social inequalities.

De jure comes from Latin meaning 'by law' and refers to actual edicts created or developed by the government. This is the kind of equality that King hoped for in his time. It was the government that made it possible for shopkeepers to display "For Whites Only" signs or turn any black man away from the polls. Racistlaws explicitly suppressed equality.

De facto also comes from Latin meaning 'in fact' or 'in practice.' While de jure refers to what the law says, de facto refers to what happens in society – what is actually practiced in day-to-day life outside governmental control. In the Jackson society the focus remains on issues that can only be fixed by a de facto action, which means that if change is needed it must come from the individual, not the government.

But civil rights advocates today still think the government needs to have a more firm hand in social equality issues. The NAACP, which has been advocating for civil rights since 1909, administers a Mid-Term Congressional Report Card for every Congress. Every Congressman is graded on his or her performance on civil rights issues. Congress as a whole is scored on how well the NAACP's "bread and butter" issues are discussed. Sadly, in 2007, 42 percent of Senators and 45 percent of House members received a grade of "F" for their final score. Happily, scores have improved since last report when 54 and 52 percent failed respectively.

"The NAACP legislative report card is intended to reflect how responsive elected federal officials are to the genuine civil rights needs," said NAACP Interim President & CEO Dennis Courtland Hayes. "Although much has changed in the last fifty years, there is still much to be done. Racism, segregation, bias and disparities continue to plague our nation. We need to understand how, and if, our elected federal officials are dealing with these problems."

Much has happened in the past fifty years. Searching through the archives of TIME magazine shows that America has come a long way. In 1958, Charles Miller's new white neighbors welcomed him to the neighborhood by vandalizing his home with hateful graffiti. Aaron Sellers, of Bullock County, attempted six times to register as an Alabama voter and failed six times, including

a time when he was warned, "Get the hell out of here." Governor J. Lindsay Almond Jr. of Virginia, invoking the state's 'massive resistance' laws, shut down nine public schools to keep fifty-one black children out of all-white classrooms. "Negro" was still a politically correct term.

I would say a bit has changed since then.

As King said before the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963, "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

Character defines a man. In reality, racism comes down to premature judgments of a person's character based on melanin – in other words, a form of stereotype. For King, the only way to defeat racism was by displaying dignity of character in order to prove the stereotype wrong.

During the civil rights movement, people were fighting for a chance to prove racism wrong. The intermingling of the races created a new frontier for the new social outlook on black society.

In 1965, TIME magazine recorded the adjustment of southern society. Suddenly a shockwave of acceptance, though small, reverberated throughout the South: "Negro" schoolchildren were applauded during a visit to the South Carolina state capitol; the wife of Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus had "Negro" women to an integrated tea; white bellhops carried luggage for blackguests. Compared to the complete racial divisionof the time these small acts of equality shook the South.

This unknown writer caught the heart of the issue that faced society then and now – we look to our differences and forget our similarities.

As I walked home from class today I saw a group of people playing basketball on the Morrison courts. I had been working on this article, doing research about the civil rights movement and dissecting our society today. Obviously this is not my first time viewing guys playing basketball on that court, but this time was supremely different. Usually I would walk by and think to myself, "Thank goodness these guys are not on Carolina's basketball team." This time I thought, "There are five white guys, four black guys, an Asian, and two Indians." Only after I thought and pored over the differences between the races did I begin to truly recognize them in my life.

Now that our nation has cut out de jure inequality and has moved mountains when it comes to de facto in the past fifty years, the time has come for us to stop trying to find ways to separate ourselves. The more we continue to elaborate on the differences the more racism grows, for racism does not come only from the white side.



JESSE JACKSON

Photo from Wikipedia

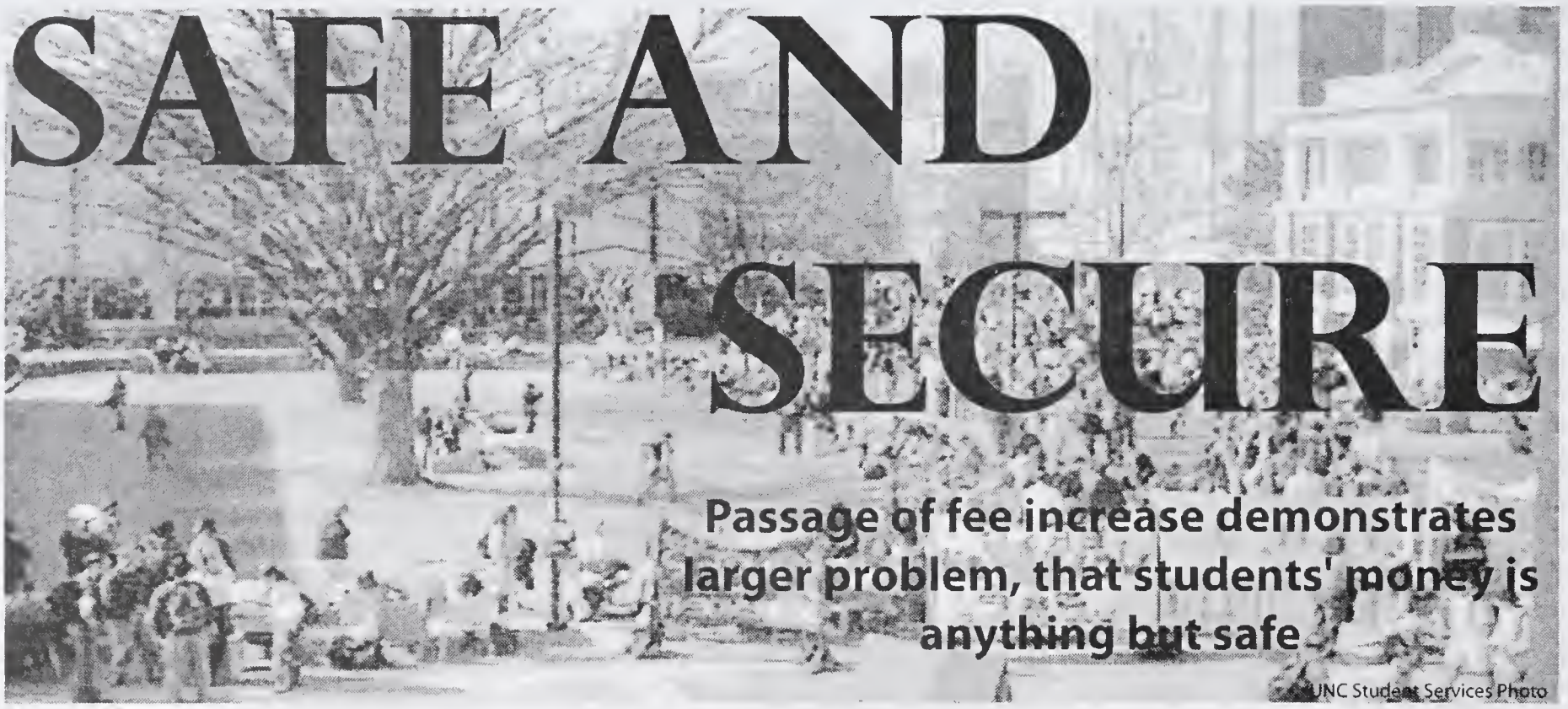
King warned the civil rights movement against sinking to the level of the "racism and hatemongers" like that of those who oppose them: "In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred."

Rev. Jesse Peterson, known as the anti-Jesse Jackson and founder of the influential mission Brotherhood Organization of a New Destiny (BOND), sees the "cup of bitterness and hatred" overflow by means of "playing the victim." The basic idea is to project the blame for personal troubles onto others, never making a situation your own fault.

"Being a victim is not only an ego-boosting

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

SAFE AND SECURE



Passage of fee increase demonstrates larger problem, that students' money is anything but safe

UNC Student Services Photo



by NASH KEUNE
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I feel like I'm taking crazy pills!

This line, taken from Will Ferrell's character Mugato from the movie *Zoolander*, perfectly encapsulates the frustration felt by opponents of the 25 cent Safety and Security fee increase (per semester), which passed by student referendum on Feb. 12th. The line, which comes during an enraged rant concerning the fact that the title character, a male model, only has one look, though both he and his fawning public hilariously seem to think otherwise. "Blue Steel? Ferrari? Le Tigra?" he says. "They're the same face! Doesn't anybody notice this?"

The story of the fee increase is a convoluted one, and its rationale is just about as senseless as Zoolander calling his single look by three different names.

The fee increase was, according to the *Daily Tar Heel* and the Student Body Treasurer, designed to raise revenues for the Victim's Assistance Fund, one of the subordinate functions of the Safety and Security Committee. The Fund was established to aid victims of sexual assault. According to the Student Fee Increase Form submitted by the Committee, the Fund purchases "rape evidence collection kits, emergency contraception, evaluation and treatment for sexually transmitted infections, HIV antibody screening, physical exam to check for internal injuries, and prophylaxis HIV medications." The Fund was originally designed to serve ten victims, but was called on to help twenty-six victims in the fiscal year 2006-07. This lead to an $11,961.19 deficit.

Perhaps if the story stopped there, this fee increase would have been reasonable. Indeed, this deficit is precisely what Anisa Mohanty, former Student Body Treasurer, pointed to when justifying the increase. This year's Student Body Vice President Mike Tarrant went so far as saying that a vote against the increase was a vote against rape kits. Newly elected Student Body President J.J. Raynor declared her support for the increase at the College Republicans' Candidate Forum on Feb. 4th, tautologically saying that she supported a fee increase for safety and security because it would go towards safety and security. This reason seemed to embody the rather credulous common campus wisdom, willing to believe that this was a necessary and good fee increase.

However, this notion is flatly untrue. The Victim's Assistance Fund's deficit was remunerated by the general Safety and Security Fund, which had a $100,000 surplus last year, and would have had a $10, 478 budget surplus this year (equal to one-third of its 2006-07 budget and two-thirds of its 2005-06 budget) without the increase (even though it quadrupled its expenditures in the last year). It seems odd to vote to increase revenues for a Committee with a surplus nearing the entire funding given to (just continuing the theme of this issue) the Black Student Movement.

A closer look at the finances of the Safety and Security Committee reveals that this is more of a problem of committee by-laws and less of a problem of fee-deficiency. The Committee's by-laws clearly state that "76% of the fee monies go to the Safety and Security Committee for its discretionary use," while only "12% of its monies go to the Division of Student Affairs for the Victim's Assistance Fund" (meaning that though the increase was purported to be a 25 sent fee increase for the Victim's Assistance Fund, in reality it will only give 3 more cents per student to the Victim's Assistance Fund).

These foolish by-laws are the sole reason that this Committee, flushed as it is with funds, had to transfer funds. This problem could be fixed if the by-laws were either abolished (the Committee would then be able to allocate funds as the situation requires) or if the percentages used to apportion the fee revenues was allowed to change as outlay requirements changed. For example, if the Victim's Assistance Fund got from 40 percent to 45 percent of fee monies, then it wouldn't have had any deficit issues.

Our last issue detailed the galling inanity of the Student government's bureaucracy surrounding fees. These circumstances re-enforce the lesson. But with this vote, the other shoe dropped. The fact that this utterly unnecessary increase passed by a 71-29 percent margin (4,098 votes for to 1674 votes against) proves the old dictum that the only group dumber than the voters is the politicians, and the only group that's dumber than the politicians is the voters (of course, with some due exceptions).

By no means should one expect every student voter to research the financial by-laws of the Safety and Security Committee. Indeed, voter ignorance is quite rational, especially when one's vote is just one out of a few thousand and the vote concerns the destiny of a single quarter. In such a situation, voters should go by their default position. It's scary to think that the vast majority of voters' default is to support fee increases. The student government's callous disregard for the students' money is to be expected; the students' callous disregard for their own money is startling.

This is not primarily an issue of transparency. A quick search for "victim's assistance fund" on the UNC website produces all the results one needs to discover the truth about this fee increase. Nor is this an issue of student disinterest. In fact it's irrational to spend too much time worrying about such a minuscule fee increase. The issue is that the student body reflexively supports fee hikes. It is hard to malign our student government too harshly for fiscal irresponsibility when that is the manifest will of the people.

But, then again, one should not be too hasty to give up on the future. Zoolander eventually unveiled "Blue Magnum," a new look, and it was magnificent. Maybe our "philosophy of fees" will eventually inhere greatness as well. **CR**

Abortion is Racist

Black physician argues that abortion is linked with the destruction of the black nuclear family



by KELLY ESPOSITO
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Abortion is many things. It is controversial, polarizing, confusing, scary, disturbing and ambiguous, along with many other weighty adjectives. But racist?

Dr. John Diggs, a black physician from Massachusetts, spoke on campus about just that. Carolina Students for Life hosted Diggs, and after the cube in the Pit advertising the event was repeatedly vandalized, it was clear that his topic was no benign addition to the abortion dialogue.

Diggs began his talk by talking about the philosophy of universities - how settings like UNC are supposed to be places of dialogue where different views can be heard and considered with civility. This was certainly a jab at the uncivil manner in which his appearance was protested. But he also mentioned how the people at universities, his audience, are smart, rational beings, leading up to his overall point that it is irrational to think of abortion as anything but racist, barbaric and dehumanizing.

Diggs approached the issue of abortion from a scientific standpoint, and he began his categorical dismantling of abortion myths with the assertion that life begins at conception. It is a scientific fact, he said, that at the very moment the sperm and egg meet and create a cell with 46 chromosomes, something has been created that has never existed before and will never exist again. If the process is interrupted at any point after that moment, no human being can result. Conversely, if the process is allowed to proceed naturally, it will result in nothing other than a unique human being. This is indisputable biological fact, and Diggs said it makes everyone who knows it smarter than five of the nine Supreme Court justices who decided Roe v. Wade (their justification was that they did not know when life began).

The talk then moved into the scientific facts of how abortion is carried out. Diggs went into gruesome detail about the various methods used to abort fetuses and the immense risks to the mother undergoing such procedures, but of particular interest was his comparison of abortion to other medical practices and the convoluted thinking behind it.

Diggs asked the audience if they had ever seen an abortion on television, and to no one's surprise, not a single hand went up. At first this seemed a strange question, but then he asked if audience members had seen other bloody or gory procedures such as heart surgery, trauma shows and even graphic fictional medical programming. Those types of procedures are on television daily, so if abortion is "just another procedure" (as it is euphemized by its supporters), why is it not on television like everything else?

Abortion is also not given the same treatment as other medical procedures, which makes it even more unsafe. For any other surgical procedure, there are certain universal medical requirements, such as a crash cart, that must be present. For abortion, this is not the case, and there are sometimes deadly results when the procedure goes wrong and there are no adequate supplies to help the patient. Again, this separation of abortion from other surgeries shows that it is not "just a simple procedure."

The most poignant aspect of Diggs' argument and discussion of abortion procedures was his outline of the thinking behind abortion. For instance, in a partial birth abortion, the baby is intentionally delivered breech (feet first), which in a normal birth would be a dangerous situation. The reason for this is simple: the law says that a baby delivered head first cannot be killed or it is considered murder, but feet first, it is legal and considered abortion. This is a ridiculous social construct that has no medical basis - it is merely a mental loophole society has created to justify a barbaric procedure.

Diggs moved on to the racist aspect of abortion by citing an alarming statistic: black women make up 13 percent of women in the United States, yet they account for 35 percent of abortions. This is a huge discrepancy that points to social conditions that make abortion racist. He cited a historical project called the "Negro Project" which was orchestrated by Margaret Sanger as a form of eugenics to essentially control the black population. The black middle class was targeted to indoctrinate that abortion is a good thing and that having too many children is a problem. This was done with the hope that they would pass this way of thinking on to the rest of the black population.

This was a blatantly racist targeting of blacks with abortion, but it does not stop there. Diggs believes that the war on poverty in the 1970s systematically destroyed the black nuclear family, leading to the norm today of cohabitation and serial relationships, situations that reek of instability and make pregnant single women wary of having children and therefore more inclined to choose abortion.



Photo courtesy of www.tuftsprimarysource.org

Overall, Diggs' speech was thorough and thought-provoking, although he probably could have spent more time on the racism theme. His arguments about other important social aspects of abortion, such as the "mental gymnastics" society does to convolute it enough to justify its practice, were the most poignant points of the talk.

He warned the audience of the consequences of such thinking - the end point being an anti-child attitude that is nearly impossible to eradicate from a society's thinking. A case in point is that many countries in Europe are currently reproducing below replacement levels - Europe is aging and there are no younger generations to care for them and take the reins of the economy. If we have a social security crisis with the baby boomers now, imagine what would happen if America's situation deteriorated to the point of Italy's, where each woman is only having 1.2 babies, a number far below the replacement number of 2.1.

Diggs' talk highlighted the barbaric nature of abortion and pointed out the illogical thinking behind its legality and practice. The audience probably did not come away with a strong new association between abortion and racism as the speech was advertised, but it certainly made one think about the consequences of a society overthinking itself into idiocy, as our laws seem to indicate with their ridiculous mind games to justify abortion. Diggs' scientific perspective on a social issue was much more valuable than the usual circular ideological debates about the subject. **CR**

Juno:

Simply and Subtly Pro-Life

BY OLIVIA BLANCHARD

If you haven't seen *Juno* yet and think it's just another semi-ridiculous comedy along the lines of *Napoleon Dynamite* or *Superbad* (as I did), then you will be immensely surprised. Not only does *Juno* offer a refreshingly realistic, human approach to the nightmare of teen pregnancy, but it also succeeds in finding various hilarious aspects of such a serious predicament.

In discussing whether she should have a "closed" or "open" adoption, for example, Juno states her opinion rather emphatically: "Wait... No! I mean, can't we just, like, kick this old school? Like, I have the baby, put it in a basket and send it your way, like, Moses and the reeds?" It was also a relief to find that *Juno* does not inspire intense feelings of depression about babies in general, or invoke vows never to procreate, which seems to be the effect of many pregnancy films (like *Riding in Cars With Boys*, for example, in which the movie's audience basically watches the teen mother's life become progressively hopeless and dysfunctional for 90 minutes).

Rather, *Juno* strikes an incredibly sensitive balance between struggle and reward, serious and sincere, without ever being hokey or over-simplified. Best of all, the movie has a securely pro-life message — non-preachy but nonetheless compelling, *Juno* will definitely have audiences questioning what feminists have historically championed as the "necessity" of abortion.

Perhaps *Juno*'s most provocative pro-life element is the sixteen-year-old's reaction to her pregnancy. Initially shocked and horrified, Juno takes three pregnancy tests before she can accept the truth and quickly decides to abort. Not surprisingly, her primary reason for calling the local women's clinic is shame; the ridicule of her peers, the reproach of her parents, and the convenience of abortion combine to make the procedure an extremely attractive proposition. Although the audience can sense a certain reluctance on Juno's part, she goes ahead to the clinic because it is her only hope of continuing her worry-free adolescent life; abortion is fast, accessible, and final, qualities that make it exceptionally easy to end a life without thinking twice.

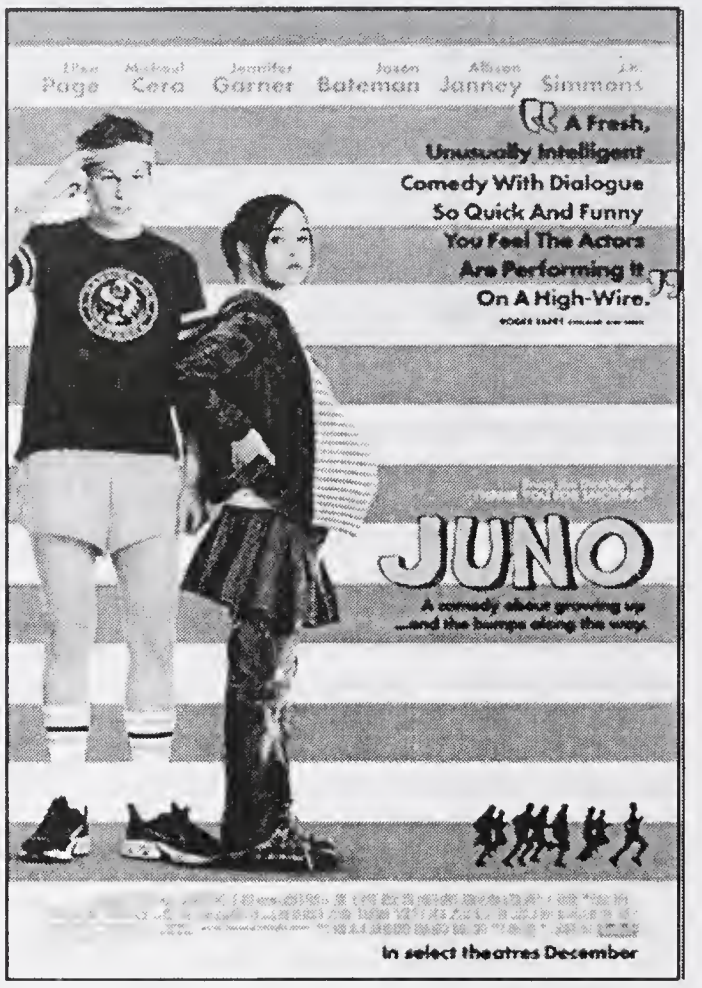
Juno, however, does think twice, and it is a combination of being told that her baby already has fingernails and being disgusted by the clinic itself that drives her to reconsider. Realizing that the fetus already has such tiny details lends a real, tangible humanity to it, and the nonchalant, matter-of-fact feel of the abortion clinic sends her running from it, convinced that there is something wrong with the whole affair. Specifically, the receptionist's monotone suggestion that Juno take a free scented condom along with her medical forms, her refusal to call the unborn child a baby, and the general business-like atmosphere in a place of death is something that Juno intuitively does not want to be a part of—so she leaves.

Clearly, the movie's clinic is a reference to Planned Parenthood, but the issue of abortion is never politicized or put in a larger moral context; Juno's reaction speaks for itself, and her intuitive refusal to go through with the process speaks more loudly than any pointed targeting could. This is perhaps why *Juno* has been such a hugely successful film — it has raked in more than $120,000,000, according to *The New York Observer*, and it won Best Original Screenplay at the Oscars.

However, while one would assume that such raving success would land *Juno* a good deal of critical acclaim and attention in the film world, a different abortion-themed movie is, in fact, this year's darling. It is called *4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days*, and it recounts the difficult and dangerous process of aborting a pregnancy in 1987 Communist Romania, under the brutal Ceausescu dictatorship.

Critics love it because it apparently "stuns the soul" (*The Detroit News*), and in their swooning admiration they have given the movie nearly every existing film award; it won three different awards at Cannes, Best Film at the 2007 European Film Awards, Best Foreign Language Film from the LA Film Critics Association, and Best Film of 2007 from the Sight and Sound Critics Poll, just to name a few (ifcfilms.com). For all that *4 Months* is "a searing film, shot...in long, unbroken takes that wrap around you like a vise" (Scott Foundas, *LA Weekly*), however, it has only opened in two theatres nationwide (Jill Stanek column, wnd.com) and has been snubbed by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences — the Oscars — who chose to nominate it for Best Foreign Film instead of Best Film, like *Juno*.

Critics are angry, bewildered, and hurt that their hard-core, provocative "power house" (Kenneth Turan, *LA Times*) has been snubbed by average moviegoers, normal people who would somehow prefer a funny film about growing up to a melodramatic, angst-ridden indy brainchild whose main purpose is so obviously to promote legal abortion — late-term ones, no less.



And therein lies the difference — *Juno* has been so much more successful in the mainstream because it does not seek to promote, decry, or convince. It is an intensely personal story, so wrapped around Juno's specific circumstance and experience that the pro-life message is subtly, quietly ingrained as an afterthought.

Evidently, a battle of ideology is currently raging in the film world, one that most of *Juno*'s fans are not particularly interested in fighting. They just saw the movie and were touched by something in it — the only thing *Juno* really convinces us of is that Michael Cera really should try to avoid short shorts.

Beyond that, the movie leaves the politicizing to the politicians, offering one humble example of how and why abortion is not the only solution to teen pregnancy.

Yes, Juno is made fun of at school, doesn't like the way her body changes, and has to deal with the emotions of giving up a child — but after nine months, it's all over, and she has survived.

This message — that you don't have to kill to survive — is what gives *Juno* such compelling substance behind its humor, and whether or not Hollywood or Cannes agree, everyone else seems to like it just fine. **CR**

INEQUALITY from page 11

badge of honor," said Peterson, "it also supplies a ready excuse whenever one fails."

Movements for affirmative action or reparations are patronizing forms of this victim racism that have formed in America today.

Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas understood the dangers of surrendering to misguided notions of equality. In 1995 he rejected affirmative action based on race saying, "Inevitably, such programs engender attitudes of superiority or, alternatively, provoke resentment among those who believe that they have been wronged by the government's use of race. These programs stamp minorities with a badge of inferiority and may cause them to develop dependencies or to adopt an attitude that they are 'entitled' to preferences."

In reality, Jesse Jackson only has a job if he keeps the movement alive, which he does at all cost: He and Bill Cosby spoke together at the University of Pennsylvania about the civil rights issues of today. Cosby said that black people should stop blaming racial oppression for their troubles and instead strive to work harder. He honestly knows about hard work. After the tenth grade he had to join the Navy and only finished school through a correspondence course. Once he received an education he worked his way up to his legendary status. Sounds like the man to listen to.

Jackson took a different view. "I applaud what Bill said, but there is fear that it will be interpreted out of context," Jackson said. "We do indeed face difficult odds, but we should keep working harder in order to make the playing field even, and allow ourselves the chance to succeed. Our enemy can change the words we say, but our only goal is to reach one-to-one odds, nothing else."

What Jackson, and indeed the modern civil rights movement, fails to understand is that there will never be the one-to-one odds like the ones they are envisioning. Social, economic, legal and political equality can never be fully realized in a free nation. Therefore, all inequalities should not be based on race by default. Wherever people are allowed to think and to live as they please there will always be inequalities. Stereotypes naturally formulate within society, which is an inconvenient but unavoidable truth.

I will forever have someone call me a fool or a hypocrite for being a Christian. A Muslim will have at least one person call them a terrorist in their life. A gay person will have someone make fun of his or her sexuality. A black person will have someone insult them.

As King said, "There is no Negro problem. There is no southern problem. There is no northern problem. There is only an American problem."There is only a human race problem where every man must face some form of racism or stereotype. But we cannot give into those judgments for they only prove our oppressors right. Instead we must let our actions showcase our true beautiful character and prove our tyrants wrong. "Responsibility, not excuses," says Peterson. "Character, not hatred. That is the dream."

I have a dream that another day I will walk by that basketball court and not judge those playing by their race, but rather, by the lack of their basketball talent. **CR**

The Rub

Simply Satire

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

I have an announcement to make.

Get ready, 'cuz here I come

I am hereby formally declaring my intent to form a task force to investigate the possibility of creating an exploratory committee to probe the potentiality of running for student body president next year.

At least I'm thinking about it, anyway

Now, I'm not saying anything for sure yet. Just that I'm thinking about forming a task force to look into…you get the idea.

I'm so incredibly decisive

However, if I were to decide to go on to the exploratory committee and eventually be SBP, my first act would be to raise a small army, invade and conquer Carrboro and establish a UNC branch campus there.

Almost as fun as invading a small third-world country

According to a study by the Carolina Review*, Carrboro has the largest amount of carbon emissions per square mile in the United States.

Oh, the irony

Our analysis shows this is likely due to the extremely heavy congestion of so many cars in such a small space. Mostly, people get stuck in traffic and just sit there.

Rush Hour 4: Carrboro

Not helping the issue is the most convoluted intersection in the history of roads. Franklin and Rosemary converge into one road for about 10 yards and then split again into Main and Weaver.

WTF, mate?

That intersection will be the first thing to go.

Turn it into parking spaces instead. They need more of those

After that, I would also take over the bumper sticker factory, where all the Carrboroans get the liberal decals they plaster all over their Volkswagen vans.

Use it to print more copies of the Carolina Review

I would then proceed to deport all the illegal immigrants who have taken refuge in the liberal enclave.

Now a safe haven for conservatives instead

I'd also deport all the bikers who demand to be treated like vehicles and slow all the cars down, and then turn around and pass all the cars while they're stopped at stoplights.

Liberals are all about those double standards

Then I would officially be dictator of Carrboro.

Next stop: Cuba

Ay, there's the rub.

Get ready, 'cuz here I come

*Disclaimer: Study is not scientific. In fact, it's entirely fictitious. I just thought it'd be funny.

Eve Marie Carson

1985-2008

Never Forget



The Carolina Way

"I spend a lot of afternoons reading in the quad; I love that. That will probably be the quintessential memory I have from Chapel Hill."

"I often respond to skepticism with a response of, 'OK, you say we can't, we're going to do it right now. Let's get your stuff together; we're doing this right now.'"

-Carson in an interview with the *Carolina Review*, March 2007

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May 2008 A.D.

Carolina Review

Remembering William F. Buckley



SENSELESS PROTESTING 8 | MIKE ADAMS 12 | ORGASM WEEK 14

FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

Many people will pick up this month's issue of the Carolina Review and wonder why, with all that is happening around the Chapel Hill community, the state of North Carolina, and in the events around our great country, we dedicated our cover to a prominent featuring of the late William F. Buckley.

Why not Female Orgasm Week? Or even better, the contentious Democratic Primary!

Truth be told, this issue does have a column on Female Orgasm Week; though we wish we did not have to give the event any more attention, its cheapening of the issue we felt had to be addressed. But as for the ever-interesting cat fight that is the North Carolina bound battle between Senators Clinton and Obama, and other issues of that sort, they seemed to us more indicative of a problem with the state of political discourse on campus than an indicator of its intensity.

There's a reason Obama's message in particular is resonating with college students – it doesn't require much thinking through. It is likely necessary to note explicitly here that I did not just say that all of Obama's supporters only support him because they have failed to think the issues through. Whether there is truth to that statement is another debate for a different day, but what I am communicating here is this: Obama's message and the high esteem he constantly bestows on the values of hope and change is taking advantage of that wing of college students which has failed to understand the key issues of this campaign, and out of susceptibility to a charismatic, optimistic and personable fellow such as Senator Obama, they have fallen prey to the quixotic rhetoric of the Democratic platform.

What does all this have to do with Bill Buckley? Buckley stood for the exact antidote to the problem. Buckley can safely be placed in the class of C.S. Lewis and Sigmund Freud as an intellectual giant of the 20th century, yet his work is distinct from that of others in that he sought to halt the progression of history and all of its "enlightened" misconceptions.

When this supposed enlightenment brought the onslaught of such novelties as moral relativism and collectivism, Buckley mercilessly pleaded with reason for a restoration of the founding principles of this country, demanding that we remember our historic path to greatness through capitalism and limited government and refusing to give in to the idealistic "good" ideas of entitlement programs and socialization.

It is sad to think that in the midst of moving ever nearer to a possible victory for one of the Democratic challengers, and the success of their collectivist and socialist rhetoric, is when we lost Buckley at the age of 82.

Hopefully his life will still stand as a mark of warning for our country, rather than having to endure the continued implementation of the programs he spent his life fighting. In this issue we do our small part with a tribute to Buckley's contributions to conservative ideology and to American politics, and his impact on conservative individuals across the country.

Sincerely,

Bryan Weynand
Editor

CAROLINA REVIEW

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CHEERS & JEERS

April 2008 *The April 2008 issue examined the state of the present-day civil rights movement and its message from leaders such as Jesse Jackson. We offered an alternative perspective on viewing the future of race relations in our society. It also featured an interview with Student Body President J.J. Raynor. As usual, you can read our old issues online at* **unc.edu/cr/archive/**

Comment on April stories at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com.**

Race Hustlers Need to Fold Up Shop

To the Editors:

Your issue exposing race hustlers like Jesse Jackson was most intriguing. Do UNC students here know that the town of Chapel Hill, through its school budget, annually pays mega-dollars to race entrepreneurs like Glen Singleton? He has mastered the fine art of extracting every ounce of guilt from white liberals who can't come to grips with the reality that African-American academic underachievement in grade schools and secondary schools is a do-it-to yourself phenomena.

African-American columnist Star Parker observes, "The most destructive and widely prevailing racist attitude in our society today, one of which both blacks and whites are guilty... is the attitude that blacks cannot be held to the same standards as whites."

Whatever residual racism may linger, it cannot prevent a student from excelling in school if the student chooses to do so. In "Blood Done Sign My Name," Tim Tyson carefully depicts the 1970's culture of white paternalism towards blacks. In 2008, blind tolerance of unacceptable academic, social, and civic behavior is today's neo-paternalism, and the race hustlers and as well as those who pay their fees are the problem, not the solution.

Jeff Davidson
Chapel Hill, NC



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VIEWPOINTS



CONGRESS GETS A BRIGHT IDEA

"The Beatles are not merely awful. They are so unbelievably horrible, so appallingly unmusical, so dogmatically insensitive to the magic of the art, that they qualify as crowned heads of antimusic."
— WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

"The majority of the senior class of Vassar does not desire my company and I must confess, having read specimens of their thought and sentiments, that I do not desire the company of the majority of the senior class of Vassar."
— WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

"I'd rather entrust the government of the United States to the first 400 people listed in the Boston telephone directory than to the faculty of Harvard University."
— WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY



HEY! HAVE YOU REGISTERED TO VOTE? EH?

"Liberals, it has been said, are generous with other peoples' money, except when it comes to questions of national survival when they prefer to be generous with other people's freedom and security."
— WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

"Back in the thirties we were told we must collectivize the nation because the people were so poor. Now we are told we must collectivize the nation because the people are so rich."
–WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

"I mean to live my life an obedient man, but obedient to God, subservient to the wisdom of my ancestors; never to the authority of political truths arrived at yesterday at the voting booth."
— WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

"I would like to electrocute everyone who uses the word "fair" in connection with income tax policies."
— WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

"Truth is a demure lady, much too ladylike to knock you on your head and drag you to her cave. She is there, but people must want her, and seek her out."
— WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

"A Conservative is a fellow who is standing athwart history yelling "Stop!""
— WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

Remembering W

CONSERVATISM OWES MUCH TO ITS LATE FOUNDER AND LEADER



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Some wide-eyed youths have John Lennon, some have Kurt Cobain, some have Tupac, or some other figure to whom they feel personally attached, whose entire oeuvre is in their stock of accessible knowledge, whom they have never met yet nonetheless feel like they know as well as a best friend, and whose passing therefore elicits intense grief.

I have Bill Buckley.

Miles Gone By

William F. Buckley Jr. (known simply as "WFB" to the initiated) was born in 1925 in New York City and was raised in a Sharon, Connecticut home frequented by such superfluous men as libertarian writer Albert Jay Nock.

His father was a lawyer and oil-man born in Texas. In 1913, he founded an oil company based in Mexico where he was active in politics until, in 1921, he found himself on the wrong side of a revolution (a frequent experience for the Buckleys). He set the precedent for Buckley men to be counter-revolutionaries. WFB once said, "Father had been a dissenter all his life. Had he been an establishmentarian, there might have been a greater impulse to rebel."

WFB's youth was noted for evincing a degree of cosmopolitanism which many liberals would figure anathema to conservatives. WFB was fluent in French and Spanish at a young age (even before he had mastered English). His father imparted a life-long appreciation of classical music to him (his favorite composer was Bach).

Apparently a proponent of fiscal responsibility from birth, WFB wrote the King of England when WFB was eight or so, demanding that the King pay his war debt. He was educated in France and England before attending prep school in New York. His plans to go to Yale were postponed by World War II. Serving in the infantry, he ironically was a part of the honor guard for the FDR funeral.

After the war, he finally went off to Yale where he became the intellectual gadfly to the secular, liberal faculty. According to John Chamberlain, "Both undergraduates and professors were fascinated by Mr. Buckley. Some of them called him a 'black reactionary;' others said he was a true liberal in the old, traditional sense of the word... Clearly he was someone."

He served as Chairman of the *Yale Daily News*, was active in the Yale Political Union and was elected by his peers to give the prestigious Class Day address. His address was devoted to the wayward faculty (which he would fully expose in his inaugural book, God and Man at Yale; mutatis mutandis, it is easily the most brilliant book on that topic), which shunned both God and individualism. It was so acicular that the devoutly open-minded, tolerant administration at Yale, who fought tooth-and-nail for academic freedom, decided it should not be given. He graduated in 1950 with honors.

Overdrive

Any list of WFB's post-graduate activities is bound to be either overly truncated or overly cumbersome. WFB founded the *National Review* in 1955, wrote 55 books (starting in 1951 with God and Man at Yale, that works out to about one per year until his death) ranging from non-fiction to spy novels to general fiction, hosted 1,429 episodes of his television show *Firing Line*, gave 70 speeches and lectures a year, wrote upwards of 5,600 biweekly newspaper columns, not to mention thousands of lapidary articles, critiques, etc. published in outlets ranging from his own *National Review* to *Commonweal* to *Popular Mechanics* to *Playboy* (when asked why he would stoop to write for such a rag, he explained that contributing to *Playboy* was the best way for him to communicate with his 16 year old son). He served briefly as a CIA agent, was a delegate to the UN for Nixon, sailed across both the Atlantic and the Pacific and was an occasional concert harpsichordist.

WFB campaigned for countless conservative politicians and even entered the ring himself. In 1965, he ran for mayor of New York on the Conservative Party ticket, in the middle of that city's grand liberal experiment (which would lead them into bankruptcy a decade later) against John Lindsay, the liberal GOP candidate. He himself called the endeavor quixotic (to wit, when asked at his first press conference what he would do if elected, he responded, "Demand a recount."), but it did lead to the election of his older brother, James Buckley, to the U.S. Senate on the Conservative ticket in 1970, and the re-orientation of New York's party politics.

Always willing to oblige his young admirers, he co-founded Young Americans for Freedom (a conservative college organization that provided the ground-swell for the Goldwater nomination and whose Founding Document, the Sharon Statement, was named after WFB's estate, where it was formulated) and served as President of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (then called the *Intercollegiate Society of Individualists*; the ISI is the parent organization of the Collegiate Network, which is the parent organization of the *Carolina Review*).

It's hard to peg WFB. He wrote, but was more than "a writer." He hosted a TV show, but was not merely a TV host. He was... well, as with most things, WFB put it best himself. In 1986, he said, "I am, I fully grant, a phenomenon."

Up from Liberalism

His efforts were hardly Sisyphean.

Many have credited Buckley with wedding economic libertarianism with a strong foreign policy and reverence for traditional values. Such people do not understand that economic libertarianism was a moribund ideology. In the post-World War II period, it was deemed "extremist" to assert that the federal government should withdraw from any social program, or even to propose that we need not add any new ones.

Thoughtful observers have recalled Lionel Trilling's 1950 quote, "In the US at this time Liberalism is not only the dominant but even the sole intellectual tradition."

What with FDR's New Deal and Truman's Fair Deal, that quote was frightfully accurate. Put bluntly, our nation had been founded on individualistic principles, but was now been

illiam F. Buckley

run by "progressive" collectivist ones.

Beyond that, the post-World War II Republican Party had become the "me-too" party, indulging statist impulses as decadently as the Democrats. One need go no further than Eisenhower, President and ex officio most eminent figure in the Republican Party, to see this phenomenon.

Eisenhower's foreign policy was accommodating to the Communists and his domestic policy was liberal through-and-through. He expanded Social Security, increased the minimum wage, created a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and extended aid for low-income housing. In 1953, domestic spending had been 31 percent of the federal budget. Seven years later, it had risen to 49 percent. History had seemingly orphaned the belief that a society should be planed by individuals rather than a centralized and coercive government.

WFB's objective, as he wrote in the inaugural issue of *National Review* was to "stand athwart history yelling Stop!" He countered the rote, turgid rhetoric of liberalism with his relentless logic, winning many converts to the formerly meager Right. Many commentators have attempted to sum up his importance. Also, in that inaugural issue of *National Review*, WFB wrote, "Let's face it: Unlike Vienna, it seems altogether possible that did *National Review* not exist, no one would have invented it;" perhaps the best way to measure his significance is to imagine that no one had invented *National Review,* or William F. Buckley Jr. for that matter.

"Without Bill Buckley, no *National Review*, no Goldwater nomination," George Will once said. "Without the Goldwater nomination, no conservative takeover of the Republican Party. Without that, no Reagan." (Will went on to credit Reagan, and thereby WFB, with winning the Cold War, but that's another topic for an entirely different discussion).

As if George Will were not enough, we have the testimony of Ronald Reagan who, at the 30th anniversary of the *National Review* in 1985, said, "If any of you doubt the impact of the *National Review*'s verve and attractiveness, take a look around you this evening. The man standing before you was a Democrat when he picked up his first issue in a plain brown wrapper; and even now, as an occupant of public housing (the battle between Reagan and WFB over who was wittier is determined by inches rather than miles) he awaits as anxiously as ever his biweekly edition- without the wrapper."



William Buckley

Photo from Wikipedia

It might be a tad hyperbolic to declare that Buckley, the Giotto of the Conservatives, "dethroned regnant Liberalism." Anyone who has heard a reporter wonder whether the President can "manage the economy," knows this isn't completely true. Buckley did, though, provide an attractive (we would tend to say irresistible) alternative that frankly did not exist in 1955 and that, with Reagan's election, had at least one day in the sun.

Inveighing We Will Go

WFB was not only important for what he brought into the Conservative Movement, but also for the riff-raff he discarded from the Movement. As he wrote in Up from Liberalism (1959), "The intellectual probity of a person is measured not merely by what comes out of him, but by what he puts up from others."

Chief among this irresponsible faction of the Right was the shrill John Birch Society, a frighteningly active group of anti-Communist conspiracy theorists. They went so far as to claim that Eisenhower was a puppet of the Communists. In WFB's words, the Birch fallacy was "the assumption that you can infer subjective intention from objective consequence: We lost China to the Communists, therefore the president of the United States and the secretary of state wished China to go to the Communists."

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WALKING OUT ON INTELLIGENCE

Coalition Against the War detracts from intellectual environment on campus



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The Bill of Rights gives the American people the right to protest, and the UNC Coalition Against the War exercised that right on Wednesday, March 19, as about 200 students and anti-war activists took to the Pit to protest the fifth anniversary of the war in Iraq.

What is not in question is the act of protesting; this is a right that is protected by law and must be respected. And this was the case that Wednesday afternoon. There were few, if any, altercations (save the occasional healthy debate), perhaps influenced by the police presence around the protestors.

The College Republicans set up camp off to the side of the Pit, handing out yellow ribbons and College Republicans stickers to various passersby, one of which included Tyler Hansbrough. Darby Winters, a freshman College Republicans member, made signs to illustrate the club's clear stance on the issue. Reading "Support the troops and the war" and "Don't let the terrorists win," various volunteering members of the club held them in relative silent counter protest.

"We are here to, above all, show people that there is a conservative presence on a largely liberal campus," said John Eick, a College Republicans member. "We want to show that we care about the troops and national security."

The anti-war protestors gathered in the Pit around 12:30 p.m. Comprised of a number of student organizations, including the Students for a Democratic Society, Young Democrats and Black Student Movement to name a few, the UNC Coalition Against the War called for an immediate withdrawal of troops from Iraq.

Among the protestors were anti-war cheerleaders, puppets with blood-stained hands, and a drum ensemble which came pounding outside of the quad early in the protest to the delight of the crowd. Even the Impeach Bush-Cheney characters came out of the woodwork in support of what is by now a lost cause. Though, really, what is the charge? But I digress. One thing noticeably difficult to find at the protest was an American flag, though I did finally spot one, albeit it was a small, handheld flag; the huge signs and Iraqi flag drowned it out.

But according to Abby Crownshaw, a member of Young Democrats, this by no stretch means the coalition was protesting against the country itself. "We are all very patriotic," she said. "None of us hates America." When I asked her why there wasn't a larger American flag displayed, she couldn't answer the question.

After several speakers rallied the crowd with anti-war rhetoric and chants, the crowd dispersed a bit as a smaller group of probably 150 marched to Franklin Street. Once on Franklin Street, the protesting throng proceeded to march on the right hand side of the road, bringing traffic to a standstill. And once at the intersection of Franklin and Columbia Streets, the group came to a stop and began protesting in the middle of the intersection which halted traffic in all four directions.

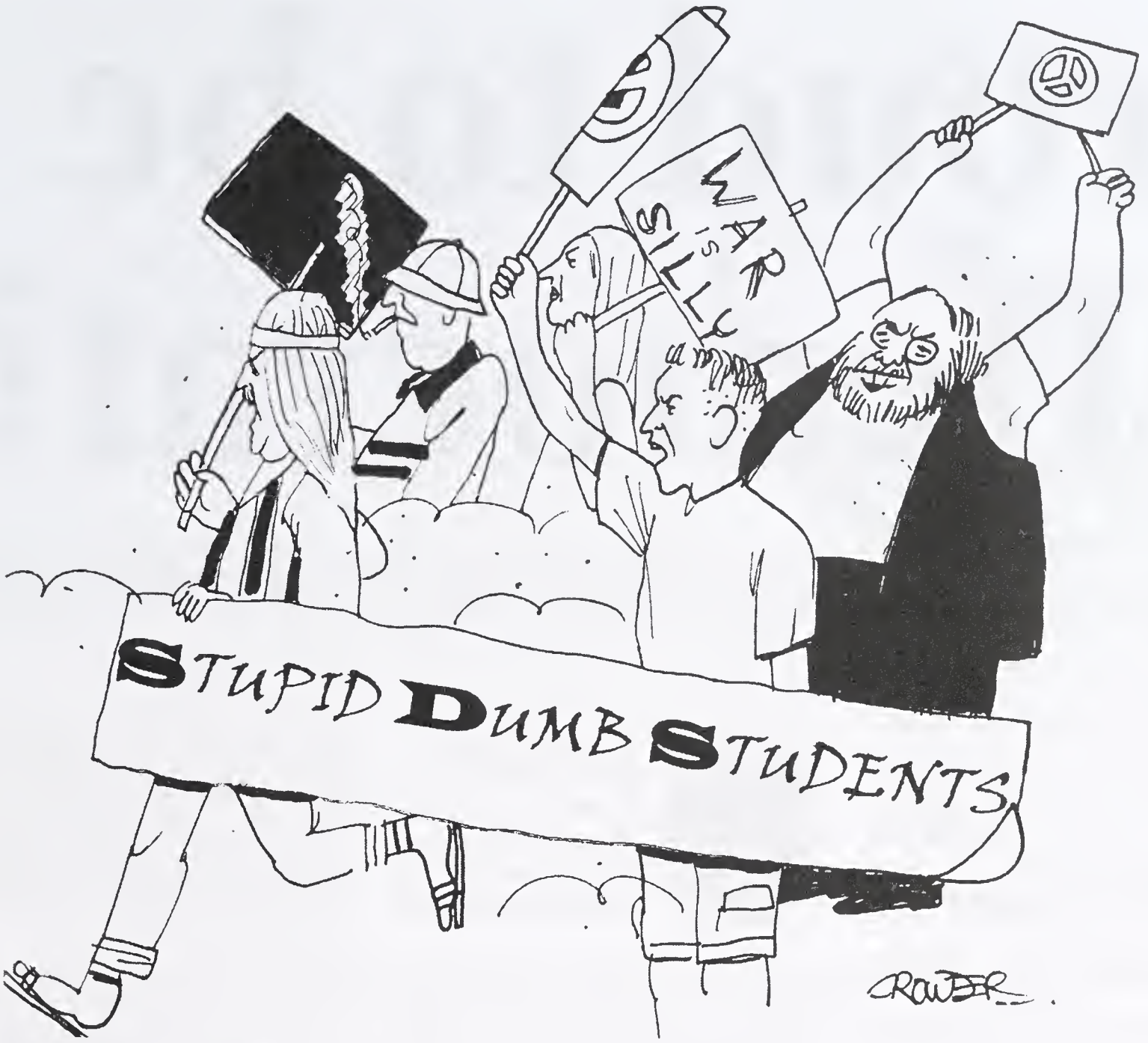
So if the actual act of protesting is not in question, then what is? After such an organized and publicized event, two questions must be examined: how effective was the protest and did it stimulate intellectual activity on campus?

In order to answer the first question, the ultimate goal of the protest must be resolved, something that seems to remain somewhat of a mystery. Of course, a complete victory for the protestors would be for the United States to initiate a complete withdrawal of troops from Iraq. But I sincerely hope the protestors aren't that naïve in thinking that a simple demonstration will convince the government to change its battle strategy in the Middle East.

"They are ridiculous if they think walking out of class will stop the war," Winters said. "You can't stop a war with posters."

The next logical goal would then be to raise awareness for the cause of removing troops from the Middle East. "A lot of people are afraid to voice their opposition, but if they see a visual contingency, they will be more willing to," said Alisan Fathalizadeh. "The more we voice our opinion, the more the movement grows."

"We are trying to show the American people that there are some that are still not happy about the war," said Joshua Shumann,



an SDS member. "I think it will be effective because a lot of college campuses are doing it."

"The only way change comes about is if people push politicians to do the right thing," Margaret Misch, an elderly woman whose hat was decorated with various buttons presenting extremist views such as "9/11 was Bush's Reichstag," said. "I have come to [protests], organized them, participated in them."

But most counter protestors saw this as a pointless goal as well. "I support their right to protest, but I strongly disagree with their methods," said Eick. "It seems to be more of a spectacle than anything else."

Nathan Proctor, who flanked Eick at the College Republicans table, agreed. "They have the right to protest, but in some ways I think they are wasting their time," he said.

So with the goal of raising awareness to put an end to an "unjust" cause, was the protest a success? Considering some students glanced at their watches and scurried off to class during the demonstration, I would say no. While it certainly turned heads around campus, it seemed nothing more than a "spectacle" and was more entertaining than it was informative or thought-provoking.

More importantly, perhaps, is to consider whether the protest spurred intellectual thought around campus. While every person has the right to speak out, this demonstration was no more than an obnoxious spectacle, an event designed to turn heads rather than spark a conscious discussion on one of the most important issues in the upcoming election.

With anti-war rhetoric resonating from a megaphone and the rhythmic beat of drums providing cacophonic white noise, the pro-war view was silenced for the most part. While I was able to engage some protestors in healthy debate, I was mostly shunned for my political beliefs.

While a debate of some sort may have offered nothing more than talking points, it would have at least exposed the campus to both sides of the issue; it would have challenged the masses to think, research, and form their own opinions about a crucial issue of our time. Instead, the campus was force-fed just one side of the conflict.

Opinions like those held by Proctor had to be sought out. "If we leave Iraq, it will be a lot worse without us," he said. "It's ironic that they want to leave Iraq to create peace. Because that's definitely not what will happen."

There also seemed to be a difference in opinion of how to support our troops. "The best way to support our troops is to bring them home," Crownshaw said. But the prevailing opinion of the College Republicans was that we must support our troops in whatever their assigned task is.

Anti-war cheerleaders who shout "catchy" (sometimes vulgar) cheers do not o contribute to the intellectual atmosphere. It's childish. Instead of having remixed anti-war versions of popular songs, why not present cold, hard facts to the audience? The former may leave more of a lasting impression, but the latter at least educates the masses on the issue at hand, thus stimulating intellectual activity.

In the end, the protest was nothing more than the usual circus found on a largely liberal university campus, a collection of the informed and not-so-informed protesting an act that gives them the right to do so. "The reason they get to walk out," Winters pointed out, "is because of wars like this." **CR**

Proud to be a Democrat?

SPECIAL WEEK HIGHLIGHTS INADEQUACIES OF PARTY AGENDA

"The premise of these day-time events was that the Young Democrats are proud of being Democrats because of the flaws of the Republicans"



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It is late March. The air is electric. The anticipation is palpable. Everyone waits anxiously; even the birds seem to be chirping a bit more expectantly.

It's fairly obvious which occasion is being described. It is that event that we dream about all winter long- that's right, "Proud to be a Democrat Week!"

The Young Democrats, high as they are on yeswecannibus, planned a series of events from March 25-28 leading up to their state convention, which took place over the following weekend. At that state convention, they celebrated the 80th Anniversary of their state organization (though, to be a stickler, the Chapel Hill Young Democrats was not created until 1939).

The absurdity of this week of events started with the name itself. Chapel Hill is rather politically monolithic. The implied spunky defiance in the words "Proud to be a Democrat" is, put tamely, out-of-place. Being proud to be a Democrat at a place where most people are Democrat is nothing to brag about.

The schedule of events began on Tuesday, which was designated as "Can You Stomach the National Debt Day." It featured a whipped cream pie eating contest in the middle of the pit (the Young Democrats had a table reserved in the middle of the pit the whole week), in which contestants would symbolically "eat through the debt" by eating through the pies. All of this, though the North Carolina Democrats' platform clearly states, "We encourage healthy lifestyles." This hypocrisy, though, is not altogether surprising. Having one's cake and eating it too is one of the main tenets of the liberal ideology.

Moreover, though the debt is too large (somewhere over $9 trillion), this is hardly a partisan issue. Indeed, one of the main attractions of John McCain to conservatives is his tough stance on spending and fiscal responsibility. Further, a large portion of our fiscal vulnerability comes from massive domestic social programs that the Democrats created and which the Young Democrats defend. According to Senator Judd Gregg, R-N.H., there is a pending "$66 trillion of unfunded liability that's coming down the pike as a result of entitlements' cost, because of the retirement of the Baby Boom generation." Maybe we can sit in Hillary's proposed $1 million tax-payer funded Woodstock Museum and ponder this duplicity.

The middle school tactics continued on Wednesday, which was "Cool down the Earth Day," devoted to increasing awareness about climate change. The Young Democrats passed out ice cream, which represented the earth. Those eating the ice cream represented people causing the earth to "melt."

Herein lies the biggest flaw with events designed to increase awareness about an issue. Their target audience is, well, themselves. The people who are willing to put in the time to put on an event like to increase awareness are the people at whom their events are targeted. Anyone who is not politically active enough

to know that climate change is an issue is not likely to be the sort of person who is going to be politically active enough to devote time to the cause.

Not only were their events doomed to be inefficient, the Democrats used frankly childish techniques. They were not merely puerile because of their use of food. Every club uses food to attract people. Indeed, it might be irresponsible not to use food. What made the Democrats' use of food so infantile were the lengths to which they went to tie their food to the issues. Were they to merely hand out food to tempt people to attend it would be quite understandable but that they were so asinine is rather demeaning. Further, there are some mixed messages, or at least odd associations. Ice cream is delicious; does it follow that global warming is delicious?

However, the Young Democrats sunk even further when, on Thursday, they devolved to elementary school techniques. They planned a dodge ball game with a John McCain look-alike. Each one of McCain's dodges was to represent him dodging questions and flip-flopping on the issues. Yes- McCain is quite the flip-flopper, like when he voted for the Iraq War but now supports the rapid withdrawal of our troops. Or, when he based his campaign on being at the forefront of a "new politics," then happily accepted the endorsement of a politician who has been in the Senate since 1962. Wait...

The premise of these daytime events was that the Young Democrats are proud of being Democrats because of the flaws of the Republicans. Bush created a huge national debt, the Republicans haven't done enough to combat global warming, etc. It seems our Young Democrats are more moved by hatred of "bushitler" than by higher taxes and the socialization of medicine.



But, alas, the Democrats do have some ideas or, well, at least they have some opinions. These were presented on Tuesday night, at a debate between the Young Democrats and the College Republicans. Three Democrats debated three Republicans (including the brilliant Nash Keune), moderated by Nick Anderson of the Roosevelt Institute. It was rather well attended- according to an estimate in the Daily Tar Heel, there were 50 people present.

Having taken part in that debate, I cannot report objectively upon it. I will thus limit my commentary on the evening to saying that it seems a bit doubtful that any truly free exchange of ideas can occur in such an atmosphere. When one is attending a Democratic event as a Democrat, one's opinions are unlikely to change.

Finally, it is worth noting that "Proud to be a Democrat Week" happened to coincide with "Poverty Awareness Week" and "Feminist Week." Perhaps they could have formed a convenient omnibus info-week, titled something like "Proud to be a Homeless Feminist Week." **CR**

BUCKLEY, from page 7

In 1962, he scorned the Birch Society and especially its founder, James Welch, in the National Review and other writings (with the public agreement of Barry Goldwater), thus expelling them from the movement. The John Birch Society retaliated by realizing that WFB must be a stooge for the liberals, if not for the Communists themselves.

The Jeweler's Eye

Whereas one might feel satisfied with one's knowledge of, say, Napoleon after merely reading a summary of his accomplishments, one would be wrong to feel similarly of WFB. He was an even more interesting character than the mechanical facts would suggest. Nothing about WFB was cliché, though his style was the result of his natural inclinations rather than any intentional or deliberate attempt to "be his own person."

He had charming mannerisms and a lambent wit which he flashed both in his writing and in his off-hand, on-camera comments. His vocabulary was breathtaking. Many have called him a "sesquipedalian" because he was, in the words of Jonah Goldberg, the "Prince of Polysyllabism." But he was not a one-horse pony: his range of words went from the highfalutin to the everyday. As Jay Nordlinger of *National Review* noted, "Buckley will use the word *stochastic*, but he will also use the word *Wow!* And middling writers never use either." Having learned English in England, he had an aristocratic accent which must be experienced to be understood.

Gratitude

As opposed to continuing to try to improve upon the work of abler pens who have tried to pay tribute to WFB, it might be more profitable to recount my personal attachment to beloved Buckley. I was born into a nuclear family that- excluding me- leans to the radical Left. I shudder to admit it, but my first political affiliation was with adolescent Marxism.

Upon hearing that confession, people tend to respond by asking what turned me Republican. I typically stumble around; it's nearly impossible to satisfactorily describe my "Saul-becomes-Paul" moment. It's more worthwhile to describe what sustains my conservatism - WFB.

I initially encountered WFB when I was first turning Right, and was so enraptured that I spent the next month devoted to reading back issues of *National Review* and every book of his I could find. At that early stage, his work succinctly articulated the threat that statism poses to freedom, and cohered a lot of notions of mine that had previously been resolutely nebulous. If ever I waver, I have his immense oeuvre (his collected papers weigh seven tons) to turn to for succor.

A paragon of gentlemanly conduct, Buckley was an example of the heights to which a thoughtful, gracious man can aspire. Buckley believed that circumstances could be shaped by individuals, and he proved it single-handedly. In an era of entrenched relativism, desperate nihilism, and especially during the tumultuous and doubt-plagued years that college can become, WFB's is perhaps the best example to which to anchor oneself.

Buckley asserted that there are truths which are self-evident and steadfast. His spirit of high-minded deviance of, well, the Modern Age, his counter-revolutionary political philosophy, unwavering conviction and unprecedented vigor should serve as a clarion call to all generations that follow. **CR**

Feminists Say the Darndest Things

UNCW professor, author speaks about his book and double standards on college campuses



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What do you get when a former liberal atheist who is not afraid to speak his mind comes out of the conservative closet?

The politically incorrect professor of criminology at the University of North Carolina-Wilmington, Dr. Mike Adams. Adams, who won multiple teaching awards prior to outing himself as a conservative, is in the midst of suing UNCW after being denied tenure because of ideological bias in academia.

Dr. Adams was brought to campus through a joint effort by the Pope Center and the College Republicans of UNC, Duke, and N.C. State, and while the event was titled "Feminists Say the Darndest Things," the controversial professor spoke on a wide variety of topics and challenges facing young conservatives on college campuses today.

The first issue that Dr. Adams touched upon was free speech, stating that there is greater oppression of free expression on college campuses than in any other realm of society. These institutions of higher education are suppose to be places where ideas can flow freely but instead they are being suppressed by the people who are suppose to encourage them. Dr. Adams believes that the problem is due to the former hippies who use to storm the dean's office back in the 60s. Once they became professors and then moved into administrative positions, where they began to receive six figure paychecks, they realized that protesting wasn't so cool and started to pass free speech codes.

"College administrators can be some of the most fascistic regimes anywhere in the Western world."

Dr. Adams does not feel like the conservatives are approaching the problem in a positive way either. He says that too often conservatives sit back and complain about being indoctrinated in the classroom by liberal professors.

His message to them: "The Constitution does not give you a right to feel comfortable; it does not give you a right to have your inner child soothed at all times. The First Amendment guarantees that you will be offended with regularity."

The feminist movement has especially embraced the idea of hostile environment sexual harassment speech codes. To illustrate this, Dr. Adams told a story of how a feminist fellow professor at UNCW tried to get his secretary to file a hostile environment complaint against him after he jokingly used the phrase 'Gosh, idiots' from *Napoleon Dynamite*.

He went on to give three examples of false rape accusations at UNCW from the past few years, including one where his own student concocted a tale of her sister being brutally raped just to get out of his exam that she was unprepared for.

Dr. Adams' favorite feminist professor reared her ugly head again when she claimed that women who falsify rape claims should never be punished.

When female college students cry wolf, it only hurts the men falsely accused and the real female rape victims.

Women who come to college have to struggle with the stereotype and notion that women are emotionally inferior and the unequal application of speech codes only reinforces the idea. A few years ago, Dr. Adams was walking across the quad when he saw that as a part of Organism Awareness Week, a history of vibrators display had been set up, just one of many examples of how the feminist movement engages in speech that is 'silly,' but they still have a right to do it. The feminists had every right to set up a display that made people feel uncomfortable, but criticizing its impact would have been a violation of the hostile environment speech codes. Feminists claim to promote being treated equally with men, yet they take advantage of how unequal the system can be.

Speech codes on college campuses are very damaging to women and men alike, but hopefully they will soon become a thing of the past thanks to litigation. The number of colleges with free speech codes has dropped from 90 percent nationwide to



Photo courtesy of Lydia Walker

Adams speaks to students in the Manning lecture hall on the double standards that come from university speech codes. Adams addressed the point in his new book, *Feminists Say the Darndest Things*.



Dr. Mike Adams poses with College Republicans from UNC, Duke, and N.C. State following his speech here April 10. Adams is suing his school, UNCW, for denying him tenure based on his openly conservative ideology.

just above 80 percentin the past few years because of successful lawsuits, many of which Dr. Adams was involved with.

One of the targets of these lawsuits was Appalachian State University, which had a speech code that said you had the right to four years of college without challenging language. That speech code completely defeated one of the main purposes of college, to be challenged

Dr. Adams implored the audience to stop whining about the problem of free speech codes and instead do something about it. He challenged us to write down every single time that we were offended or made to feel uncomfortable by speech on campus. The administration can ignore him or any other single person, but they cannot ignore hundreds who question them.

The goal of the speech codes is to suppress only certain types of speech, which has led to a serious lack of debate on college campuses today.

One such topic that is not receiving the attention is should is abortion, which has been way too politicized on campuses these days. Dr. Adams feels that the real purpose of the opening of the women's resource center at UNCW was to support abortion politics from only one side of the equation. The center's website only had links to Planned Parenthood and refused to support Pregnancy Crisis Centers as well, making up excuses on to the spot when Dr. Adams asked about it.

What shocks Dr. Adams the most though is the unbelievable arrogance of feminists on campuses that makes them believe that because they are offended, they have unlimited rights. In 2006 at Northern Kentucky University, an anti-abortion display that had been put up by the Northern Right to Life group angered Professor Sally Jacobsen so much that she took her British Literature class and destroyed it.

The most unbelievable part was that she claimed she was promoting free speech. Luckily, one student who did not participate in the vandalism called the campus newspaper, which was able to photograph Jacobsen in action. Because of the obvious evidence, the university was forced to fire her as head of their women's center.

There are often times a sort of marriage between different victim groups on campuses, but Dr. Adams does not believe that the feminist movement has the best interests of blacks in mind.

One of the pillars of the feminists is their pro-choice, pro-abortion stance and yet they do not seem to care that over half of all black pregnancies in America are aborted. Blacks make up only 13 percent of the American population, but nearly 30 percent of the almost 50 million abortions preformed since *Roe v. Wade* (1973) have been black babies, yet this is not considered a racial problem in the same vein as the overrepresentation of blacks in prison.

Dr. Adams then posed a very serious question to the audience: "When are we going to have a very serious discussion on the issue of guns and gun free zones?"

The criminology professor does not believe that the government, be it run by Democrats or Republicans, effectively handles the problem of rising crime rates in the country, and we have to stop thinking that the government can get people to stop wanting to commit crimes. Twenty years ago when states began to pass conceal carry handgun laws, many critics claimed that there would be an explosion of violent crime in America, yet no study has been able to prove that the homicide rate has risen since then.

Even more, many studies show no difference in the homicide rate or even that it has dropped in the past two decades. This is because now criminals have to wonder if their chosen victim might be armed, so instead they go to colleges because the campuses are full of suitable unarmed targets.

To make matters worse, college politicize murders on or around their campuses and go extremely anti-gun. College campuses are examples of perfect gun control yet so many people are being hurt and killed every year. Serious academic issues such as college gun free zones should not be politicized to the point of suppression of one side of the debate.

Dr. Adams closed with one last message to the conservatives in the room. "You want to whine, you want to moan about how the liberals are destroying everything. If you're afraid of a liberal, just go jump off a bridge. Don't sit back and take it." **CR**

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Female Orgasm Week

Project Dinah event cheapens intimacy of the male-female relationship



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Photo courtesy of Facebook

UNC decided that we college students have not received enough sex-ed. To remedy this issue Project Dinah, a UNC women's empowerment group, decided to bring in two experts, Dorian Solot and Marshall Miller. But these experts go a slightly against the grain – instead of teaching abstinence or just using condoms, this pair preached, "I heart female orgasm."

The apparent point of this whole "Orgasm Week" was to educate and open women to their sexuality. Emily Dunn, co-chairwomen of the Project Dinah, told the *Daily Tar Heel* that she hoped the event would "empower women to help them have better and safer sex lives."

However, it seems that the idea of female orgasms is anything but "better and safer" for a women's sex life.

To view sexuality solely in terms of sensual pleasure cheapens the eloquent and beautiful practice sex ought to be. Sex is one of the greatest representations of forming a lasting and powerful intimacy with another person. Just think back to the original purpose of sex, which was to procreate. Is there better way to create an everlasting bond between two people than for them to have a child?

To think that sex can be reduced to a relationship with yourself and maybe a piece of plastic forgets that intimacy is a part of what that relationship ought to be. A relationship without intimacy goes against all the natural instincts of women. We seek attention and comfort that cannot be completely satisfied by ourselves, but only with an engaging partner. According to these experts, women should force – yes, force – themselves into sexual satisfaction.

Women say they want to be independent and escape these impulses, but in the end we always want company. To have sex without a partner would be like choosing to go to Maggiano's alone on date night instead of going with someone. Yes, women have moments when we want to be alone, yet in those moments we go on a walk or lock ourselves in our rooms or go for a run. You don't go do something fantastic when you feel like having alone time. Those moments are fleeting anyway, so once they are over we again seek the fellowship of others. We are not made to be creatures of solitude but of companionship.

In those moments when women suppress their cardinal desires of intimacy and induce an orgasm, they are further reducing the intimacy and power of sex into a mere pleasure. Seeking pleasure is seeking trifles. Pleasures can be won and lost in a moment and while joy sustains.

True, joy takes time to build and may require hard work, but that only makes it the stronger so that it may last. I am convinced that no real joy can come from forcing myself into sexual pleasure, no matter how many times I try, but only from a meaningful interaction between someone who naturally brings about my satisfaction.

This event fails to bring a "better and safer" idea for female student's sex lives. They promote an empty, void, and fleeting sex life that is certainly not better than a healthy relationship based on intimacy and substance.

It is not any safer, for the ideas are building women up for an emotional letdown. Promising that sexual desires can be fulfilled by a forced orgasm makes women think they can be easily satisfied when their innermost nature says otherwise. Going against our basic instincts cannot be the "safe" thing to do.

"If we're lucky, this will be the climax of the semester," said Solot. This event isn't as much of a climax as it is an obstacle we can hopefully overcome. **CR**

SIMPLY SATIRE

The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

About four months ago, I was thinking about how I could use this space to mercilessly mock the insignificance of the N.C. primary.

Isn't it ironic?

Well, as it turns out, I'm having to come up with another idea. Since North Carolina's primary could actually help determine the Democratic nomination this year, I figured I should endorse a candidate.

No, it's not a conflict of interest

I debated for a long time between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama.

There's a difference?

Finally, I determined that both were too firmly entrenched in the political machine that is U.S. politics today.

Funny, they both accuse the other of that same thing

Plus, being a Republican, I will freely admit that by my very nature I am not progressive enough to be able to tolerate having a black man or a woman as president. I still in this modern age feel the need to oppress minorities and women.

Chapel Hill's done nothing for me

I needed someone who could rise above the system. Someone who'd been there before. Someone who already knew what it felt like to lose to a Republican.

Since it's inevitable

I soon stumbled upon a rather inconvenient truth: Al Gore fit the bill.

Pun WAY intended

Though Gore is talented enough that he can win the Nobel Peace Prize without doing anything related to peace, he didn't feel quite right either.

Bit of a sore loser; plus, tree-huggers are shallow

Then it came to me. I had found someone who could transcend party lines.

By silencing his opposition

He is someone who is above our corrupt political system dominated by lobbyists and special interests.

Above even the law itself

He is someone who is not afraid to do what it takes to get the job done.

Including ignoring human rights and freedom of speech

He lines up perfectly with the ideals of the Democratic Party: authoritarian government, less U.S. defense spending, stricter gun control and socialized health care.

Also anti-Americanism and hospitality for terrorist dictators

Most of all, he is someone who will make a lasting impact on our nation.

By abolishing term limits and establishing proxy successors

That's right: The Rub endorses Vladimir Putin for president in '08.

Isn't it ironic?

Paradigms and Principles

Hocus Pocus Focus: Global warming propaganda can find its way into any classroom

The Review has made its position on "climate change" rather well certain this year. Thus it will likely surprise our readers that we have a very positive view of "Focus the Nation."

"Focus the Nation" was a nationwide "Teach-in" on Jan. 31. According to its supporters, more than 1000 colleges and universities from every state in the previously unfocused nation participated. Something around 80 professors at UNC took part in the event, designed to spread awareness. In addition, UNC hosted a panel discussion, a carnival, live dance performances, and a series of various other events.

We feel compelled to endorse "Focus the Nation." By aiming their message at college students, they've made their efforts essentially useless. It's safe to assume that nearly all college students are aware of Global Warming, and the ones who aren't will not be reached by a "teach-in." Thus, global warming zealots have found a way to make themselves feel good about "finally getting out there and doing something you know" while simultaneously accomplishing nothing.

For instance, the founder of the organization by the same name, Eban Goodstein, had to take a two-year leave of absence in order to devote himself full-time to the movement. Eban Goodstein is a Professor of Economics at Lewis & Clark College who's published several annoyingly titled books about Global Warming. Any reason to have two years without him doing real academic work is a good reason.

You might say we're warming up to these climate change enthusiasts' emissions.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST?

Voter registration mongers may not have only high turnout in mind

I don't know if you have noticed that all last month there were all these students standing around asking, "Are you registered to vote in Orange County?" In the Quad, in the Pit, in front of the dining halls, really you couldn't escape them.

Personally, I felt rather loved by those people. I was asked about two or three times a day whether I was registered to vote. Oh, how they pursued me, desired me! My routine began to include our little rendezvous – go to class, get asked to register, then to lunch, and another lovely asking, followed by some lazing about, then if I am lucky enough I will see my pursuers again before dinner.

But I was dumped! One day we were fine, the next I cannot get them to talk to me. What changed? Did I say something? No, I always say that I am already registered in my usual annoyed tone. Did I do something? No, I always walk quickly by them hoping we don't make eye contact. I just don't understand what happened to the relationship.

The day I realized the immediate change was the day I wore my "I only date Republicans" t-shirt. Suddenly, my pursuers didn't want me. After one look at my t-shirt, instead of hurrying to greet me, they would take one step toward me then run away like I had leprosy.

Why would that make a difference? Was I rejected because my shirt identified me as a Republican? For the one day I had my shirt on I was not asked once if I was registered, but by the next day I was suddenly wanted again.

Oh, how shallow…

-Lydia Walker

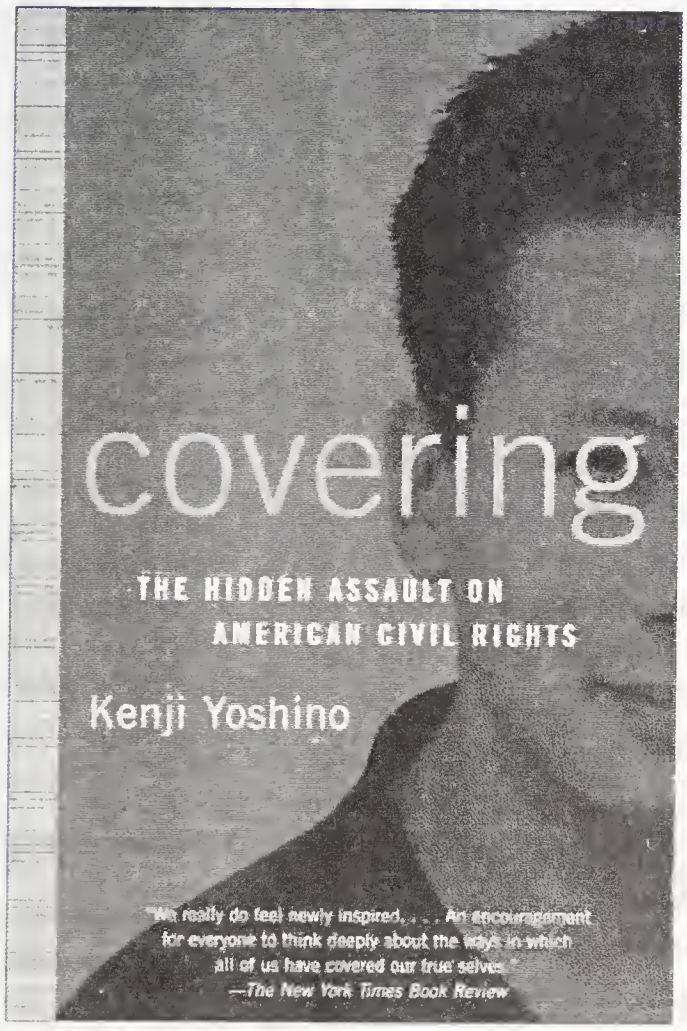
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Summer 2008 A.D.

Carolina Review

UN-COVERING



Exposing the subtle flaws of UNC's summer reading choice

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FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

In the Charlotte Observer special section dedicated to the passing of Senator Jesse Helms, local columnist Tommy Tomlinson proclaimed loudly and clearly that the life of the rigidly and often antagonistically conservative politician had been rendered for naught – his opposition to homosexuality, for instance, was a position now obsolete in an increasingly progressive society. As hard as Helms tried to stand strong against the movement of history, it moved on without him, anyway, wrote Tomlinson.

Whether this is an appropriate thesis for the lead column on the front page of the section "honoring" the death of a great civil servant will be left entirely for a separate forum. But there is an even greater problem with those words that needs addressing, and it epitomizes the state of the American political landscape as we move closer to this landmark election.

Simply put, it's that Tommy Tomlinson is dead wrong.

More frightening, though, is that Tomlinson is not alone is his perception of such conservative stalwarts as Helms, particularly in their opinion of their political values as outdated and unenlightened, or worse even intolerant or anti-pluralistic.

It is true that in the U.S. Senate today one has to search for a candidate to become the next Helms; none of the names among the most recognizable Republican senators can be counted as solid conservatives - though Senator Jim DeMint of South Carolina may be on his way to prominence.

But Tomlinson was chiefly concerned with the impact that Jesse Helms had on society, and he shamelessly implied that the Senator was to be left behind in history.

Perhaps he has forgotten that Helms led the transition of North Carolina from a state of southern Democrats to one that now votes Republican in every Presidential election and has elected two Republican senators. Or that in North Carolina, unlike California (the state Tomlinson mentions), we still have much moral crumbling to do before we allow homosexual marriages.

Though it may seem otherwise, this column was not mentioned to target Tommy Tomlinson. It was mentioned, in light of the coming presidential election in which a true conservative political philosophy is difficult to find, and of course the arrival of a few thousand new students onto our campus this fall, as a reminder that conservatism could still find its way back into the offices that control this state and this country. It has several open doors if the Republican leaders would resolve to return to the principles of Ronald Reagan, and one of his right hand men in his Revolution, Jesse Helms.

Here in Chapel Hill, the Carolina Review is doing its part to restore those principles to the minds of the next generation of leaders. We believe that a conservative is someone who thinks government exists to protect the liberty of humanity to exercise its innate goodness, and not to fix all of its problems for it. We also believe that this was the ideal envisioned by our Founding Fathers, and that the prevailing political values of today run counter to this original plan.

This fall, beginning with this issue, we hope to expose this contradiction that is so evident this election season, beginning with the man many are already crowning our savior, Barack Obama.

Sincerely,

Bryan Weynand and Nash Keune
Co-Editors

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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NEW BLOG DESIGN
Carolina Review's Blog is now new and improved. Featuring the same design as our Web site, the blog is now even easier to navigate. Check it out online at **unc.edu/cr/.**

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Now it is even easier to explore Carolina Review's back issues. Every issue from 1999 to 2006 is online and available for download at **unc.edu/cr/archive/.**

CHEERS & JEERS

May 2008 *The May 2008 issue was dedicated to honoring the late William F. Buckley. Buckley was the founding editor of the National Review*, from which we derived our inspiration. Buckley was as fearless a conservative leader who ever lived, and our movement owes its history to his work. *As usual, you can read our old issues online at* **unc.edu/cr/archive/**

Comment on May stories at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com.**

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VIEWPOINTS



SOME CHAPEL HILL BIG WIG: "IN HONOR OF JESSE HELM'S LEGACY WE HAVE DECIDED TO BUILD A FENCE AROUND CHAPEL HILL BUT ALLOW A GATE TO BE USED FOR UNC-CH BASKETBALL AWAY GAMES"

"I came up between the two world wars during the Depression. All the people around me emphasized working and savings and personal responsibility. They spelled out in one way or another the uniqueness of America. This has largely been lost. Nobody would have thought of turning to the government to solve all our problems."— SENATOR JESSE HELMS

"A wise and frugal government, which shall leave men free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor and bread it has earned - this is the sum of good government."
— THOMAS JEFFERSON

"Government exists to protect us from each other. Where government has gone beyond its limits is in deciding to protect us from ourselves."
— RONALD REAGAN



A CALIFORNIA JUDGE CONTEMPLATES WHAT WORD TO RE-DEFINE NEXT



AND THE "CRY ME A RIVER" AWARD GOES TO THE SUMMER READING BOOK (AGAIN)

"Compromise, hell! That's what has happened to us all down the line — and that's the very cause of our woes. If freedom is right and tyranny is wrong, why should those who believe in freedom treat it as if it were a roll of bologna to be bartered a slice at a time?"
— SENATOR JESSE HELMS

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER



THE ECONOMICS OF THE OBAMESSIAH

Obama's plan to fight gas prices demonstrates lack of understanding and exposes a fundamental flaw in energy policy



by NASH KEUNE
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Gas prices have (as of the writing of this issue) finally started to plateau. It makes sense, then, that they haven't dominated the news quite as much as they did when they were jumping a dime (per gallon) per week.

However, this recent relief belies the underlying folly of our energy policy. After all, gas prices tend to hit their peak early in the summer, only to decrease for the rest of the year. Further, gas prices are changing largely because America's crude-oil supplies increased by 3 million barrels and President Bush revoked the executive order forbidding offshore drilling (offshore drilling is still banned, though, as Congress maintains its moratorium), not because of a fundamental change in our policy, which has remained essentially the same.

Even with slight price decreases, prices remain rather unstable and too high. This has contributed to our disco-era inflation rates (wholesale prices have risen 9.2 percent according to the Department of Labor, the most since 1981). Thus, energy policy provides an excellent test for our candidates for president. Concerning Obama, it gives us an opportunity to test if his soaring rhetoric is matched with equally inspiring policies.

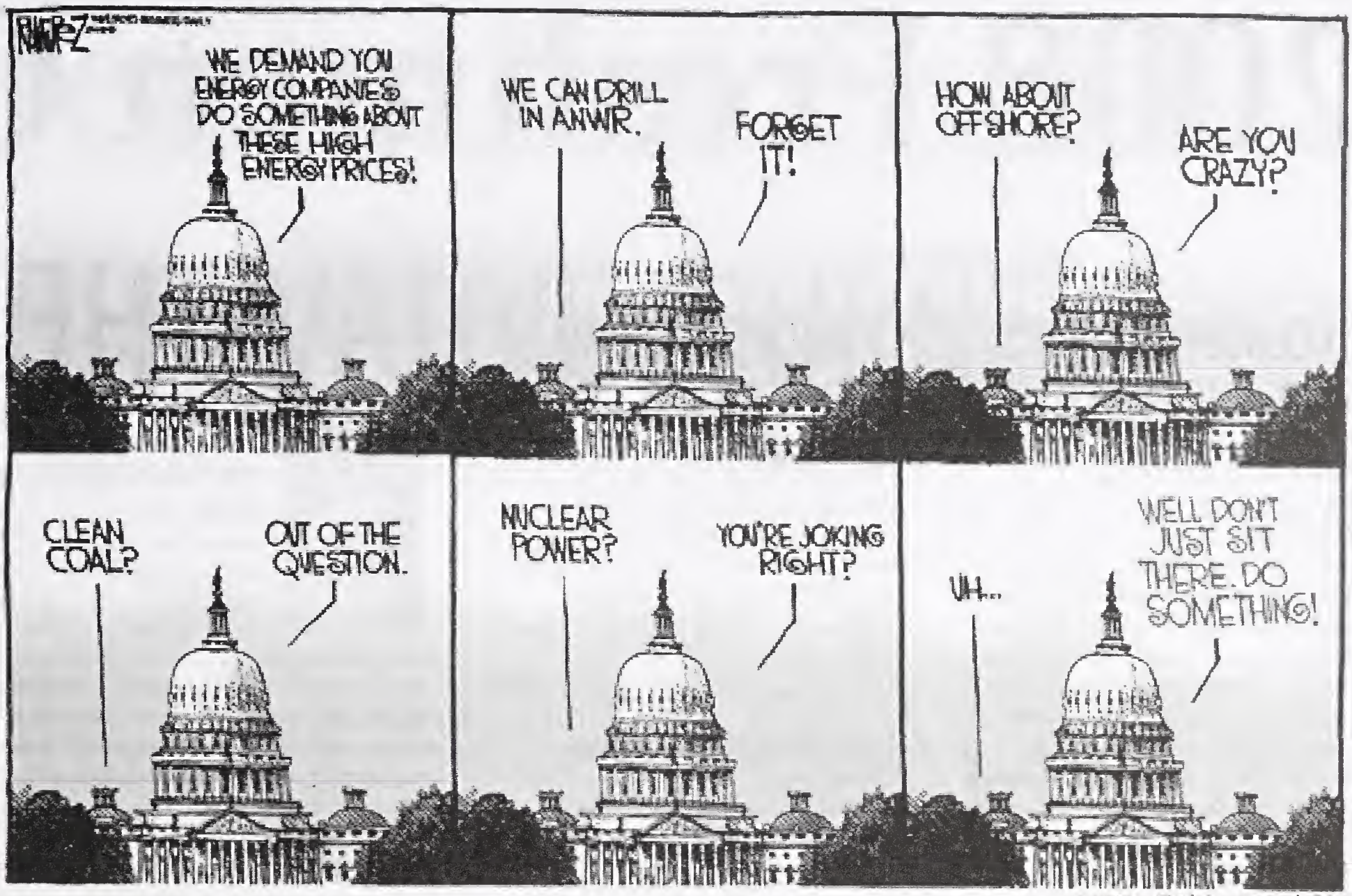
His plan is simple, as it's a checklist for doctrinaire, unreformed, unimaginative Liberalism (which just makes its refutation all the more effortless).

The first plank in his platform is his support for a tax on windfall oil profits. For one thing, the profit margin in the oil industry in remarkably low. In fact the federal gas tax, which is 18.4%, accounts for a larger share of the price of gas than profits, which are somewhere around a dime per dollar. For all his mocking the gas tax holiday for only saving consumer's a handful of money, his mania over windfall prices concerns something even more trivial.

Further, this tax provides a disincentive to invest in oil. In fact, the Congressional Budget Office reported that the last such tax led to a decrease in the oil supply or, in other words, added upwards pressure on gas prices.

Finally, many pension plans, mutual funds, etc. have investments in oil companies. Pensioners and other members of the lower and middle class, not just corpulent executives, benefit from "excessive profits," and will be directly hurt by this tax. Some might want to soak the rich, but soaking the grandmothers is somewhat less appealing.

Obama also would invest $150 billion over 10 years in green energy, double science and research funding for clean energy projects, and establish a (very creatively named) energy-focused Green Jobs Corps (according to his campaign website). Of course, this entails taking a huge sum of money (equal to the



GDP of Hungary) from the private sector (where it goes to solutions that make sense to the market, not the politicians) to give it to the public sector (where money goes to solutions that make sense to the politicians, not the market).

Concerning bio-fuels, he would have us (again, according to his website) deploy cellulosic ethanol, expand locally-owned bio-fuel refineries, establish a national low carbon fuel standard, and increase the renewable fuel standard. Not only have bio-fuels been a whopping failure, they have also increased food shortages in the third world (by diverting grain and such from food production) and led to greater deforestation (Mark Steyn noted that "researchers at Princeton calculate that to date the "carbon debt" created by the biofuels arboricide will take 167 years to reverse").

Finally, Obama would like to double fuel economy standards within 18 years (again, according to his website). In the words of America's wisest living economist Thomas Sowell, "higher mileage standards have meant lighter and flimsier cars, leading to more injuries and deaths in accidents - in other words, trading blood for oil." Apparently faith-based initiatives are not the only thing Obama would borrow from the Bush Administration.

More generally though, Obama grossly misdiagnoses the problem. He blames the oil companies for high gas prices, when there are really several other contributors which have been more important. One of the largest reasons for increased prices is increased international demand. In other words, now that the economies in China and India are, well, extant, they need energy, hwhich pushes prices up. The Chinese and Indians now have food; we pay a little more for gas... seems somewhat reasonable. Further, our FED had until recently been following an inflationary monetary policy. This weakened the dollar against foreign currencies, making gas more expense for us.

Supply, demand, and inflation are forces that any voter can understand. Either Obama does not understand this basic economics - meaning he's not as intelligent as a President should be or the Obamaniacs would have us assume - or he's acting as a demagogue to manipulate and motivate - meaning that he's not the pure Obamessiah (or, if certain internet rumors are true, the Obamallah) in whom we are supposed to believe. In any case, by using the anti-corporate card, Obama's playing on the worst aspects of the electorate- envy, greed, antipathy to people who aren't like them - rather than the electorate's rationality.

Unfortunately, the GOP alternative to CHANGE WE CAN BELIEVE IN does not have a completely agreeable energy plan. But, McCain's epiphany about offshore drilling and his commitment to nuclear energy (Obama seems ambivalent towards it, though the atavistic proto-reactionary regimes in France and Belgium safely get over 75% of their energy from nuclear sources) are certainly heartening. Even with his opposition to drilling in ANWR and his support of cap and trade, his positions are superior to the Obama's tired anti-corporate bilge.

Criticizing Obama can feel like debating the existence of Santa with an eight-year old. But, not only is it lèse majesté - it is also bound to become outdated as Obama continues "refining" his positions (Obama has been changing his positions as frequently as the typical 16-year old girl changes her Facebook profile picture). Perhaps the news that only 18% of voters agree with his position against offshore drilling (according to a Rasmussen Reports survey) will hasten him. We can only hope that his increasingly inevitable flip-flop is permanent.

2008 Freshmen O

compiled by NASH KEUNE

10 CLASSES TO TAKE TO BE THE TOKEN CONSERVATIVE GADFLY

While UNC's course bulletin might not feature such outrageous offerings as (Barack Obama's alma mater) Occidental College's class titled simply "The Phallus" or Amherst College's "Taking Marx Seriously," but we do have some typically politically correct (... useless) courses:

WMST 553: Theorizing Black Feminisms
ANTH 449: Anthropology and Marxism
ENGL/WMST 140: Intro to Gay & Lesbian Literature
ANTH 539: Environmental Justice
ENGL/WMST 363: Feminist Literary Theory
ANTH 254: Environmental Consciousness and Action
SOCI 412: Social Stratification
POLI 475: Marxism and Socialism
SOCI 273: Social and Economic Justice
POLI 265: Feminism and Political Theory

5 WEBSITES TO CHECK DAILY

While the Right doesn't necessarily have any sites to rival Huffington Post or MoveOn.org, there are still some useful, engaging, and insightful sites to bookmark and visit in the excruciating weeks between issues of the Carolina Review:

National Review Online: www.nationalreview.com
Townhall: http://www.townhall.com/
The Cato Institute: www.cato.org
Investor's Business Daily Editorials: http://www.ibdeditorials.com/
RedPlanet Political Cartoons: http://www.redplanetcartoons.com/

10 BOOKS TO READ THIS YEAR

In order to fend off the monolithic forces of Liberalism at UNC, you must be able to argue intelligently, not by blunt invectives (only the stupid, moronic, idiotic, Dumbocraps do that). Here are ten books which will help, in order of priority:

The Road to Serfdom by Friedrich Hayek
The Law by Frédéric Bastiat
God and Man at Yale by William F. Buckley Jr.
Capitalism and Freedom by Milton Friedman
Applied Economics by Thomas Sowell
The Conscience of a Conservative by Barry Goldwater
Parliament of Whores by P.J. O'Rourke
Letters to a Young Conservative by Dinesh D'Souza
Ideas have Consequences by Richard Weaver
Second Treatise on Civil Government by John Locke

SOME CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

In case you miss them at Fall Fest, here's how to contact the Conservative campus organizations:

College Republicans:
Chairman Derek Belcher: dbelcher@email.unc.edu
Website: http://www.unc.edu/unccr

Tar Heel Rifle and Pistol Club:
Duke Cheston: rcheston@email.unc.edu
Website: http://www.unc.edu/thrpc

Carolina Troop Supporters:
Eleanor Degolian: degolian@email.unc.edu

Carolina Students for Life:
E-mail: carolinastudentsforlife@gmail.com
Website: http://www.carolinastudentsforlife.com

Carolina Review:
E-mail: carolinareview@unc.edu
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THE C



by ROSIE BUCHERATI
English and Journalism Major
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rosieb@email.unc.edu

As I started my freshman year at UNC, I probably had more than the normal turmoil of emotions that my fellow freshies had, for there I was, entering what was acknowledged as one of the most liberal universities in the country with an 'R' on my voter registration card.

I had already survived four years at an uber-liberal, feminist all girls boarding high school, where, as president of the Young Republicans Club and known as 'The Conservative,' I was considered Enemy #1.

But a small high school where few of the girls had real political interests was a far cry from the sacred bastion of liberalism that is UNC. I could handle girls who simply quoted their parents, but was I ready to take on indoctrinated, idealistic college students who considered Bush worse than the Anti-Christ? Would I even be able to find my fellow conservatives among the overwhelming sea of liberals?

These were the doubts the assailed me as I packed and got ready for the start of the semester. I felt like my worst fears were confirmed during the first few days walking around campus as I saw the vast hordes of students proudly wearing 'Save Darfur' and Young Democrats shirts. I was afraid my search for my fellow conservatives was over before it had even begun. These were the fears that laid heavy on my heart as I made my way to my first Fall Fest.

As I was squeezing my way part the multitudes of people cramming South Road, I beheld the most amazing of sights before me. The crowds parted like the Red Sea, revealing a young man clothed in a Reagan shirt, wearing a ridiculous, huge flag hat, and completely plastered in

rientation Guide

ONSERVATIVE JOURNEY

College Republicans stickers. It was as if the clouds had parted to reveal the sun after weeks of rain.

I promptly ran up, got a sticker myself, and was directed to the College Republicans table where I immediately signed up for the listserv and smiled gratefully at the happy faces behind the table.

I had done it, I had found my fellow conservatives at UNC; they actually existed. And it did not end with just the College Republicans.

Later that night during Fall Fest I discovered the Carolina Students for Life table, where I had to ask if they were an actual organization, so amazed was I to see a pro-life group on campus. During the next few weeks, I found two more amazing organizations through College Republicans, the Tar Heel Rifle and Pistol Club, and of course, the Carolina Review. By the end of my first month, I had a resume that would make any liberal cringe.

As my first semester at UNC went on, I was pleasantly surprised to discover that far from being a tiny subdued minority, the conservative community at Carolina was thriving. Conservatives were everywhere I went, hidden from the casual observer by the mass liberalism, but not for long as they quietly took over many of the positions of powers within student government while their liberal counterparts wasted their time in pointless demonstrations.

There were closet conservatives hiding all over the campus waiting to come out with their political views, they just had to be found.



Cartoon by Justin Crowder

I discovered that the most basic tool needed to survive Carolina as a Republican was knowledge. Liberals, like good little robots, tend to automatically regurgitate whatever they hear from the slanted media, and so their arguments easily collapse when they are questioned further. I learned to read more and I often annoyed my roommate by always keeping the TV turned to Fox News. I had found that my fellow conservatives and I had to have the best weapons before we headed off to fight the good fight.

I survived my first year at Carolina despite the odds stacked against me. I have high hopes for my next three years thanks to the momentum that conservative community is creating on campus. To all you closet conservatives who picked us this copy of the Carolina Review when you thought no one was looking and all you new freshmen who have the same fears I did, take heart; there are others like you out there, but you will never find us if you don't try. So go out and get involved and fight the good fight against the liberal indoctrination; we'll be waiting for you with open arms.

SUMMER READING

COVERING

The Hidden Assault on American Civil Rights

by OLIVIA BLANCHARD

Once again, the time has come for Carolina's summer reading program, and once again, the chosen book is of a controversial, socially-abuzz topic. This year's pick is *Covering: The Hidden Assault on Our Civil Rights* by Kenji Yoshino, a Yale Law School professor who draws on his minority experience as a homosexual Asian to make a case for a new sort of social authenticity. According to Yoshino, although civil rights have done much to increase social equality in America, in focusing on group identity—and mostly on race and gender—we have ignored the more subtle infringements on our rights as individuals; namely, the pervasive social requirement to "cover" the known, but nonetheless socially non-mainstream, aspects of our character.

Yoshino's primary example of "covering" is in the gay rights realm; he traces the evolution of gay rights in America, asserting that while it may now be acceptable to be gay, it is still unacceptable to act it, or to "flaunt." In this way, Yoshino maintains that homosexuals are still treated like second-class citizens in America, because social and professional pressure continues to encourage a down-playing of stereotypically homosexual behavior. While the issue of gay rights, however, is Yoshino's main target, he also expands this premise to include racial minorities, women, and, in a larger sense, anything that anyone feels he or she has to hide for the sake of social acceptability.

Fortunately, *Covering* is a refreshing choice after last year's vapid selection, *The Death of Innocents*, in which Sister Helen Prejean offers a rambling and sometimes incoherent attack on the death penalty, attempting to convince us that an ineffective justice system automatically renders capital punishment intrinsically wrong. It is illogical, badly written, and shallow, and fortunately Yoshino's *Covering* is none of these.

Kenji Yoshino is clearly extremely smart, his writing is frequently brilliant, and his points are well-considered and sincere. His construction of the book—a seamless blending of equal parts memoir and legal theory—was this English major's dream, because what could easily be an intensely dry, endless rehashing of court cases is, in fact, brimming with colorful narrative pieces outlining Yoshino's personal identity struggle: "Poetry was my medium, as rigid and formal and obscure as its author. On Saturday nights, I would sit in my cement-block dorm room with my face lit green by my IBM's glow, agonizing not over women, or men, but line breaks. I thought myself happy, and in some sense I was."

However, while the literary merit of *Covering* is sure and compelling, its political forays are often strident and misapplied. Yoshino offers us his own personal utopia, a world in which everyone's identity is redefined into a sort of nebulous self-affirmation. He bemoans how we all are made to cover every day, calling for an overhaul of that requirement so that we can move from uncertainty in our true selves and toward, instead, a kind of collective dedication to individuality.

If this sounds complicated, it is, and Yoshino even acknowledges the difficulty of his ideal, citing a colleague's criticism of his project: "When I was in graduate school, there was an African-American man who studied German Romantic poetry. Under your model, I could easily see someone saying he was 'covering' his African-American identity by studying something so esoteric and highbrow. But it was clear to me he was studying Romantic poetry because he was seized by it. And if someone had assumed he was studying it to 'act white,' they would have diminished him as a human being."

Yoshino glosses over this summation of his argument's weakness, explaining that although he has "literally lost sleep over this criticism," he takes it "more as a caution than as a wholesale indictment."

Unfortunately, "wholesale indictment" seems to be more accurate, since this is the crucial and insurmountable Achilles' heel of Yoshino's argument: there is ultimately no way to know if certain behaviors are shamefaced covering or simply part of a person's character.

If a career woman seems rather "masculine" because she is assertive, takes the lead on important projects, and doesn't wear makeup, then is she trying hard to downplay her femininity, or is she being herself? How do we reconcile a black man's race, his most obvious identity classification, with a "white" penchant for German Romantic poetry? Isn't it a little bit racist to *try* to reconcile his academic interests with his race, anyway?

Clearly, Yoshino doesn't think so, perhaps because he is convinced that "this country is in the grip of white supremacy as it is in the grip of heteronormativity." This rather militant railing against "white supremacy," though, seems rather histrionic, especially since this is a man who was educated at Exeter, Harvard, Oxford and Yale.

Yoshino enjoys living at the pinnacle of prestige and influence, so his deigning to include a couple of racial anti-discriminatory cases necessarily seems rather far-fetched. For example, in referencing the case of *Rogers v. American Airlines*, Yoshino champions Rogers' right to wear cornrows in the workplace, because American Airlines' "policy disproportionately burdened African-American women, with whom cornrows are strongly associated."

Perhaps this is true, and perhaps Rogers should have been allowed to wear cornrows, but can we really trust Yoshino to understand the nuances of this case, much less its deeper socio-emotional relevance in larger society? Yoshino's peppering of racial minorities' antidiscrimination cases throughout his book, an obvious attempt to render his thesis more universal, comes off as a sort of thinly-spread, very biased icing on the cake of his larger argument.

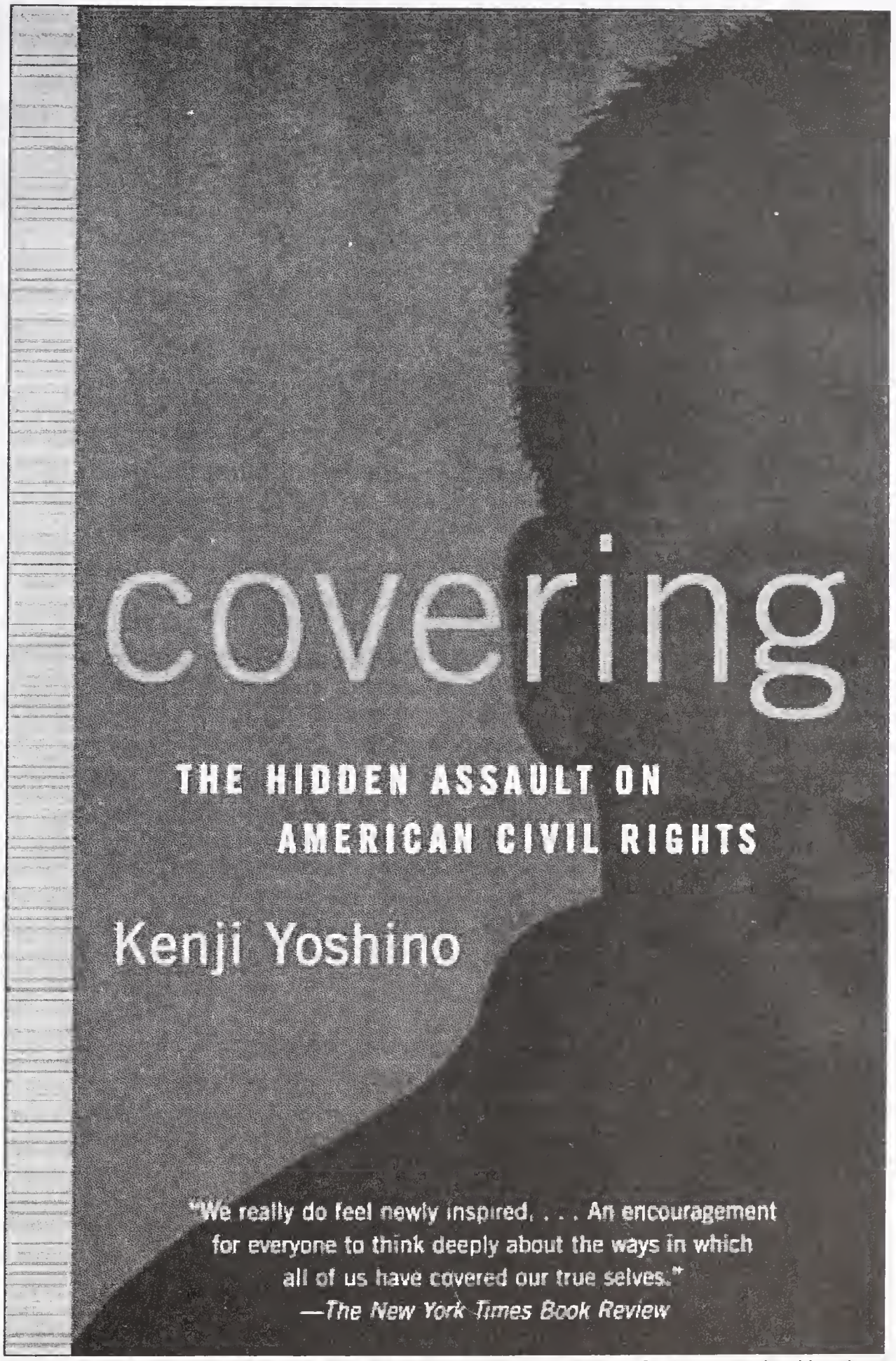


Photo from Barnes and Noble website

Not that said larger argument is not a fascinating and, at times, enlightening one. Yoshino is fighting for a noble, even righteous, and definitely far-reaching goal; namely, "... the bones of our common human endeavor, the yearning for human emancipation that stirs within us all." He asserts that we all need a certain level of "coming out," because we are all, in a sense, secret somethings: "The news is peopled with closet poets, closet Republicans, closet gamblers, closet artists, and closet fans of the Tampa Bay Devil Rays. We all have secret selves." Now, of course no one is arguing against the "human emancipation that stirs within us all"—presumably, even the most guilty adherent to Yoshino's modern "white supremacy" (meaning what, by the way? Watching the evening news and taking ski vacations, or donning a hooded white hat every Saturday night with your blonde, blue-eyed neighbors?) would recognize the importance of our "common human endeavor."

The problem with all of this self-actualization theory, simply put, is that it is not a legal issue. What Yoshino describes is a very personal identity struggle, the need to reconcile what is most basically you with what the world expects, and legal theory is incompatible with this ethereal, intensely individual journey.

Even Yoshino seems to recognize this contradictory aspect of his argument, admitting that he is "troubled that Americans seem increasingly to turn toward the law to do the work of civil rights precisely when they should be turning away from it." Fair enough, but then why is half of *Covering* dedicated to court cases, political movement-making, and a general call to recognize all of the other marginalized groups in America—whomever they are—and arm them with legal defense?

Maybe Yoshino is right, and maybe the "dark underbelly of the American melting pot" is a sinister beast indeed. However, I cannot help but feel that what Yoshino really accomplishes with *Covering* is a legitimizing of identity struggle, a profound call to realize, accept, and deliver the truest aspects of ourselves—not a case for government intervention in intensely personal affairs.

Yoshino artfully relates the pain of self-repression and of feelings to hide our sincerest selves, while also trying to relate his professional area of expertise—antidiscrimination law—as a solution. It is a noble attempt, but ultimately an unproductive one. One of modern America's most looming problems is an overemphasis of the government's role in private life. In arguing for what is, essentially, government-protected self-realization, Yoshino misses the mark—he indeed proves the need for that self-realization, but he is much too confident in the legal realm's capacity and right to dictate that area of human life. Bureaucrats are simply not the appropriate organizers of human enlightenment—they can, and should, be focused on singing their own songs of self. Perhaps we could ignore this bit of fuddled philosophy if the phrase "civil rights" were not in *Covering*'s title; because it is, though, it demands a critical eye.

Tension between self and society is an ancient battle, and Yoshino elegantly and provocatively proves that even in an age when diversity is heralded as virtue and when we are pressed to "get along" since kindergarten—even now—the battle rages on. The problem is that this emotional-social construct is necessarily spiritual territory; jury benches and ivory towers must not be encouraged to encroach there.

In this way, Yoshino's project is an important and valid one, even if its legal context muddies his philosophical waters. Those waters do run deep and charged, and while it is imperative to keep the legal elements of *Covering*'s thesis at bay, the book should be enjoyed for what it is—constantly sincere, beautifully crafted, and resonant.

SUPREME SPLIT



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Divided Court right to end D.C. gun ban, but Guantanamo Bay ruling disgraces American ideals

In a time of war, for the safety and security of our men and women on the battlefield and our men and women living in this country, enemies of the United States are captured and held until their name is cleared and they are deemed not threatening.

That is, until now.

For the first time in the history of the United States, the Supreme Court has ruled that habeas corpus applies to enemy combatants, meaning that that the US must show reasonable evidence to hold suspected terrorists.

On June 12, 2008, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Lakhdar Boumediene with a 5-4 majority vote. Boumediene challenged the Bush administration on his detention at Guantanamo Bay, asserting that it was unlawful and wanting to appeal it in US civilian courts. And now, with Justice Anthony Kennedy leading the slim but definite majority opinion, he and the other roughly 270 detainees can do so.

Not only is this a historic ruling, but it is also a very dangerous one. Justice Antonin Scalia realizes this, saying in his dissent, "Henceforth, as today's opinion makes unnervingly clear, how to handle enemy prisoners in this war will ultimately lie with the branch [judicial] that knows least about the national security concerns that the subject entails."

The ruling strikes down the assertion that the Military Commissions Act of 2006 provides adequate legal protection to those being held. Chief Justice John Roberts also offered a dissent to the court's ruling. "The Court strikes down as inadequate most generous set of procedural protections ever afforded aliens detained by this country as enemy combatants," he said.

The dissenters couldn't be more right. This extraordinary ruling has struck down the traditional wartime procedures and replaced them with procedures granted to citizens of this nation in civilian courts. As Justice Scalia noted, the court has now put our national security in the hands of judges seated behind their desks in the courtroom instead of high-ranking military officers who have seen first-hand the terror in the Middle East. This thought becomes particularly more frightening when the 9th Circuit of Appeals is taken into consideration; their often radical, left-leaning decisions could result in detainees being released, a dangerous possibility.

A similar case arose out of post-war Germany in 1950. In *Johnson v. Eisentrager*, 21 Nazi Germans were captured in China and held in Landsberg Prison, an American detention facility located in the American zone of occupation in Germany. An obviously more level-headed Court then denied their petition to a writ of habeas corpus. Justice Robert Jackson wrote the 6-3 majority decision. "It is not for us to say whether these prisoners were or were not guilty of a war crime, or whether if we were to retry the case we would agree to the findings of fact or the application of the laws of war made by the Military Commission," he said. "The petition shows that these prisoners were formally accused of violating the laws of war and fully informed of particulars of these charges … We hold that the Constitution does not confer a right of personal security or an immunity from military trial and punishment upon an alien enemy engaged in the hostile service of a government at war with the United States."

Had today's Court presided over that case, those 21 Nazis and perhaps many others would have had the option to appeal their detention to US civilian courts. Thankfully the Court of that time realized that criminal court was not the equivalent of wartime courts. Now, there is the possibility that Gitmo detainees could be walking the streets of the United States. The Constitution, designed to not only protect the rights but also the wellbeing of American citizens, has now put them at risk by extending rights to dangerous foreigners.

According to the Defense Intelligence Agency fact sheet, 37 former detainees have been confirmed or suspected of recidivism. Most recently, Abdallah Salih al-Ajmi performed a suicide bomb attack in Mosul, Iraq in April. With the Court's ruling, it is likely that this number could climb.

This is likely to happen because there will definitely be detainees that are released. Not all will get the green light to leave Gitmo and not all (but I would say most) are an immediate threat to the United States for the simple fact that these people have been picked up on the battlefield in the War on Terror. But there will be those that will slip through the judicial system and return to terrorism. Because of this decision, the military is now faced with the daunting task of providing enough evidence beyond a doubt that they have reason to hold a prisoner. This is not hard to do in a typical criminal court when evidence for a simple burglary is being presented. But on the battlefield, the same evidentiary standards required in civilian court are near impossible to meet. Thus, many detainees may end up having strong cases for their release.

The left-leaning media was downright giddy over this decision, focusing moreso on the fact that it was a slap in the face to the Bush administration rather than raising questions of the safety of American citizens. And they love when anything coming out of this White House gets denied. Keith Olbermann had Jonathen Turley, a law

professor at George Washington University, on his show to nod along with. "The suggestion that people will die because we are giving legal process to those we have accused is a really bizarre and obnoxious thought," Turley said to Olbermann's delight. What Turley fails to realize is that these people that have been accused are enemy combatants; they are not ordinary citizens who deserve the same legal processes in civilian courts. Rather they are enemies of the country who should not face the same legal scrutiny that civilians do.

On "Hannity and Colmes," Alan Colmes hailed the ruling as a "great decision that dates back to the Magna Carta." Luckily, Karl Rove was on hand to kindly point out that never in the history of the United States during a time of war have enemy combatants been granted habeas corpus rights.

Their day in court is rapidly approaching. Recently, a federal judge overseeing the Gitmo lawsuits told the Justice Department to put all other cases aside for now and put the detainees' cases in the fast lane. The first obvious ramification of this is the slowdown of the court system. Having to put civilian cases on the backburner while the 270-some Gitmo detainees have their cases heard will certainly back the system up somewhat. Just image what it would have been like in World War II if all the Nazis the United States captured were given an attorney and put through the court system.

The second and most dangerous ramification of this is that civilian judges will now be making decisions concerning the country's national security. Judges who hear criminal cases dealing with US citizens will now be hearing cases dealing with people who hate this country and would give their life to express that hate. As mentioned before, this should not be put in the hands of our judges, but rather in the hands of experience military personnel on the ground, just as it has been for all the years in the past.

For all that the Supreme Court got wrong with Boumediene, they did at least put an end to the 32-year ban on handguns in the District of Columbia saying it was a blatant violation of the 2nd Amendment, which gives citizens the right to bear arms.

Justice Scalia wrote the 5-4 majority opinion. "We know of no other enumerated constitutional right whose core protection has been subjected to a freestanding 'interest-balancing' approach," he said. "The very enumeration of the right takes out of the hands of government—even the Third Branch of Government—the power to decide on a case-by-case basis whether the right is really worth insisting upon. A constitutional guarantee subject to future judges' assessments of its usefulness is no constitutional guarantee at all."

While the law still deems it illegal to carry a handgun outside of the home and requires that all pistols be registered with the police, it at least gives citizens a right to protect themselves and their belongings in their own home. There will always be a debate on the effectiveness of gun prohibition versus outlawing a ban in an effort to battle crime; in a crime-ridden part of the country like DC, this debate will only get more heated. But consider this statistic. Last year there were 143 gun-related murders in DC compared to 135 in 1976 when the ban was enacted. In addition, according to the Bureau of Justice, 80% of homicides two years ago were committed with a gun compared to 62% in 1976.

Since the Court has decided that habeas corpus rights apply to enemy combatants, why not 2nd Amendment rights as well? That should make things interesting. And if one of them shows up in Washington, DC, at least now, the citizens of the district will be able to defend themselves in their own homes. **CR**



SURE I BELIEVE IN SECOND AMENDMENT RIGHTS

Cartoon courtesy of Justin Crowder

CONGRESSIONAL CHANGE



by LYDIA WALKER
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Student Congress works for more proactive role as advocate for student body

The idea of CHANGE has been setting the nation ablaze for the past year. The world has learned the ways to change the way we view politics, history, and even kind of light bulbs we use. Now the fire of change has reached Chapel Hill where Student Congress has a new passion for change that will hopefully create a new and powerful force for students.

In order to have any hope for change, Congress first has to realize what it is that congress needs to change.

"The two biggest issues facing Student Congress," said Speaker Tim Nichols, "are creating truly representative congress and using student money wisely."

While the executive branch usually gets favored as the most powerful voice of the student body, Congress actually has much more power to be the mouth of the students. Unfortunately, in years past Congress has not utilized all its potential.

"I think that congress has failed to capitalize on its opportunity to exert influence on behalf of the students," said Representative Jason Sutton. "Congress is in fact the only branch of government that is fully elected. The executive branch has grown tremendously and seems to have input in a number of areas; congress simply needs to take some initiative."

Sutton goes on to state the great necessity of being "visible and vocal" in their efforts to serve the students. Nichols heartily agrees. In the past, Congress has held a bad reputation for failing to be proactive; he plans on changing that.

He hopes to enact reforms this year that will have all the representatives "going out to the students directly." Also, he wants to make Congress more of a presence in faculty and trustee meetings.

"I want to always send a congress representative to every trustee meeting and to other administration assemblies," asserts Nichols. "We need to know the right places to go and then what to do so that we can work for the students."

One of the ways congress is trying to become more proactive is by creating more research-oriented committees of Congress that dive into more student issues besides just tuition fees. Congress wants to help all aspects of student life – more influence of Congress opens the doors for more direct student influence.

For instance, the concern for free speech on campus has created new select committees such as the Select Committee on Free Speech and the Publication Research Select Committee. These committees work to ensure that the student's constitutional rights to express themselves are protected.

Sutton, who serves on the Select Committee on Free Speech, says the committee "hopes to expose any instance in which free speech and the free exchange of ideas seems to have been hampered by anything from free speech codes to professors who are intolerant of outside ideas with which they disagree."

As Congress establishes changes that will protect the voice of every student, it also wishes to protect the purse of every student. In this effort Congress will focus on ensuring the fairness and effectiveness of every monetary decision.

Representative Harrison Brooks, who chairs the Financial Efficiency Select Committee, believes it is a constant struggle of appropriating money fairly and efficiently to student organization. As leader of this committee, which deals with student activity fees, Harrison has to make sure that all organizations are using the tuition money allotted to them as conservatively and wisely as possible. Like Nichols says, "Get the most bank for the buck!"

Of course, the more monitoring of funds means that Congress will be able to cut out wastefulness so that there are fewer unnecessary tuition increases. All students want lower tuition fees.

"The most pressing issue facing Congress this year is to perform our most basic task of allocating what funds we have in a way that exhibits both fairness and efficiency," said Sutton. "By limiting wasteful spending, we can ensure that our fees, many of which are already too high, remain as low as possible for as long as possible."

Sutton also chairs the Select Committee on Tuition, which studies tuition from as many aspects as possible. Then it reports back to the students why their tuition is as high as it is, for in state and out of state, undergrad and grad students, and what their money pays for exactly.

Yet it is not enough for the government to take on all the financial responsibilities. Therefore Congress has created the Select Committee on Supplemental Funding. This committee researches alternate sources of fundraising that organizations can use to raise money for themselves. With these new resources, organizations are less dependent on student government, growing in self-sufficiency. Students can start taking control of their movements, without so much reliance on the will of government.

Changes like these do not take real effect by a few idealists in Congress. Nichols raves about the conviction and fire that permeates all of Student Congress.

"We have the opportunity to be the best Congress ever," said Nichols. "There is a lot of new blood that have brought passion and I'm also really looking forward to some great veterans like Ben Mickey and Mike Morrill."

Nichols knows his hope for change will not be let down by this year's Congress who have the most "gun hoe" spirit of any Congress he has seen – and he's been in office for three years. We all have been hearing about hope and change a lot in the past year. This Congress can change into the pro-active, vocal, influential, and personal body that truly works for the betterment of the students at Chapel Hill.

That's a change I hope we can all believe in. **CR**

New Congressional Select Committees

Tuition
Chairman Jason Sutton

Financial Efficiency
Chairman Harrison Brooks

Publication Research
Speaker Pro Temp Bryan Weynand

Free Speech
Chairman Michael Betts

Supplemental Funding
Chairwoman Allison Greenspan

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Photograph courtesy of www.abcnews.com



by LYDIA WALKER
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Ben Stein's documentary exposes what science is trying to hide

If America can be accused of one thing it must be this: her constant pursuit of freedom. She challenged Mother Brittain, fought against social inequality, and defended nations in need all for the sake of greater freedoms. While she has an amazing record for upholding freedoms, Ben Stein, political figure and entertainment personality, finds in his new movie *Expelled: No Intelligence Allowed* that some freedoms are not being preserved.

As *Expelled* reveals, the freedom of science is being repressed. Usually people don't consider science as much a freedom as religion or speech. However, after watching Ben Stein interview dozens of scientists, it's easy to see how science has been subjected to as much prejudice as any freedom. Ben Stein has a mission to discover how the theories of Evolution and Intelligent Design (ID) coexist in the scientific community.

Stein travels throughout the scientific community only to find that the study of ID is being unjustly and mercilessly attacked by the Darwin dominated world.

In an age when tolerance is supposedly so highly valued in our society, *Expelled* shocks the audience with snapshot interviews from prominent scientists. Richard Dawkins, renowned evolutionary biology and atheist, doesn't hide any of his feelings about ID, calling it completely illogical and saying that the fight against ID was "one skirmish over a larger war."

Thankfully, Expelled brings this war out of the laboratory and onto the big screen.

First thing to know about this war: what's the fight over? Dawkins says religion tries to interfere with experimental science today. Stein shows that today's experimental science represses certain experiments. This war is much less publicized, probably due to the lack of weapons of mass destruction or terrorists' attacks, but it still rages through the scientific community.

Like any great war in history, religion is the catalyst. When attempting to discover the origins of life, two theories are at odds: evolution, the break from religion, and ID, originally the defense of religion. However, in *Expelled* scientist Paul Nelson states the need to correctly define ID. Most of the ID scientists interviewed in fact claimed that ID had little to do with securing religious beliefs and more to do with "intelligent causation" that fills in the gaps left by evolution.

But *Expelled* tries to avoid taking a side in the war. Instead Stein studies the discrimination of ID theories in the scientific community.

Several of the evolutionary scientists seemed to have this general consensus: "creationists just pester us and waste our time." Though, by definition and practice, creationists and ID scientists are quite different, these two are still used interchangeably. When Stein talked to evolution believers about ID, they generally held the belief that any support for ID is support for God in science.

In every war there are casualties. Surprisingly, Dawkins complains about the horrible fighting between evolution and ID, but it seems that only ID suffers any real losses. In 2004 Dr. Richard Sternberg, a prominent evolutionary biologists, was fired as editor of the Smithsonian journal "The Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington" for authorizing an article that brought up evidence supporting ID. Caroline Crocker, Jonathan Wells, Douglas Axe, and Robert Marks all lost jobs in their scientific fields for questioning Darwinism. Guillermo Gonzalez, a highly influential astronomer who discovered two planets, was denied tenure at Iowa State because he published a book about the possibility of a world designer.

Gonzalez left words of wisdom for any upcoming scientist: "If you value your careers then keep quiet about intelligent design."

Dawkins speaks the truth when he says there is a scientific war today. Although after watching *Expelled* I can help but think that the battle is really a struggle against a great tyranny. The "scientific consensus" which supports Darwinism claims to uphold to be preserving true science by pruning certain theories such as ID. Yet, what tyrant ever admits their evils?

This age of scientific tyranny kills the essence, the drive of science itself – curiosity.

The Discovery Institute president Bruce Chapman vents to Stein that religion can be taken out of the debate and that ID can stand on just science. Mostly Chapman is frustrated with Darwin's world refusing to allow any real debate.

"Put the science and evidence on the table and see who wins," pushes Chapman. "That's what we are supposed to do for truly non-bias science. They say a creationist view is looking for a particular outcome – hypocrites!"

How can a scientist function without the freedom to question? Science today was born out of endless questions. Stephen Meyer, who wrote the article which got Sternberg fired, believes in the necessity of debates with arguments then counter-arguments. Arguments for Darwinism have been

fully articulated, but it ends there. Without the counterarguments, when the endless questions are cut off does pure science die?

When the Darwinists talk to Stein, they believed they were speaking as the "defenders of pure science." But the more scientists Stein found, the more they showed that they first had their worldviews and then they found science to back it up. The war challenges two very strong philosophical implications over the origins of life with both sides unwilling to give in. One side trusts a higher being. The other trusts the world and us as the higher beings. It's all a question of faith.

But different faiths are able to survive in the same world. Just take a look at UNC. We have organizations for Christians of every denomination, Jews, Muslims, etc. These vastly different faiths even hold debates and discussions to promote understanding and tolerance, which is the foundation of the freedom of religion. It seems a shame that academic freedom must suffer because of an unrealized tyranny that chooses suppression of theories instead of open discussion.

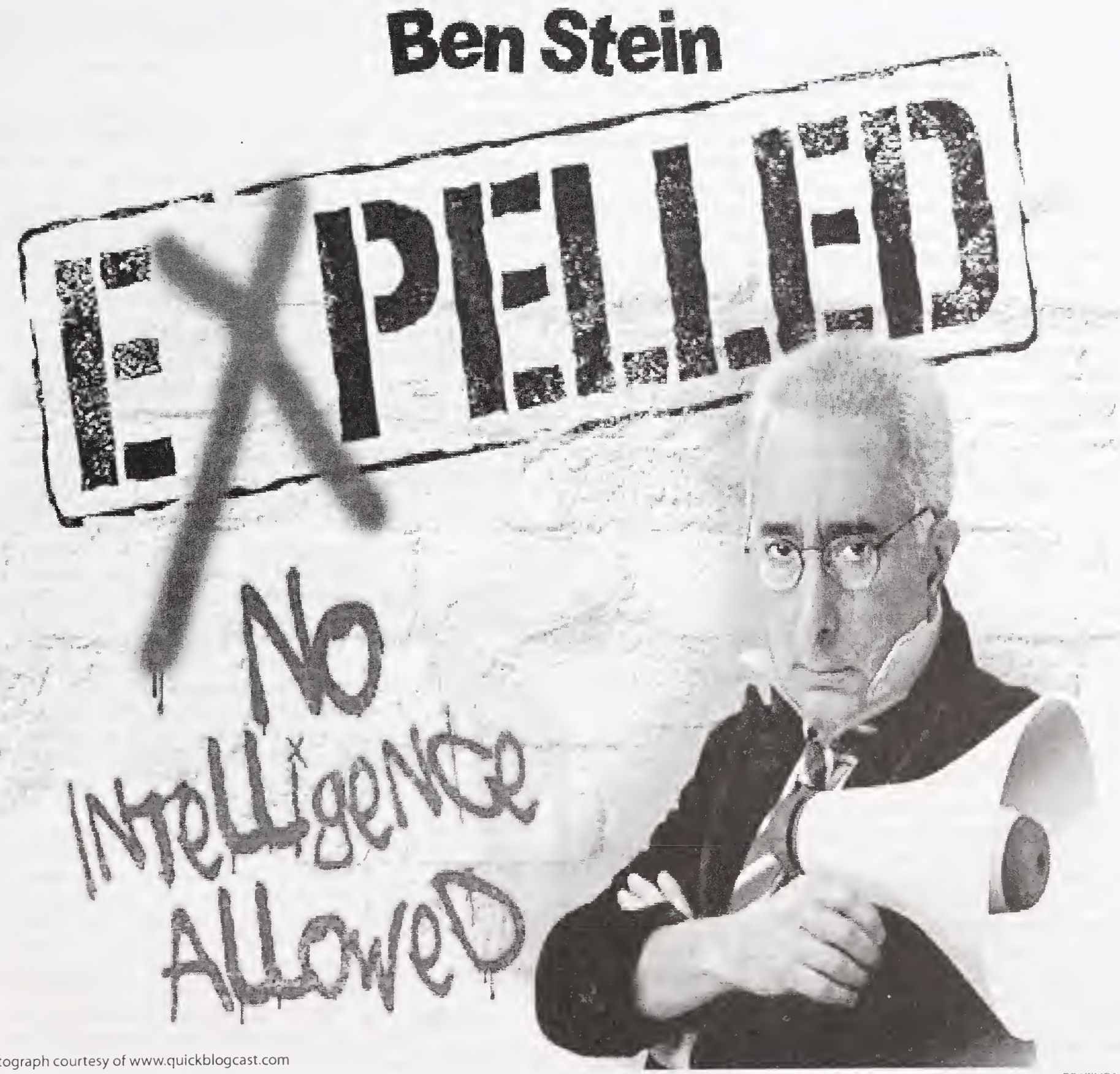
Like so many wars, this academic war's catalyst is religion, but its fuel is fear. Each theory greatly fears the other, therefore the fight continues. ID has everything to fear – losing jobs, grants, respect, and influence. But what does evolution have to fear if it already claims to have won the "scientific consensus" and if it really holds all the answers? Who cares if another "lesser" theory exists? Stein wants to know why the consensus is so afraid of a theory it deems completely "illogical?" If ID truly has no stable foundation, then why does the Darwin supporting scientific community work so hard to ensure that no one speaks of it? If it will fall naturally – because it has no "stable foundation" – why keep hitting it with a hammer?

Obviously, Darwinism does not have all the answers, but no theory really does. Stein questions Darwin scientists and the quote about the origins of life that loudly rang was "Whatever it was..." (which created the universe) This shows uncertainty, a.k.a. an unanswered question. Darwin himself published the "Origins of Species' in 1859, not the 'Origins of Life.' This questions must be what the evolutionist fear.

One Parisian scientist Stein interviewed believes that Darwinism is "elegant smoke" and we are "in a room full of it." It is a theory about life, but not how life began. Yet that does not stop Darwin's smoke from trying to cover up all the flaws and unresolved questions with dense smoke. What if the smoke was cleared by another theory? What if the world could see the gaps and defects in the room? That is something to fear.

So the war goes on. Both sides afraid. Both sides fighting. Though there are always battles being fought and one side seems to discriminate the other, let us not forget there can be times of truce. In nearly every war, there are times when both sides come together for a good talk and hopefully some listening.

It is useless to have a heart with convicrion if it is not paired with ears ready to listen. Allowing others to hold their beliefs does not mean you are any less strong with yours. *Expelled* shows the importance of freedom for all beliefs – specifically the freedom to question. **CR**



Photograph courtesy of www.quickblogcast.com

From the Campaign Trail



by BRYAN WEYNAND

"Thank you for all the support everybody! Let's bring change to North Carolina!!!"

I know, I know, Barack Obama on a stump speech, right?

A safe guess, no doubt, but that line actually comes from the hand of "Pat McCrory" on his personal campaign Facebook page, referring to his attempt to upend the establishment in Raleigh and give us a rare Republican governor.

Admittedly, neither campaign finds itself founded on solid footing, as simply evidenced by the vagueness of the term "change" and the corollary lack of a focused political philosophy, other than an apparent "What can your country (or state) do for you?" attitude.

But the similarities are striking, right down to the fact that both, though from different parties, are having success driving their campaign with that value of change. On the federal level, Obama's ascent to the Democratic nomination – inexplicably coming after wasting his only Senate term with no significant leadership roles or legislative accomplishments – is indicative of an increasingly politically and economically illiterate public and a even greater embrace of that above-mentioned "help me" attitude.

A recent study done by *TIME* shows that an increasing number of Americans expect the government to intervene during times of economic trouble.

This ignorant embrace, unfortunately for the Republicans, is coinciding with a recession and budget-breaking gas prices, and the American electorate has come to expect our government to fix problems which it has neither the prerogative nor the ability to fix. (Never mind that the Democrats have tied its hands in cases where it actually could help the problem by *removing* itself from the situation, say, like in the case of gas prices and the refusal to drill offshore.)

The desire to change from the eight year reign of a Republican president and the Messianic proclamations of Mr. Obama have thus found success on the national scene. It is interesting, then, that this year of all election years is one that presents a strong chance of Republicans taking control of at least the executive branch of North Carolina state government. It becomes clear, though, when one turns to the fact that McCrory and his banner of change heads the ticket.

When the going gets tough, those looking for a scapegoat nearly always turn to the federal government – it's just more interesting that way – and that paves the way for "change" to win on Election Day. At the state level in North Carolina, though, desire for change is giving Republicans a chance, and at the state level, it takes more than bad times for people to notice that much.

But the people *have* noticed, and that should be noted as an indictment of the Democratic regime that is currently governing North Carolina. As they direct their frustration over the economy at the federal government, they are expressing their frustration *with* the lazy inaction on issues such as immigration and lackluster management of an increasingly wasteful budget of our state legislature.

Even the *Charlotte Observer* criticized NC Democrats for silencing debate over this year's budget revision in the General Assembly. Deputy Republican Leader Sen. Tom Apodoca of Henderson County likened it to Soviet Russia, and the *Observer* agreed. The Democrats are hardly governing as one should expect in a democracy.

It's showing in the polls – the races look competitive at both governor and lieutenant governor, and Republicans are optimistic at gaining seats in the historically Democratically-dominated Senate.

Yes, things are that bad in North Carolina, and it may just see us through some well justified change come November. **CR**



Cartoon courtesy of Justin Crowder

OBAMA THE VULGARIAN



by NASH KEUNE

Many conservatives have devoted columns to Obama's atavistic socialist policies. Others have mocked his Utopian vision, or his many flip-flops (we promise several articles on these topics before the election, and hopefully none afterwards). The one aspect of his politics that too few commentators have decried, though it is the only aspect that is truly new (but only in the its extent), is his sheer vulgarity.

By vulgarity I do not mean that he uses foul language or tells off-color jokes. I mean that he shows a lack of propriety, leading to an even more insufferable lack of humility. The other component to this vulgarity is a crude worldview (especially noticeable when he references history).

In a recent column, Charles Krauthammer remarked on a few manifestations of Obama's galling vulgarity. Perhaps the most emblematic incident took place when Obama was planning his euro-trip. Obama wanted to give his Berlin speech at the Brandenburg Gate, site of unforgettable speeches by JFK and Ronald Reagan. Even the Germans, who were positively giddy upon his arrival, thought that a two-thirds-of-a-term Senator and presumptive Presidential nominee did not deserve the same stage as those vigilant anti-communist crusaders. Krauthammer was prompted to ask, "Who does he think he is?"

But it goes further than that.

When stretching his resume to woo those who doubt his experience, Obama always lists his time as a community organizer. During those years, he learned and executed the Alinsky model for radical political organization, which dictates that an organizer must agitate the masses so they will mobilize and organize on their own. Obama's means of energizing the people during this campaign has been simple: puffing us up… a lot.

Anyone with a healthy suspicion of the inviolability of the democratic process might ask, do we really want the same people who made Tila Tequila and Dane Cook popular to run the country? Fear not, Obama says, for We are apparently more spectacular than we might think. In fact, "We are the ones we've been waiting for." Basically, Obama envisions Us as the Power Rangers. We may seem unassuming, but when We link together We become an unstoppable force. This vulgarized, flattering, but manifestly false view is embodied in his campaign's refrain, the vague affirmation "Yes We Can." This unnervingly inflated view of the capabilities of the people echoes the hortatory rhetoric of a late-night televangelist, crying to his parishioners that, "You have tha Pow-Wer!"

Krauthammer asked, "Who does he think he is?" I would like to add, "Who does he think We are?" **CR**

The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

This is that wonderful time of the year when three thousand some odd freshmen pour into UNC's campus to gear up for a full year of liberal indoctrination. This is the Carolina Review's guide on how to resist it.

Mission: Impossible

Your mission, if you choose to accept it (which you do), is to make it a game/your life's goal to irritate all the liberals on campus.

Speaking of which, I just lost the game (yes, THAT game)

To prevent our plans from being stolen by the commis, this magazine will self-destruct in 10 seconds.

Quick! Pass it to a liberal! Pretend you're playing hot potato

Please note that in the first paragraph I used the (allegedly) sexist term "freshmen" as opposed to the politically correct "first-year students."

At least to the extent that words can be sexist, which they can't

That is step 1: Throw political correctness to the wind, and just call it like it is.

Precisely what we do here

It's also fun to purposely exaggerate your own opinions, taking them to unrealistic extremes, even if you don't actually believe what you're saying.

But all the better if you do

For example: I thoroughly believe that all liberals are intolerant.

Oh wait, that one's actually true. My bad

Gross, sweeping generalizations are also a plus.

All liberals are socialists and communists

And to ensure that you get your daily dose of reality (and not the illusions that the socialists spew), you must read the Carolina Review regularly.

And avoid all other campus publications like the plague

Unfortunately, while you can resist liberal indoctrination, it's impossible to avoid interaction with the liberals altogether.

That would make life at UNC rather less entertaining

In all actuality, there are some nice liberals out there in the world.

No, really; I'm being serious this time

Some of them even appear to have good intentions.

Just misguided methods

But as for finding them …

Well, that's another story

Ay, there's the rub.

Mission: Impossible

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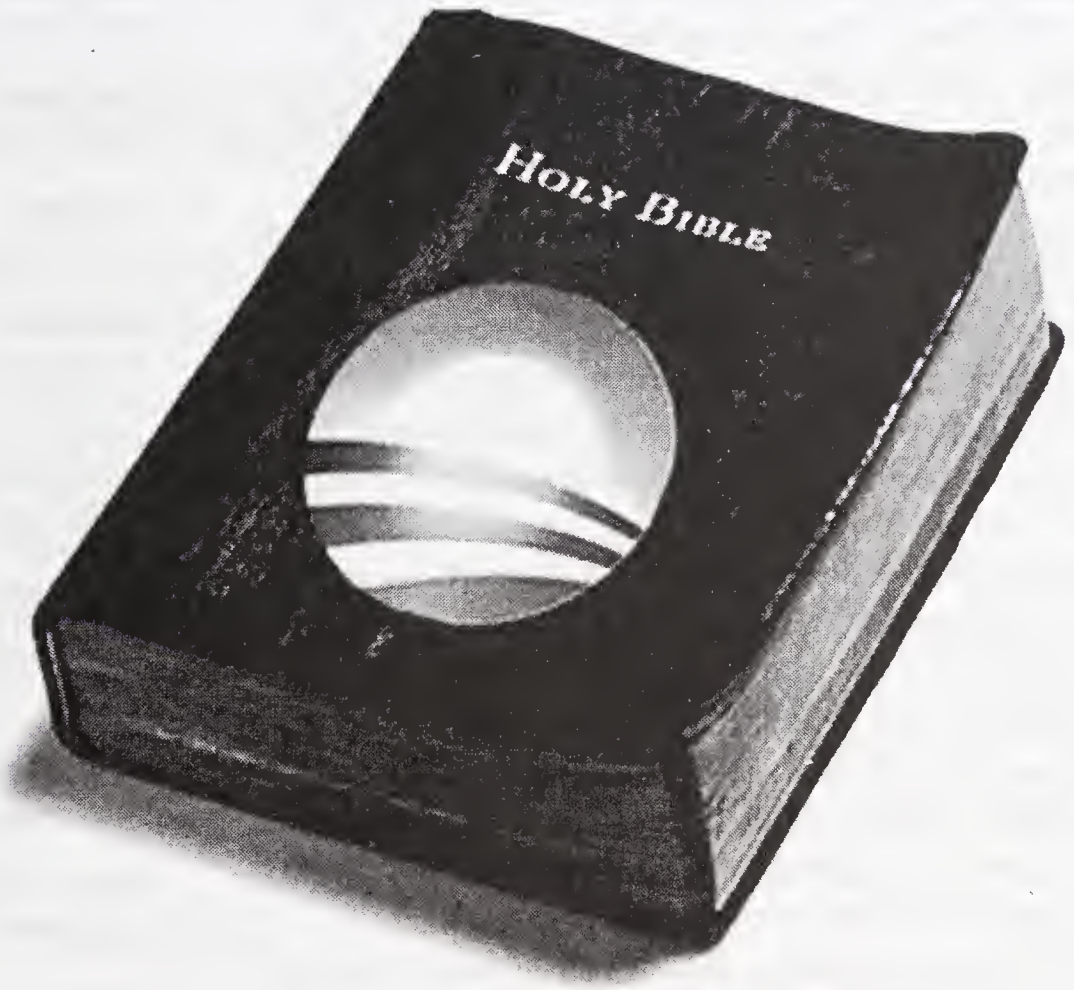
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Carolina Review

The Rise of the Evangelical Left

How liberalism misses the point of personal faith



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FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

As this school year kicks off, there are many exciting things happening on UNC's campus. From reuniting with old friends, to starting new classes with new teachers, to joining any of hundreds of student organizations, there is plenty to preoccupy an undergraduate's mind.

And yet, our attention is inevitably drawn elsewhere: the election. Every four years we are bombarded with the quadrennial refrain that this is the most important election in our lifetime, if not the history of the Republic itself. However, unlike other obnoxious clichés, this actually seems true.

With the continual expansion of government well beyond its rightful powers and responsibilities, each election is increasingly important. Either the electorate will accept more statism, or it will empower those who would curb the interference of the government with our lives.

While it would be a tad histrionic to declare that this election will determine whether the great American experiment will meet with its final demise or experience a glorious resurrection, this election will determine (however temporarily) the relation between the federal government and the individual. And, in the immortal words of William F. Buckley (although, admittedly, it's questionable whether WFB ever spoke a mortal word), "There is something in the system that warns us, warns us that America had better strike out on a different course rather than face another four years of asphyxiation by liberal premises."

With that in mind, we have focused this issue on national issues, most of which will play significant roles in the coming election.

Our cover article deals with the rise of a liberal Christian theology within the evangelical movement. Lydia Walker examines the increasing influence of visions of so-called social justice and tolerance among what used to be a reliably conservative voting block, tying the issue back to our campus with interviews from UNC's evangelical Christians on both the Left and the Right.

Anthony Dent's article focuses on the many flaws in Obama's healthcare plan. Though Obama promises to fix the system, Dent's piece scours Obama's plan, as it would take us in quite the opposite direction of the true solution.

Brad Smith analyses potential reforms to education. He focuses on Obama and McCain's plans to reform our woefully broken public education system, concluding that McCain's solution, which is influenced by market principles and emphasizes school choice, is superior to Obama's, which focuses on vague ideas of "accountability" and other solutions that have proven to be abject failures.

The common thread in our critique of Obama is that he has refused to learn the lesson of the 20th century: policies based on faith in the central government, rather than the individual, are bound to fail.

Sincerely,

Bryan Weynand and Nash Keune
Co-Editors

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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CHEERS & JEERS

Summer 2008 *The Summer 2008 issue critiqued the university's inevitably biased summer reading selection. It also offered an orientation guide for incoming freshmen, and it kicked off our fall campaign coverage with thoughts, reflections, and criticisms related to the fast-approaching presidential and gubernatorial elections. As usual, you can read our old issues online at* **unc.edu/cr/archive/**

Comment on Summer stories at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com**.



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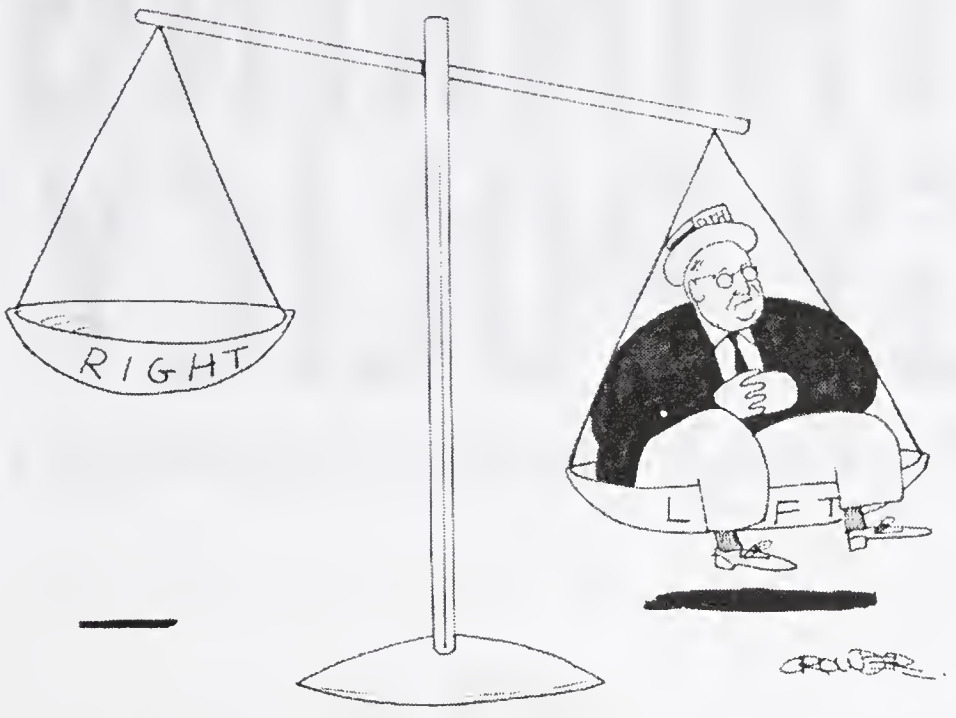
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VIEWPOINTS



THE DTH THINKETH: "$5,000 TO A PRO-LIFE GROUP? THATS NOT VERY BALANCED"

"You're getting $600 - what can you do with that?" Not to be ungrateful or anything, but maybe it pays down a bill, but it doesn't pay down every bill every month. The short-term quick fix kinda stuff sounds good, and it may even feel good that first month when you get that check, and then you go out and you buy a pair of earrings."
-**MICHELLE OBAMA**

"It's not surprising, then, they get bitter, they cling to guns or religion or antipathy to people who aren't like them, or anti-immigrant sentiment or anti-trade sentiment as a way to explain their frustrations." -**BARACK OBAMA**

"And, if we lost, then who win? Did Al Qaida win? When on the floor of the House of Representatives they cheer - they cheer - when they pass a withdrawal motion that is a certain date for surrender, what were they cheering? Surrender? Defeat?"
-**SEN. JOHN MCCAIN**

"The problem... is that most members of Congress don't pay attention to what's going on." -**SEN. JOHN MCCAIN**

"Right now I don't believe [Obama] is ready. The presidency is not something that lends itself to on the job training." -**SEN. JOE BIDEN**



SMOKERS, WEARY OF LARGE FINES, SIMPLY CHANGED HABIT



IN AN EFFORT TO REACH OUT TO INDEPENDENT VOTERS...

"A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong gives it a superficial appearance of being right." -**THOMAS PAINE**

"Reading furnishes the mind only with materials of knowledge; it is thinking that makes what we read ours." -**JOHN LOCKE**

"Even in literature and art, no man who bothers about originality will ever be original: whereas if you simply try to tell the truth (without caring twopence how often it has been told before) you will, nine times out of ten, become original without ever having noticed it." -**C.S.LEWIS**

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

ELECTION 2008

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FREE-THINKING ENERGY POLICY

Obama's plan lacks much needed innovation



by ZACH DEXTER
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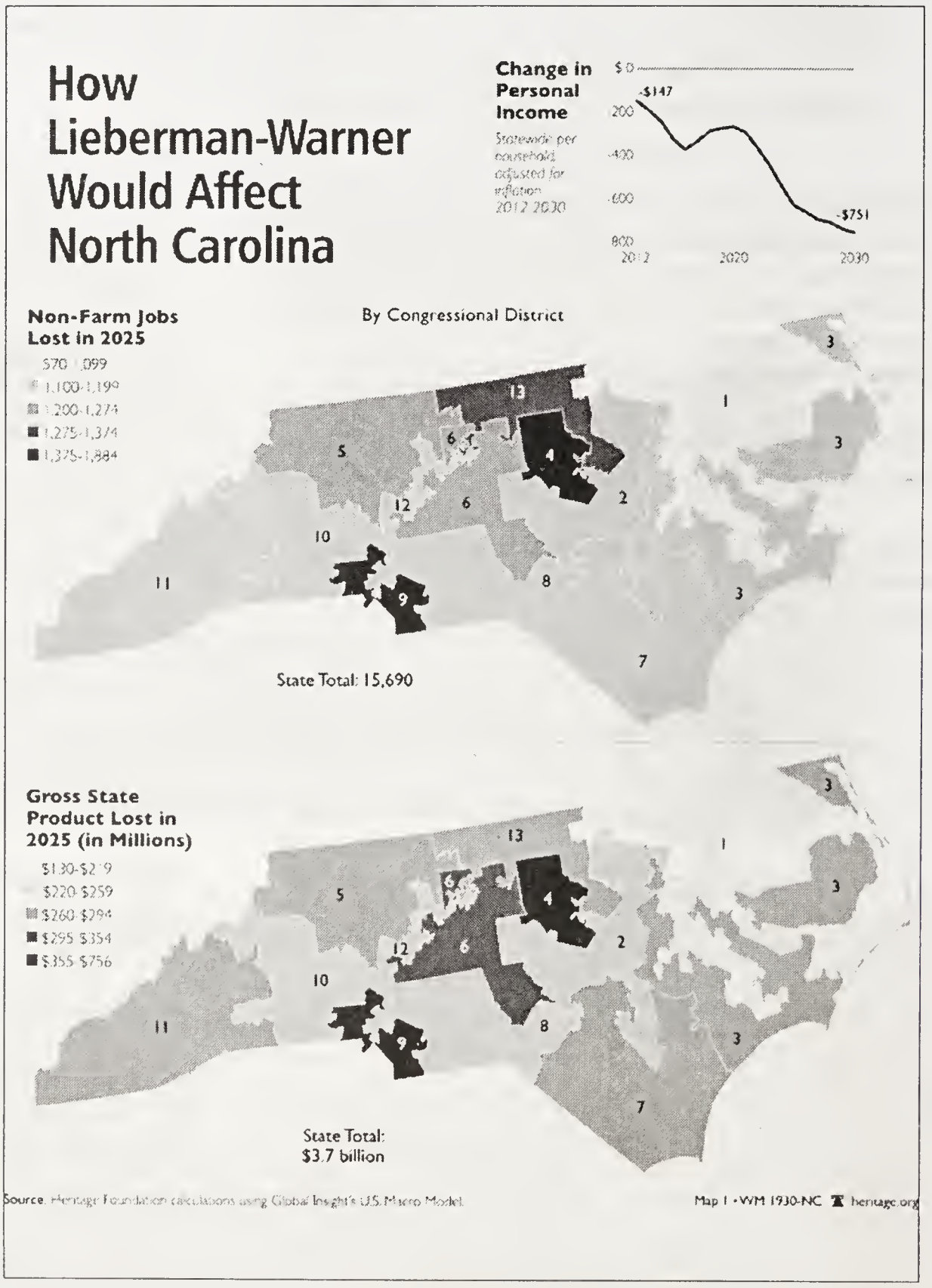
Barack Obama says he has a plan to make America energy independent within 10 years. The trouble is, in the words of Joe Biden's Convention speech, "That's not change. That's more of the same." Barack's plan is a compilation of failed energy policies from the past and the present. His support for inefficient alternatives and ineffective energy legislation highlight his "more of the same" approach.

Barack promises to spend $150 billion over ten years on the same failed alternative fuel sources that Congress and the Bush Administration have been subsidizing for the past eight years. Chief among these failed alternatives – all forms of plant-based ethanol, which require more energy to produce than they contain.

Ethanol

Cornell University biologist David Pimentel has shown that the production process for one gallon of corn-based ethanol consumes 1.29 gallons of fossil fuels. One gallon of switchgrass-based ethanol takes 1.5 gallons of fossil fuels to produce. The production of one gallon of wood-based ethanol consumes 1.57 gallons of petroleum fuels. And one gallon of soybean ethanol requires 1.27 gallons of fossil fuels to produce.

As if that weren't bad enough, ethanol has 30% less combustible energy than gasoline, meaning you get fewer miles to the gallon with any ethanol-based gasoline mixture.



Even though ethanol takes much more energy to produce than it contains, the federal government will give over $9 billion in subsidies to ethanol producers this year, according to the U.N.-supported International Institute for Sustainable Development. Too bad Obama's plan is to continue with more of the same.

Pimentel calculates that converting the entire U.S. corn crop into ethanol would only replace 7% of our oil consumption. When farmers convert so much food into fuel, food prices soar both here and abroad. Ethanol also requires too much land; these massive land requirements threaten vital ecosystems. American soybean farmers are starting to grow corn instead of soy, so in nations like Brazil, soybean farmers are producing more soybeans.

As the soybean farmers look for new land, they plant on cattle pastures, driving cattlemen into the Amazon. This results in deforestation. And if U.S. drivers begin to look to Brazilian sugar cane ethanol as a source of fuel, a similar ripple effect may cause even more deforestation.

Obama also vows to continue to support the Lieberman-Warner cap-and-spend bill, which failed to pass only due to an unusual show of backbone by the Republican minority in the Senate. It would have forced carbon dioxide emitters to purchase the right to pollute from the federal government. Senator Boxer's amendments would have used the estimated $3.32 trillion in new tax revenue to institute massive new corporate welfare for the energy industry and to fund colossal handouts for various pet causes.

Wind Power

Obama supports federal subsidies for wind power. Who could oppose that? Even oilman T. Boone Pickens recently pitched his wind-power vision to Congress. According to Pickens, we can replace the 20% of our electricity currently generated by natural gas with wind power. Pickens recommends using the saved natural gas for car fuel. He wants to help build a wind industry that will develop wind power all across the Midwest, but for now he'll start with his own project in Texas.

According to energy-issues writer William Tucker, Pickens will need 1,200 square miles of land to produce 4,000 megawatts of power. That's over half the size of the entire state of Rhode Island. Tucker notes that about four nuclear plants could produce the same amount of energy with only one square mile of land each.

Because wind power is not competitive with clean coal, nuclear or natural gas, it requires massive federal subsidies. No wonder Pickens found it worth his time to visit the halls of Congress to lobby for his plan. The Energy Information Administration reports that in 2007, wind power received $724 million in federal subsidies, primarily in the form of production tax credits. Nuclear power received $1.26 billion in federal subsidies in that same period. But in 2007, wind power generated only 3.9% of the kilowatt-hours generated by nuclear power in the same period.

Obama offers no plan to make wind-power a cost-effective contributor to our energy supply. Instead, Obama would require utilities to purchase 25% of their power from renewable sources by 2025. Other renewable alternatives, like photovoltaic and geothermal, are even more expensive and inefficient than wind, leaving only wind to meet the 25% requirement.

As a result, Obama's Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS) will drive up energy costs by effectively requiring utilities to purchase a quarter of their power from remote and expensive wind turbines. In states with limited wind-power potential, like North Carolina, utilities would have to purchase credits from out-of-state, increasing energy prices for North Carolina consumers even more.

California State University economist Robert Michaels concludes: "A national RPS is largely a transfer of wealth from electricity consumers to an already-subsidized wind power industry. It is understandable that renewable-energy interests support a law that requires utilities to buy escalating amounts of power from them regardless of price. The mystery is why anyone else thinks it's a good idea."

Unlike wind turbines, nuclear power plants can operate in many locations. A nuclear plant needs only a source of cooling water and an occasional delivery of uranium fuel rods in order to stay operational. Under the Energy Policy Acts of 2005 and 2007, nuclear power companies receive production tax credits, construction subsidies and research funding from the federal government. They've put these subsidies to work; nuclear plants now generate about 20% of all electricity in the United States.

Obama's promise to increase federal Corporate Average Fuel Economy requirements every year during his administration is another tragedy in the making. Car owners tend to drive more miles when the cost of driving is lower, so most of the benefit from increased fuel economy will unfortunately be offset by more miles driven and more pollutants generated. Penn State economist Andrew Kleit calculates that due to these unintended consequences, increasing CAFE standards will raise nitrogen oxide and carbon monoxide emissions. The net effect of raising CAFE standards will be less-safe cars, more pollution, and little (if any) reduction in oil consumption.

When politicians seeking votes tell us which energy sources deserve subsidies from our tax dollars, they invariably overlook unintended consequences and fail to consider all the factors involved. Obama's vision for all-knowing, central planning for energy is bound to fail because it's impossible to take each input and consequence into account.

In the future, as oil becomes geologically scarce, oil prices will escalate. This will make other sources of energy more attractive, and we'll start to trade in our gas-fired cars for vehicles powered by batteries and hydrogen energy. Nuclear plants we build today will supply the power to charge those vehicles in the future. In the meantime, the best we can hope for is that Obama doesn't get the chance to implement his "more of the same" energy policies. **CR**

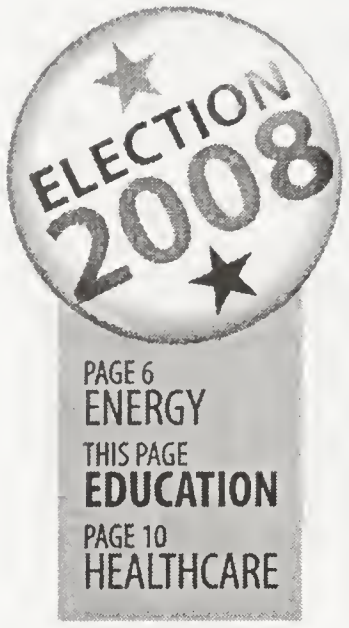


1.29

Gallons of fossil fuel consumed to produce a gallon of ethonal

70%

Amount of energy in ethonal, compared to gasoline



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RE-THINKING EDUCATION REFORM

Obama's offers little real change for schools



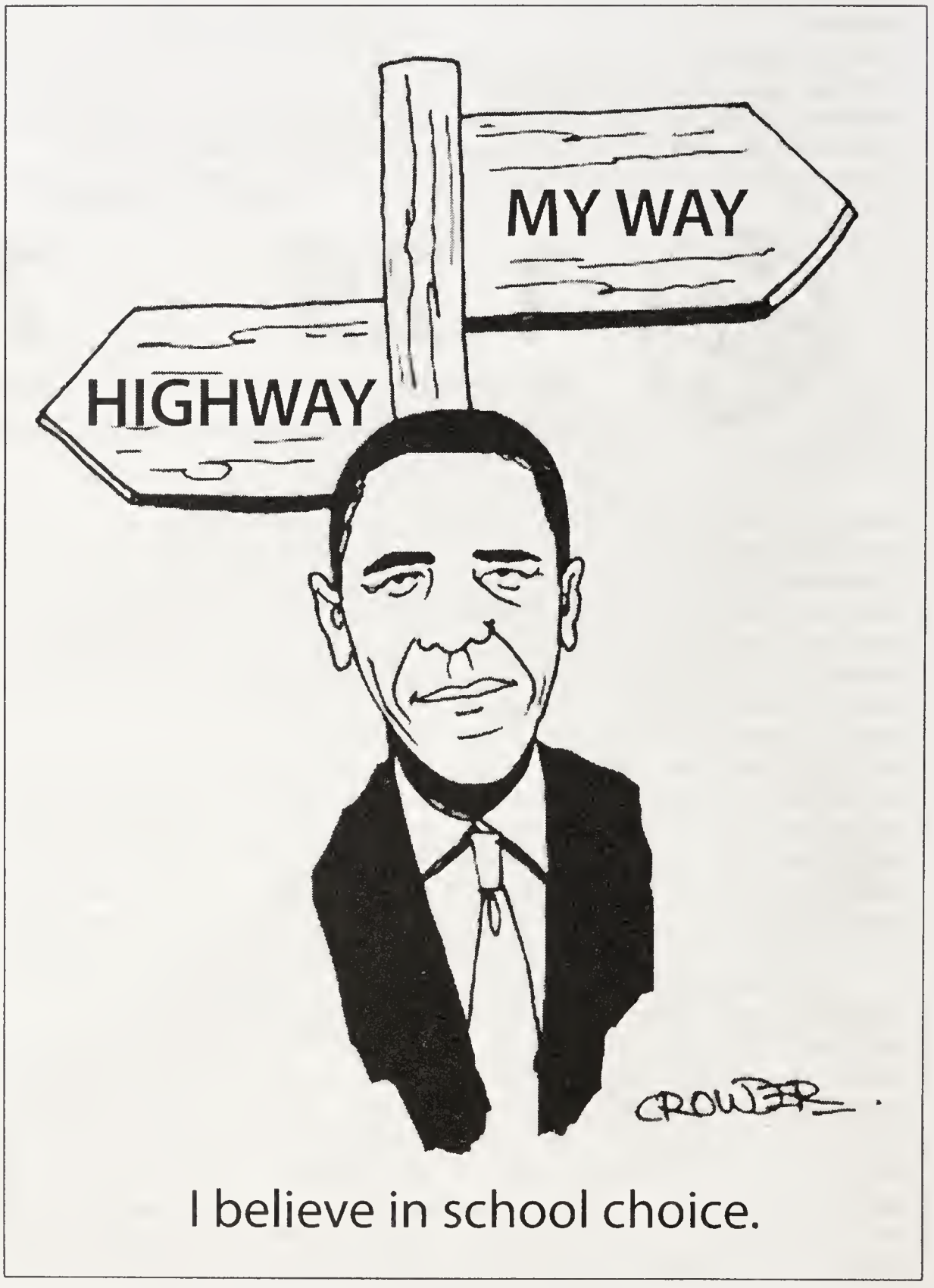
by BRAD SMITH
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As a lowly freshman, the unpleasant memories of my high school experience are seared fresh upon my mind. Yes, I attended a public high school right here in North Carolina, and no, it wasn't particularly enjoyable or intellectually stimulating. The sad fact is that too many students at my high school were either unchallenged, or found themselves left behind, wanting help and stuck with uninterested, unmotivated teachers and faculty.

The buzzword in education reform seems to be "accountability". Most reform theories center around this idea – that teachers and their respective schools should be held strictly accountable for their students' performance. This is obviously an important factor in fixing our schools, and there are many theories as to how we should go about implementing such an accountability system.

Barack Obama has stated that: "The goal is to fundamentally change the teaching profession by assuring that it offers high-quality opportunities for professional growth as other professions like law, medicine, architecture, engineering, and accounting do."

Oddly enough, all of the professions that Obama mentioned operate largely within the private sector. So, how does Obama suggest that we make the teaching profession more like these private sector careers? Through more government "accountability" programs, departments, and regulations such as his "Teaching Quality Initiative", of course. It should be noted that the definition of "insanity"



is repeating the same action over and over and expecting a different result.

Perhaps the greatest accountability comes from the competition of the free market, where employees must rise to the high standards of their employers or be terminated. As is stated on John McCain's website: "If a school will not change, students should be able to change schools."

In turn, if many students left a school, it would cease to operate. While this may sound harsh, it is this principle that has allowed companies such as Verizon, Microsoft, and GM to succeed, innovate, and offer superior products and services at lower prices. This competition would also encourage schools to specialize, so children could attend schools specializing in their interests. Consider what would happen if the government tried to run a phone company, or offer other goods or services. Oh, wait...

It is hard to consider education reform without hearing the argument that our public schools do not have enough money. However, this argument makes little sense when one considers the expenditures of private schools.

During the 2007-2008 school year, North Carolina spent just over $8,000 per pupil who was in average daily attendance. However, most private schools are able to function at a higher level of competence while spending a significant amount less per student. For example, the average cost of private school tuition in my typical North Carolina town of Burlington is around $5,000.

Private schools are able to keep their prices down while maintaining a high level of excellence because they, unlike the entrenched monopolized public schools, must consider the forces of a competitive market. Unfortunately, most liberals are too frightened by the prospect of anyone turning any amount of profit to try something that would so obviously help enact real, positive change in our schools.

If Obama has his way, we will continue to monopolize the education market with government-run schools while families are forced to pay taxes to support a system that they have chosen to opt out of because it failed them.

As one might expect, Obama's children do not attend public schools. When asked about the school his children attended, Obama said, "My kids have gone to the Chicago Lab School, a private school, because I taught there. It was five minutes from our house. So it was just the best option for our kids."

Obama should be thankful that his children benefit from this option because it is an option many children do not have thanks to bad economic situations and public school zoning laws. Fortunately, Senator McCain favors a plan that will give every family the choice to opt out of the public school system without penalty.

This realistic and logical solution is McCain's proposed school choice plan, which would introduce the benefits of the free market into the public education system. This plan would likely take shape as a voucher system, providing parents with a government credit to send their children to the school of their choice. While the No Child Left Behind Act already has provisions that allow parents to get their children out of failing schools, no system is in place to save children from mediocrity. A common argument against the voucher system is that it will result in private schools 'absorbing' all high achieving students, while the public schools are left still failing with the lowest achieving students. However, this argument holds no water when challenged with evidence from areas in which the voucher system has been implemented.

The Milwaukee public school system was the first in the nation to implement a voucher-based school choice program (this program now gives families approximately $6,500 a year for their children to attend any private school, religious or non-religious, and is capped off at 22,500 students). This program, since its implementation in 1990, has continued to improve the quality of education not only for children who receive the vouchers, but also for the children who remain in Milwaukee's public schools (much to the surprise of the plan's opponents).

Respected Harvard economist Caroline Hoxby's research of the Milwaukee Public School Choice Program found this: "Overall, an evaluation of Milwaukee suggests that public schools have a strong, positive response to competition from vouchers.... Schools that faced the most potential competition from vouchers had the best productivity response." This trend has continued across the board in all other states that use a voucher-based choice system such as Colorado, Maine, Florida, and Vermont.

Yet another stellar example of the voucher system in action lies in Belgium. Belgium's entire education system is based on school choice vouchers, and while public schools do exist there, they are smaller and many times more efficient and productive than American public schools. The benefits of this system in Belgium can be clearly seen by examination of international PISA standardized test scores, in which Belgian high-schoolers continue to outscore American high-schoolers in nearly every subject. Considering this, it is obvious to see that by attaching education funds to children and not schools, parents and students are free to choose a school which will meet their individual needs without the constraints of the cumbersome public school system.

Regardless of political views, we can all likely agree on one simple fact – the American Public education system is broken and in dire need of change. Just what kind of change do we really need? Or better yet, is Obama even offering any kind of change at all? When the facts are examined, it is easy to see that McCain's plan to reform education will enact far more change than any of the expensive, taxpayer funded "reforms" that Obama is calling for. If those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it, then anyone who supports Obama's "plan for change" on education is likely to be left with a strong sense of déjà vu.

So, when heading to the polls in early November, remember that change in education will not come as a result of soaring rhetoric, vague accountability reforms, and bigger government. Remember that we need the cost-effectiveness and accountability that comes inherently with innovative free market solutions. **CR**

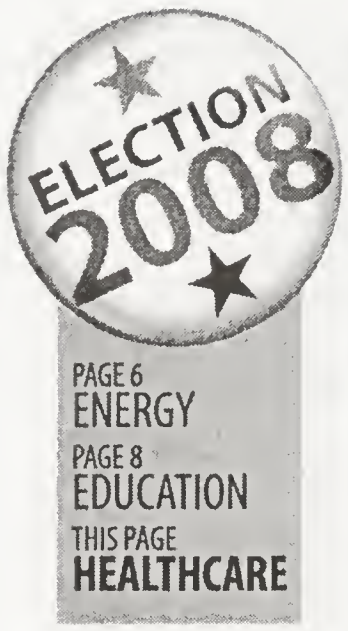


$8,000

Spending per student in North Carolina public schools

$5,000

Average private school tuition in Burlington, NC



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HEALTHCARE

OBAMACARE'S FORGOTTEN FLAW

Socialized medicine would make system fail



by ANTHONY DENT
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Our healthcare system is in crisis. Healthcare premiums are exorbitant, and forty million people remain uninsured under the current system. Both presidential candidates recognize this and are calling for change. Yet competing visions exist for the future of healthcare. Democratic candidate Barack Obama calls for an increased role for government in the healthcare industry, through growth in programs such as Medicaid, State Children's Health Insurance Program, and Medicare.

Given their current budgetary deficits and the fact that more government socialism would only further undermine these programs' financial position, this cannot be the best solution to the problem. Not only is his program financially unstable, but the consequences for increased government involvement in healthcare would be severe. As P.J. O'Rourke said, "If you think health care is expensive now, wait until you see what it costs when it's free." This would also degenerate the American spirit of individualism and self-reliance. Obama's healthcare plan would betray the very essence of our national heritage.

Obama's program would offer a healthcare plan from the government to all Americans. This plan would include, according to his website, guaranteed eligibility, comprehensive benefits, affordable premiums, co-pays, and deductibles, and easy enrollment. His plan also includes a "National Health Insurance Exchange," a small business tax credit, an



Justin Crowder

investment in information technology for healthcare providers, and reimbursement for employers' healthcare expenses.

Sounds good. But Obama's plan has flaws. He has consistently failed to mention a source of revenue for the increase in spending needed to establish a public health plan. In fact, Medicaid, SCHIP, and Medicare are currently financially unsustainable. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that income tax rates paid by the middle class will reach 66% in the next fifty years, and the highest income tax bracket will reach 92% to pay for current unfunded liability (never mind expanded coverage under those programs).

The "National Health Insurance Exchange" is an interesting proposal, but according to the Council for Affordable Health Care, "similar ideas have been tried many times but never made much difference." Tax credits and reimbursement for employers would significantly increase the federal budget for healthcare. The one bright spot in his plan is to invest in information technology to move away from the paper-based system. This would significantly reduce waste and would decrease the number of medical mistakes made for prescriptions.

Yet the major problem with Obama's plan is that slowly but surely, the government would shoulder more and more of the healthcare burden. In fact, he has said, "If you're starting from scratch, then a single-payer system [managed by the government] would probably make sense." That shows a deep misunderstanding of the current status of those government-managed programs.

People living in countries with universal healthcare ironically do not have a "right to healthcare" as many Americans on the left presume. For example, a story reported by the Times of London in 2006 stated that patients were being "systematically denied" appointments to see physicians to try to save money and ration care. During the heat wave in France in 2003, 15,000 elderly hospital patients died because the hospitals lacked air conditioning, and the doctors were on vacation.

According to John Goodman, PhD of the National Center for Policy Analysis: "In Britain, about 1 million are waiting to be admitted to hospitals at any one time. In Canada, more than 876,000 are waiting for treatment of all types. In New Zealand, the number of people on waiting lists for surgery and other treatments is more than 90,000."

These stories show that the clear failure in any socialist system is that the incentive structure is completely out of whack. The bureaucrat rationing the care has no incentive to serve the patient. There is no reason why the doctor should see the patient or give the patient quality care. Thus, there is no attempt to even consider the needs of the patients because, to the bureaucrat, they do not matter. Although the main criticism of the American system is the high costs associated with healthcare, the paradox of "free" healthcare in other countries is that, while costs are not a barrier to see a physician, actually being able to see the physician is the problem. Implementing Obama's plan would merely replicate the inherent flaws of a socialist system in the United States.

The European-style healthcare, with costs hidden to the consumer (through much higher taxes), is not the right direction our country needs to take. Our system already suffers from too much government intervention. The proper reform is the introduction of more free-market competition in our healthcare system, a notion which Obama does not entertain.

Some would claim that healthcare should not be "tainted" by capitalism, which is driven by profit. But government on all levels is to blame for the majority of the rapid increase in healthcare costs.

On the state level, different state mandates cause substantial differences in healthcare premiums. Mandates are items in an insurance plan that the state government requires to be in the plan, meaning you are forced to pay for it. In North Carolina, for example, the average annual premium costs $3,080, according to Max Borders of the Civitas Institute. Compare that to Idaho's, which is $2,006. This is directly due to the fact that North Carolina has 47 mandates, while Idaho has 15. Although different mandates cost different amounts, there is a direct correlation between the number of mandated coverage items and the cost of healthcare.

States also limit inter-state competition, meaning a resident of North Carolina cannot buy health insurance, even if it is cheaper, in another state. Regulations prohibit this practice, but with a major consequence: large insurance companies can become dominant in one market and squeeze out competition. The lack of competition leads to in-state monopolies that can charge as much as they want for insurance. The companies benefit at the consumer's expense.

The key to solving our healthcare dilemma is free-market competition. The current patchwork of quasi-capitalist, quasi-government healthcare is failing the American consumer. Yet moving towards a national healthcare system similar to the one Obama advocates would magnify these failings and create massive inequalities.

It is ironic that just at the moment American politicians are exploring nationalized healthcare, European governments are taking steps to privatize their healthcare further. For instance, the Labour Government in the UK has continued National Health Service reforms through privatizing certain functions in the system following in Margaret Thatcher's footsteps. They are beginning to recognize that a bureaucrat does not have the ability nor should have the ability to establish what the right price is for a medical procedure, who should receive the procedure first, and, in general, who should receive care.

The best system is capitalism because through genuine competition, prices decrease while maintaining or increasing quality. The most glaring fault in Obama's plan is the failure to realize this. He believes that more government would make healthcare better. Yet expanding socialism to bear the burden of healthcare would bankrupt our government and signal the decay of the American spirit of rugged individualism. This we cannot afford. **CR**



876,000

Patients waiting for treatments of all types in Canada

90,000

People on waiting lists for surgery in New Zealand

The Rise of the

Republicans losing grip on former party base



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Religion and Politics: the two topics you most avoid talking about, two subjects meant to be separated, but two topics that are fundamentally indivisible.

We can see throughout history how spiritual and political beliefs affect how a leader makes decisions and how constituents decide to vote. If you live by what you believe, and you live in a world of politics, then it is only logical that beliefs and politics can never be completely severed.

According to the International Herald Tribune, precedent shows that evangelical Christians, who comprise about one-quarter of the U.S. electorate, tend to vote Republican. Presidential candidates who appeal to this community often find a boost in their campaign, possibly all the way to the White House like President Bush.

However, since 2006, more and more evangelical Christians have broken from the traditional, conservative values in favor of "progressive, liberal doctrines." As churches exchange conservative ideas for liberal ones, Republican politicians begin to lose support.

This dynamic change formed in the wake of the 2004 presidential election. After President Bush won a second term, liberal Christians have been more outspoken in their opposition to the political agenda of religious conservatives, arguing that they are just as much "values voters" as any conservative.

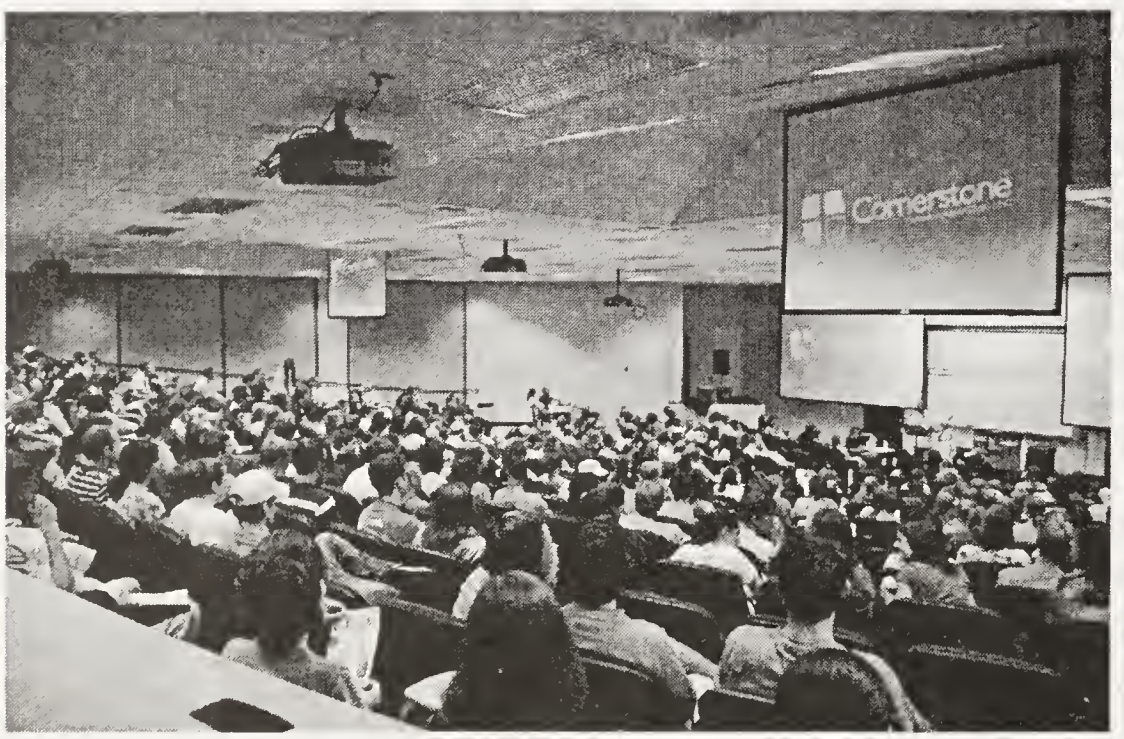
In a survey by Pew Research Center for the People and Press, liberal churches often focus on "social justice issues, opposition to war as an instrument of foreign policy, environmental protection and a more accepting view of gays and lesbians. This increasing visibility has led some commentators to announce the emergence of the religious left."

It's not surprising these people are politically liberal.

Now the concern in Washington is how this shift of political loyalty will affect the presidential election. Can John McCain keep the "religious right" momentum or will Barack Obama go for mass appeal and steal the votes?

"McCain has lowered levels of strong support that Bush gained in 2004," said the Pew Research Center, "and this decline in commitment to the Republican candidate is most apparent among white evangelicals and the most religiously observant."

In the 2004 election, Bush received a 45 percent support rating from total Protestants with Kerry only receiving 17 percent. This election, McCain is barely supported by 19 percent of Protestants while Obama has collected 27 percent. In four years Republicans have lost 26 percent of their votes while Democrats have gained 10 percent. To make matters worse for McCain, not all evangelical leaders are exactly falling in line behind him.



Photograph by Lydia Walker

Chicago's Sun-Times and the Liberal Evangelical organization show "high-up" protestants – such as Donald Miller, author of "Blue Like Jazz," Rev. John Hagee, CEO of Global Evangelical Television, and James Dobson, chairman of the board for Focus on the Family – have not happily taken up the McCain banner.

This sudden shift must have a serious catalyst. The big boom that blasted Christians over to the left side of the agenda is a new emphasis on social justice. Preaching turns to the life of a Christian rather than the Gospel, focusing on what Christians must do to love their neighbors – donate to charity, solve global poverty, support national healthcare and the like.

If social justice upstages the Gospel as the base of the church, then the fundamental values inevitably change. Ergo, since Christians are reassessing the meaning of Christianity with a more liberal attitude, naturally Christians today see the world in a more liberal light. This change greatly effects the election today – namely, more votes for Obama.

But Obama doesn't have an easy ride. He has been assaulted with accusations that he is Muslim. The allegations only increased after he said, "John McCain has not talked about my Muslim faith," on ABC's "This Week" with George Stephanopoulos.

The wooing of the religions, and the fight for the evangelical vote continues. Both campaigns have been pursuing this new swing vote that has proven itself a vital step in capturing the presidency, as with Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George W. Bush.

So how did the battle even start? Why are the liberals strengthening their presence in the church?

Anyone who has been to church can see that sermons usually connect in some way to the current issues in the word today. Therefore, it is logical to see how the key liberal views that are taking hold of society become the key views of religion.

Today, the key issues in society are tolerance and humanitarianism.

"I like that the movement towards liberalism proves that Christians are all sorts of people and that we don't all fit one stereotype, and I feel like a lot of people that have liberal tendencies feel like they'll be judged in a Christian setting," said junior Melissa Jones. "But with more and more liberals, they can be more accepted. A lot of people are embarrassed or ashamed to say that they're both liberal and Christian, but now I feel like people are owning up to it more and realizing that it's okay."

The focus on the idea that man is ultimately

See "Evangelical" on page 18

Evangelical Left

Liberalism misses the point of personal faith



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In an election in which many former political apathetics, especially those among young evangelical Christians, are flocking to the unabashed bleeding-heart liberalism of Barack Obama, our country finds itself in a sad and ignorant state most noticeably defined by our having forgotten to ask of him the simple question, "Will your policies work?" This question is one of particular interest to conservatives wary of the potential exacerbation of the current economic struggle an Obama presidency could bring; it is, however, a question of surprising *disinterest* among these increasingly liberal evangelicals so surprisingly eager to support Obama.

But let's presume for a moment that all such objections can be adequately appeased, and that the platform of Obama is instantly a viable option for addressing the humanitarian concerns of evangelical Christians, those concerns being, after all, the primary force for pulling evangelicals away from their former Republican base.

That subsequently leaves us with another ignored and unasked question, one that is specifically directed for evangelical Christians, of which I count myself a part, and that is the question that, given the viability of Barack Obama's plans, are they still even the right thing to do?

From the above paragraphs it isn't difficult to discern my opinion on the subject, and of Senator Obama; however, this question I intend to address with the highest level of sincere objectivity because I believe that it is one of paramount importance for the Christian movement as we embrace and spread our gospel; ultimately, the politics of a Christian should be such that they glorify God, that being the underlying purpose of everything a Christian does.

The argument of liberal evangelicals essentially asserts that Christ called Christians to answer and end the humanitarian and social justice concerns of the world, and that a liberalized government serves that end; therefore, according to one's faith that system of government is the best one for America.

The idea is simple, giving no attention to the method and skipping straight to the consequence in answering the question of its moral worth; the result of liberalism is that humanitarian concerns are addressed, and, provided that is the case, nothing else, such as the route our country takes to get there, matters.

The problem with that approach is one often unseen by those apathetic toward political culture: that by its nature the increase of government involvement in the work of humanitarian charity mandates a decrease in such involvement by personal individuals. In every step the government takes toward ending a particular social justice concern it spends another dollar (or another million dollars) which it collected from individual citizens; yes, in some cases, charity is accomplished, but in every case a private individual was denied their ability to choose for themselves how to spend their money. Any private individual who intended to spend their money charitably initially had part of their role in the process taken from them, along with their money.

> In Christianity, the how [in social justice] is everything, yet liberalism renders it of no importance.

The overtaxing of Americans to coerce them into a specific, government-approved brand of social welfare is in this way nothing short of thievery. Surely ending one wrong at the expense of committing another cannot be seen as morally good. The Democrat, of course, would respond that their ideals are not thievery, but rather a collective choice by society to come together to aid the poor.

The fallacy of this argument, however, is easily seen when it is acknowledged that a citizen of such a government has no recourse against the "tyranny of the majority" should it decide to take from him all of his property to redistribute to another. What choice is there in that?

It is radically counter to all prevailing political thought to even suggest that overtaxing might be morally equal to the act of stealing; but in reality there is little difference. There is nothing unique about a government that exempts it from moral law, and it is of course of no consequence whether one steals with the intent of doing good. There are two types of programs for which a government taxes: those of public utility and those of limited private utility. The first, in which fall the necessities for which we have government, such as a military, is a collective endeavor, the second, such as welfare programs, is thievery, for whether the one steals for good for or evil is of no consequence, the government not being exempted.

Nonetheless, pushing this consideration aside evangelical liberals move forward in their argument by devaluing the right of choice in the matter and claiming that choice can be laid down if the result is that the charity is accomplished. Here again the consequentialism of the argument is exposed, the skipping over of the "how" in their headlong pursuit of their goal.

Herein lies the crucial objection to liberalism among evangelicals: in Christianity, the how is everything, yet liberalism renders it of no importance.

As this shift of political values occurs within the evangelical movement it is imperative that Christians ask themselves whether it is more important simply that the social justice goals of Jesus are accomplished, or that they are accomplished as a result of the gospel working in people's lives for the purpose of glorifying God.

The famous moral philosopher Immanuel Kant wrote that, "The moral worth depends not on the realization of the object of the action, but merely on the principle of volition according to which, without regard to any objects of the faculty of desire, the action has been done."

Christianity is a faith based on the same moral concept. In its most simplified form the gospel is trusting Christ as your master rather than anything or anyone else; therefore, actions which serve Him are right, and actions which serve another master are wrong. In just examining this simplified form one can already observe the Kantian and anti-consequentialist undertones of the Christian conception of morality: if the rightness of an action is defined in this way, it follows that the intent – the motivation, in this case, and what Kant calls the "will" – determines

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The Potentially Inconvenient Truth

Recycling may not be the obvious solution



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In Orange County, it costs over *$3.5 million* to run the recycling operation.

Every so often, thinking people get together to question the previously unchallenged assumptions of society. One of these assumptions is that recycling is a great and wonderful thing.

As the environmentalist movement continues to take hold in American life (not to mention UNC), this is a question most people seem to take for granted.

Municipal recycling is seen as part of being a responsible citizen and "saving the earth." By recycling we are extending the life of precious natural resources and preventing the citizenry from being buried in its own trash.

A more detailed analysis reveals that it is not that simple. If the goal is "saving the earth," defined as reducing greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide, then the whole business of locally mandated recycling could reasonably be seen as *destroying* the earth.

Recycling certainly has some benefits. Indeed, recycling has been practiced in some form since antiquity, and not without good reason.

For one, it reduces space taken up by landfills (and in ages past, the amount of trash in the streets). The landfill where trash is dumped by Orange County was originally estimated to fill up by 2007. That date has been extended to 2011. The credit for extending the life of this landfill by roughly 30% is attributed to recycling and waste reduction efforts.

Another benefit of recycling is that it is sometimes much cheaper than obtaining the raw materials from nature. For example, coppet and aluminum are valuable as recycled metals, which is why recycling companies are willing to pay for such resources. According to Bryan Joslin of *Motive* magazine, obtaining aluminum from used cans uses 95% less energy than obtaining it in a mining operation.

Also, with rising fuel prices, certain materials have become more profitable to recycle than before. No longer do restaurants pay to have their cooking oil disposed of; instead, they sell it fot use as biodiesel. This is market-based recycling, and it has been practiced for millennia to the great benefit of society.

In times past, however, a society never coerced people into recycling. In this historical anomaly peculiar to our time, we have to pay people to take it away rather than recycling firms buying it at market prices from us. In Orange County, it costs ovet $3.5 million to run the tecycling operation.

Some of these losses are made up by selling the recycled product. For fiscal year 2007-2008, the revenues generated by selling recycled material at market prices were about $627,000. The rest of the recycling budget comes from fees charged on a per-household basis. At this rate, we ate getting a negative 80% return on our investment.

Upon first examining these figures, it looks like the town is throwing money away. For the most part, it is. The cost of recycling arises from the astounding inefficiency of collecting, sorting, and processing waste materials. For many materials, it is far easier and more efficient to obtain the products from their otiginal sources.

Take, for instance, green glass. To recycle it, it must be hauled away from residential areas, sorted out from the other waste, and crushed into little bits called cullet. At this point it is either given away for next to nothing or we pay people to take it away *even after* we've paid all the labor costs for preparing it. This is because it still has to be melted down and have the toxic impurities (especially abundant in green glass) removed.

It would be much more efficient to make new glass from sand and let the old green glass go to a landfill.

According to the Recycling Business Assistance Center, the market price for one ton of delivered crushed green glass in eastern North Carolina for July 2008 was about $-8. For central North Carolina, the price is a little better at a positive $2 per delivered crushed ton. Of course, this still represents a loss since we have to pay the high labot, energy, and transportation costs of producing each ton of crushed glass.

Other recycled products have a higher return on investment, but none of them high enough to cover the huge cost.

At this point, proponents of recycling will object that there are other costs and benefits not taken into account by this bottom-line analysis. For instance, if we put all of our recyclables into the regulat waste, then we will have the increased cost of filling up landfills faster.

However, at a tipping cost (cost of dumping 1 ton of garbage into the landfill, which takes into account the cost of building the landfill) of $49, the 15,374 tons of recycled materials in fiscal

2006-2007 could be disposed of in the landfill at a cost of only $753,326. This is a net savings of approximately $2.1 million (budget minus market revenues minus cost of landfill use) for the county.

Recycling proponents will again object: this is filling up the landfill, and we don't have an infinite amount of space. This is of course true, but it misses the point. Land in North Carolina is relatively cheap and abundant, which is why states from up North pay to use our landfills.

The main obstacle to starting new landfills in North Carolina is our state politicians, who recently placed a moratorium upon two new landfills that would have made N.C. the nation's largest importer of garbage, a somewhat dubious yet lucrative distinction. It is not that we lack land, we just lack guts.

Most importantly, if you consider that the extra money and energy that we expend to have people running a fleet of trucks and collecting and separating and processing and distributing our recycled materials, we are also adding unnecessary carbon to the atmosphere. If we stopped mandating recycling in favor of using the more efficiently produced original products, we would most likely be putting less carbon into the atmosphere.

Sadly, a full analysis of the carbon footprint of recycling versus the production of new product is beyond the scope of this article. However, given the enormous difference in the cost of production between new and recycled materials, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the energy used in recycling (collecting, sorting, processing, delivering) is much higher than the energy used to deliver new materials. This also seems reasonable in light of the fact that the original producers have huge advantages in terms of economies-of-scale (i.e. there are lots of cost advantages in producing lots of something all at once).

If this is true, then recycling potentially contributes to the destruction of the earth just as much as, if not more than, gas-guzzling SUV's (if CO_2 is, in fact, destroying the earth).

None of this is to say that trash is good or recycling is always bad. As Ms. Muriel Williman of Orange Community Recycling so axiomatically pointed out, "waste is wasteful." No matter how waste is disposed of, someone has to pay to get rid of it. Recycling just costs more.

Furthermore, if it is worth your time to earn the dollar you would receive for collecting and delivering a pound of aluminum cans, go for it.

But it is highly objectionable for Orange County to waste its citizens' time and money (and potentially its climate) when it could be putting those resources towards more constructive and valuable things, such as promoting gay tourism, which currently accounts for only $10,000 of Chapel Hill's budget. **CR**



Photograph by Lydia Walker

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THE ALCOHOL PROBLEM



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Amethyst Initiative offers chance to reexamine drinking age in America

A soldier returns home from war. Having just completed a 10-month tour of duty in Iraq, the 20-year-old marine is proud of the service he has done for his nation, but mainly he is just happy to be back safe and sound. He is ecstatic to see his family and friends, and they throw him a welcome back party in a local restaurant. All is well at this celebratory occasion, except one thing – the soldier cannot participate in a toast in his honor, at least not with a beer.

There is something incongruous with laws in which an 18-year-old can die for his country but cannot drink a beer when he returns home from war.

The drinking age in the United States is 21, and today's college students have never known anything different. But it wasn't always this way. Actually, to clarify, the United States does not have a national drinking age. Technically, these laws are left up to the states, but the federal government found a clever way to get around that nuisance – take the states to the bank.

In 1984 the National Minimum Drinking Age Act passed in Congress. It required all states to pass legislation that would make purchasing and publicly possessing alcohol illegal for people under the age of 21.

But the federal government couldn't just bully the states with a piece of legislation alone, so they brought out the big guns. Any state not complying would lose 10 percent of its annual federal highway apportionment, a potentially crippling sum for something no state can live without – roads.

This law was originally intended to stop youngsters from drinking and thereby reduce alcohol-related menaces, such as drunken driving. But the question is, has it worked?

The United States has the highest minimum drinking age in the world, except for nations where it is banned entirely like Sudan, Libya and Saudi Arabia. But the United States is unique in another category, too. Nowhere else in the world is there a culture of binge drinking like there is in American universities and high schools. Alcohol and college are essentially synonymous in the United States, and despite laws, it is extraordinarily easy to obtain alcohol if you are underage.

This distinctly American hard-partying trend starkly contrasts the culture of college-aged people throughout the rest of the world. American college students have earned quite the reputation abroad. Americans studying in foreign countries are notorious in many locales for excessive and frequent binge drinking, a rather strange concept to their foreign peers who have been exposed to alcohol in constructive ways.

For instance, Italians learn to enjoy wine as an important component to a meal, not as something to be imbibed as quickly as possible to achieve the almighty wine buzz. The United Kingdom law says that people as young as 16 can consume beer or cider in a restaurant with parental supervision. Even the United States territories of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands have 18 as their drinking age. By contrast, in many states, parents who give their 19-year-old son or daughter a glass of wine with Christmas dinner can actually be prosecuted.

In the end, the drinking age of 21 in the United States does very little to stop people who are underage from obtaining and consuming beer, wine and liquor, especially in college settings. The powers that be are starting to realize that all the law has done is create and foster a dangerous underground culture of excessive drinking – a "get it when you can and drink as much as you can" attitude – that glamorizes alcohol as a forbidden fruit and thus perpetuates the classic phenomenon of wanting what you cannot have.

The Amethyst Initiative is a group of college presidents that have come together in the hopes of reopening the debate about the drinking age in this country. More than 125 presidents have joined the initiative, recognizing that their campuses are where the problems with the elevated drinking age are manifested the most. The group seeks to foster rational debate about the subject in order to fix the problems inherent in the binge-drinking culture at American universities.

A major concern in addition to just underage consumption, is that underage men and women may be reluctant to seek out medical care for a friend who has had too much too drink for fear of implicating the friend or themselves for underage drinking.

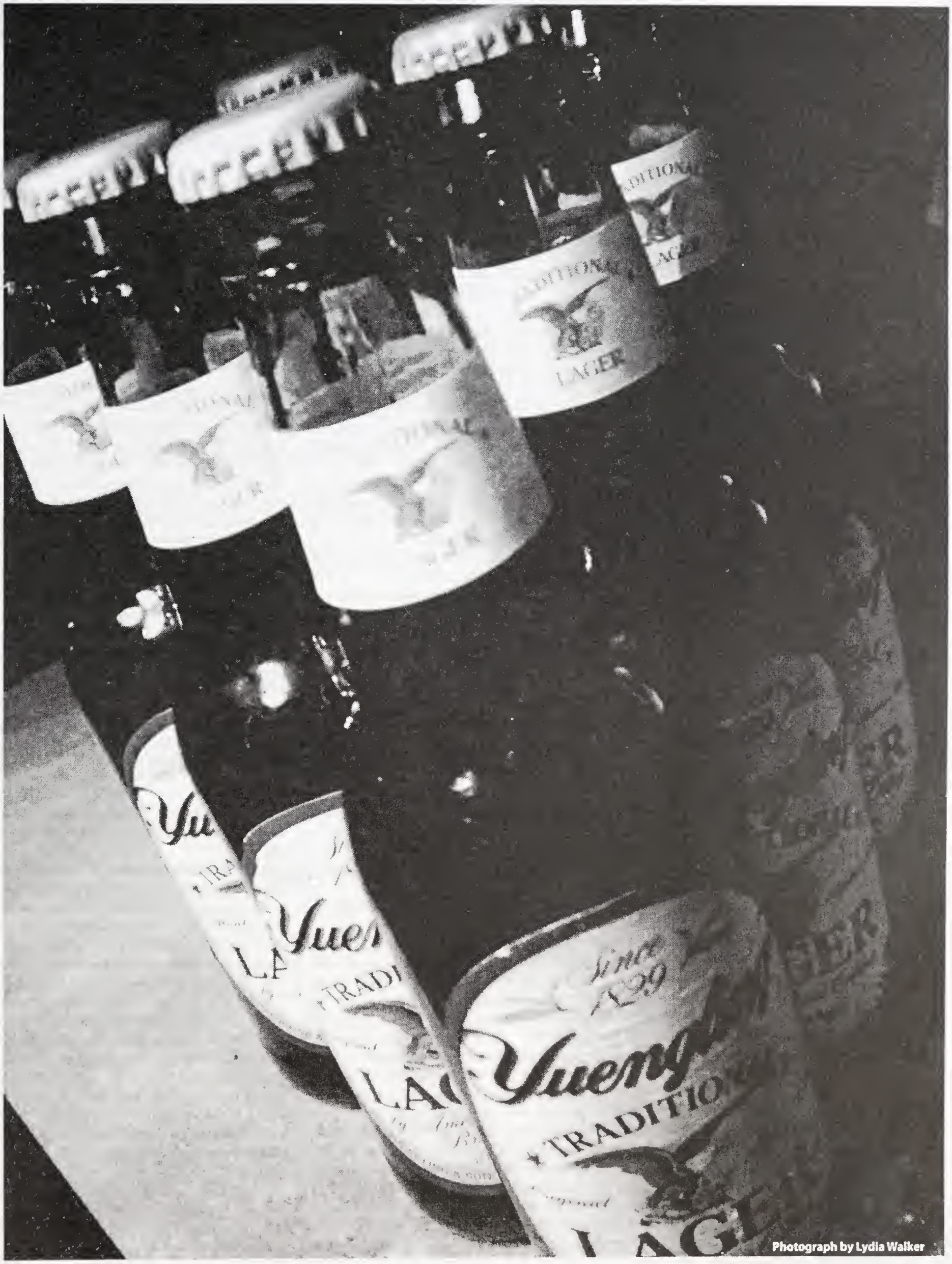
At the beginning of the school year, UNC had yet to take a stand either way with regard to the Amethyst Initiative. Recently, UNC system President Erskine Bowles announced that he would not support the effort. Chancellor Holden Thorp has also expressed his support to keep the drinking age at 21. In contrast, Duke President Richard Brodhead has endorsed the initiative.

With the political clout the UNC system has in the North Carolina legislature, the support of the system would be a benefit for the initiative, but Bowles says that he has not seen any evidence that a lower drinking age would reduce binge drinking or other alcohol-related problems.

Opponents of the Amethyst Initiative and lowering the drinking age cite data that traffic fatalities have decreased since the age was set at 21 in 1984. However, these studies may not tell the whole srory. Traffic fatalities actually started their downward trend in 1969, the year many states actually lowered their drinking ages in protest to the paradox of soldiers returning from Vietnam not being able to drink upon their return.

So what caused the decline in fatalities? Coincidently, 1969 was a year in which many significant improvements were made in the crash avoidance and protection features of vehicles. This is far more likely to have changed the traffic fatality trend than a law passed 15 years later.

The Amethyst Initiative is long overdue look at the place alcohol has in American culture, especially college culture. Bowles, Thorp and the rest of the UNC system should not be so quick to dismiss the effort. Since the Amethyst Initiative is merely seeking to open the debate, you would think the leaders of institutions of higher education would be amenable to. As the Amethyst Initiative's website asks, "How many times must we relearn the lessons of prohibition?" **CR**



Photograph by Lydia Walker

From the Campaign Trail



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The conventions are, thankfully, over. As with much in politics, conventions are much ado about nothing. After seven full days of speeches, it seems likely that only Palin's speech has a chance of being remembered in the long term. We might hope that McCain's lead in the national polls stays, but in this amnesia-riddled election cycle, it seems likely to be transient. At least, if McCain does keep his lead, it will be mostly because of things he does in the fall, not because of his convention.

Another thing, though, will likely remain (if only with me): the impression that American rhetoric and the whole American political scene in general, are irredeemably infantile. It's not a new lesson, but it's never been quite as painfully apparent.

First came the Democratic convention in Denver from August 25th through the 28th.

A special mention must be made about the Democrats' obnoxious use of the pun. The pun is to rhetorical devices as Russia is to democratic nations: it might technically be called a rhetorical device, but you feel uncomfortable describing it as such, and you certainly would not use it as the exemplar.

However, the Democrats relied on the pun as if it was the greatest oratorical tool developed since Pericles first addressed the Athenians. My vote for the worst is Bill Clinton's: "The campaign generated so much heat it increased global warming," (though Clinton is to be credited with his tacit suggestion that eliminating the Democratic Party would help fight global warming).

My runner-up is Kathleen Sebelius': "Even though John McCain spent 26 years in Washington voting over and over against investing in renewable energy, John McCain does support some 'renewables.' He wants to renew the failed Bush agenda..."

It's not as if the other aspects of their week were much better. From their live rock concert Thursday night (DaNCe Party, anyone?), to their billing of Obama as a "special guest" before he joined Biden on stage, to the extended "repeat after me" section of Tim Kaine's speech, their antics were unbecoming of a Party desiring our respect, much less our votes.

All of this, though, was over-shadowed by the astounding flippancy of the speakers. Examples abounded, but Governor Tim Kaine was the gold standard. In his speech, he recalled the scripture about the faith of the mustard seed, saying that Democrats must put their "faith into action" and work vigorously for an Obama victory. The underlying idea is either that it is divinely inspired to volunteer for Obama (and they ridiculed Bush when he claimed a divine endorsement) or, even worse, that Obama himself is a super-human figure in whom we should place our faith. Both choices are blatantly blasphemous.

Next came the GOP convention in St. Paul from September 1st through the 4th.

I must admit a bias towards Republican ideas and arguments, but I don't have a bias towards Republican politicians. Frankly, I have a visceral antipathy for anyone, regardless of party, who would want to be a politician (with some notable exceptions). That said, their convention was less cringe-inducing.

The Republicans manifested a level of seriousness not seen in Denver. Whereas the Democrats exhibited a lack of mental dexterity but a surplus of sensationalism by whining almost exclusively about the Great Depression-That-Isn't-Even-A-Recession of 2008, the Republicans wrestled with the full spectrum of issues that will face the next president.

To name a few (but hardly all) of the issues the GOP discussed but the Democrats avoided: terrorism (did the Democrats ever mention 9/11, the event which should rightfully define our generation?), Russia's invasion of Georgia, earmarks, free trade, and education reform. Yes, the Democrats mentioned a handful of these issues in passing, but it their only really sustained argument concerned the economy.

Even when the Republicans were being sarcastic, there was a precision and a fundamental earnestness to their complaints. That and, well, no one equated McCain to our Lord and Savior.

While it might seem tautological to Conservatives to claim that the Right is more sober, we are often confronted with the characterization of Conservatives as unthinking yokels (and, somehow, simultaneously aristocratic snobs), while Liberals content themselves with imagining the Left as the more urbane, cosmopolitan, and intelligent wing of the spectrum. This convention season, though, should chip away at those notions.

The Democrats may have the advantage of the "enthusiasm gap" (although, with Governor Sarah Palin as the nominee for Vice President, that gap is rapidly disappearing), the Republicans have a pronounced maturity gap. However, the GOP did have a few "Say it with me" segments and a spat of childish booing during McCain's speech, so it might be more appropriate to say that the GOP is merely the less immature party. That's not a ringing endorsement, but it is an important one. **CR**

EVANGELICAL, from page 12

good and therefore deserves the goods of the world leads to a new view on social justice issues.

The need to help others through service and charity comes to the forefront as the cardinal task of Christians.

"The movement of young, orthodox, fundamentalist Christians towards liberalism is in some way a backlash against the historic bigotry of the evangelical movement," said freshman Mark Letteney. "Christians want to get back to the basics of caring for others and serving them. The liberal movement just does that better."

But what price must be paid for this new "brotherly love" mindset?

"The downfall of the movement is that some get so focused on loving their neighbor that they forget the Gospel," said Letteney. "And although that's not a reason to run away from it, it is a reason to be worried." **CR**

LIBERALISM, from page 13

the moral worth, which is, to a Christian, the glory it brings to the kingdom of God.

It is that choice, to trust God or not, that is of the highest importance in the Christian worldview, and it is that choice of which we are deprived when government programs, forcibly funded through taxes, replace private charity out of good will.

It is often said that Christianity makes sense in light of a world where humans live with free will because critical ideals such as faith and even love, the go-to ideal of evangelical liberalism, have their value in that they result from a conscious choice. The contradiction is evident in considering that liberalism espouses what essentially amounts to compulsory 'love.' It is incompatible with faith that people would give to welfare *because they have to*, and in fact, actions being done for that sort of motive is a tendency fought by the evangelical church, precisely because it is counter to our values.

Free will, choice, and love are all inextricably linked, no matter the efforts to extract choice. It is this point which liberals fail to understand, and it is for this point that conservatives withstand much criticism for refusing to meet the needs of the poor through government programs.

It follows that the Republican Party acquired a reputation in the eyes of many as the party that doesn't care. The other characters in this myth, the Democrats, are cast as the compassionate party as they spend other people's money on obligatory charity through a kind of Pharisaic legalism and self-righteousness. Defeating this myth will be the key to the upcoming election for John McCain, with increasing numbers of Americans expecting their government to intervene. It should not be difficult.

He just needs to convince the country that his party is the one that still *believes* in compassion. The Democrats by their nature cannot; they lost faith in it long ago. **CR**

SIMPLY SATIRE

The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

When the Rub heard last month that the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement's Operation Scheduled Departure was a failure, we were confused.

¡No comprendo!

The program would have allowed about 457,000 illegal immigrants who had previously been ordered to leave the country to turn themselves in.

Caveat: if it had been a good idea

Instead of being arrested, they were to be given 90 days to pack up and leave.

Man, what a deal

The only problem was that only eight people nationwide signed up for the program.

That's eight fewer we have to catch now

Its failure tells us something about the illegal immigrants in this country.

And about the people trying to get rid of them

You might think it says that illegal immigrants are too smart to fall for something like this.

It's not like it was transparent or anything

But you would be wrong. In fact, it tells us just the opposite – if they were smart, they would have taken advantage of the opportunity and left.

Instead, too busy trying to get into community college

The brilliance behind ICE's branding of the program as an "opportunity" was that ICE knows, eventually, that it will catch all the illegal immigrants in the country. Clearly, those eight people knew it, too.

ICE, ICE, baby…

Because, as ICE official Jim Hayes told *The Charlotte Observer*, "This program proves that the most effective way of [enforcing the law] is doing it the way we've been doing it – through enforcement operations."

Since that's been working soooooo well for you guys…

Hayes said that ICE was extremely discouraged by immigration advocates' reaction to the program, and that the negative reaction affected participation.

But otherwise, it was most definitely a good idea

Also according to the Observer, "critics of the program are now calling it a failure."

Can we deport whoever wrote that instead?

It's a shame, really. If anything, the smart ones are the ones we want staying here.

Good thing we can count on ICE to take care of things

Ay, there's the rub.

¡No comprendo!

Paradigms and Principles

Siren's advice fails in gender equality

The theme of the latest issue of "The Siren," the university magazine whose self-described goal is to "fight for full gender equality," is sexual attacks and abuse. In the five-page foldout pamphlet-style issue, the editors present a list of what men and women should do to protect themselves from potential attackers.

The female readers are presented with a laundry list of tips, including the idea to walk with their keys in between their fingers allowing them "more power if [they] need to jab it into an attacker's eye." Ouch.

The men, on the other hand, are presented with one measly tip in case of an attack – "stay fit so you can fight off an attacker." Some gender equality, right? After 19 elaborate tips given to women, the only piece of advice they can offer men seems to play into the stereotype they set out to fight – women are helpless, innocent individuals while men are buff and powerful.

Granted, women are more likely to be sexually attacked than men, but you'd think that if "The Siren" was dedicated to "full gender equality" that they would be able to think up more than just one pointer.

Guess I better hit the gym.

DTH deserves skepticism after falsely criticizing Congress

The recent hubbub over Student Congress' appropriation to Carolina Students for Life begs several interesting questions of the left-wing political climate in Chapel Hill: Is liberal bias still bias if it results out of ignorance more than intent? Is sensationalist journalism still sensationalist if it occurs having *accidentally* transformed a rather mundane act of the student legislature into an alleged great injustice?

When Congress held a public forum to hear students voice broad ranged concerns, emails were circulated by feminist and pro-choice organizations calling on their members to come protest the funding of the scheduled pro-life demonstration. The indictment: that Congress had recklessly spent their student fee dollars on a divisive opinion with which they did not agree.

The immediate problem with this accusation is that the Student Activity Fee, which is the source of Congress' budget, is designed to fund activities of that sort, and in fact, in the past year Congress has funded groups on the other side of the spectrum, including Feminist Student United, and right on down to that obnoxious anti-war protest put on by the ultra-liberal Students for a Democratic Society.

Matters were made worse when *The Daily Tar Heel*, the de facto supreme authority in the eyes of our student body, printed a news story implying a similar allegation, and an editorial falsely accusing Congress of turning away other groups in favor of CSFL.

Neither case merits a complaint of bias, for bias requires awareness of the situation before it is skewed to satisfy a certain conclusion. This is an example rather of the degenerate state of the campus' dominant political culture and its heralded mainstream daily.

The reality is that the *DTH* in looking for a story to break printed two stories laced with implicit and explicit falsehoods, and then the liberal wing of the student body, looking a reason to cry wrong-doing on the part of conservatives, took the stories as the gospel and ran with it.
For us free-thinking students that meant just one giant mess.

unc.edu/cr/ October 2008 A.D.

Carolina Review

The Obamessiah



ELECTION EDITION 2008

FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

As Election Day nears, an increasing number of conservatives have announced their support for Senator Barack Obama (D-Ill.). The list now includes (among others) Doug Kmiec, Ken Adelman, Christopher Hitchens and (most painfully) Christopher Buckley.

The Carolina Review will not be following suit. We are utterly unconvinced by the arguments of those on the Right who support Obama. We can see no loop holes in the conservative ideology that are big enough to enable any sort of conservative to support Obama, his positions or his temperament.

The aforementioned conservatives almost always say they support Obama in spite of his ideology and history of leftist positions. They typically say that, though he has always legislated as a leftist, he will govern as a centrist. Abir Chatterjee's article deals with one plank of Obama's platform- his tax policies- and argues that Obama exhibits an unreformed, uninteresting form of Liberalism which casts an ineluctable doubt on the notion that Obama will govern from the center. Case in point, Obama's policies are so leftist as to satisfy Marx's policy suggestions.

Further, we believe that Obama's reaction to the financial crisis has been manifestly inept. Zachary Dexter and Anthony Dent trace the origins of the crisis and conclude that Obama is flatly wrong. The crisis was not caused by Wall Street greed and deregulation (as Obama has argued), but rather numerous actions of Congress, the FED, and several other government institutions.

Not only is Obama wrong about the cause of the crisis, he's also wrong about how to fix it. For a multitude of reasons, we conclude that the $800 billion bailout of the financial sector is not going to solve the current catastrophe and will only prolong and worsen our economic downturn.

We also distrust Obama's positions on the military. Christopher Jones' article takes a look at Obama's proposals concerning military spending and contends that an Obama presidency would do irreparable damage to the development of military technology. Without that technology our ability to preserve national security will be greatly hamstringed. There is no evidence to suggest that Obama's military policies will be tempered by any kind of moderation.

Most often, conservatives site Obama's temperament as the reason for their support. Brad Smith's article argues that Obama has reached a celebrity status and that his campaign is supported to a large degree by simple groupthink and Obama's "mindguards" in the media.

It follows that conservatives should naturally recoil from Obama. After all, we are the more sober wing, and the conservative temperament should be repulsed by anyone whose success is largely built on palpable insobriety. It takes a peculiar sort of temperament for a person to develop into a celebrity, and that sort of temperament is ill-suited for the presidency.

The conservative viewpoint can often be used to legitimately justify different positions on the same issue. The issue of the potential Obama presidency is not such an issue. In this election, a conservative should stand athwart Obama, and his supporters, yelling Stop.

Sincerely,

Nash Keune and Bryan Weynand, *Co-Editors*

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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CHEERS & JEERS

October 2008 The October 2008 issue seeks to espose the flaws in the policy plans of Obama along with his manipulation of the masses in pursuit of his political gains. It hopes to take off the rose-colored glasses the UNC campus wears when viewing Obama and look at the real man, not the near-divine figure he has become. As usual, you can read our old issues online at **unc.edu/cr/**

Comment on October articles at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com**.



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If you love watching radical environmentalists from the Earth First! group who need a healthy dose of reality, check out these hippies crying over a torn-down tree and longing to hear about the incredible life of inanimate objects. They even have a band. After watching the video, you will be much more thankful for what sanity you hold.

View Emotional Hippies on YouTube at
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VIEWPOINTS



SURE, THE WORLD ECONOMY MAY CRASH AND SURE, YOU MAY LOSE YOUR JOB, SURE ITS ALMOST NOVMEBER FOURTH, BUT HEY, ITS ALMOST CHRISTMAS TIME SO GET HAPPY!

"The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter."
-Winston Churchill

"Government does not solve problems. It subsidizes them." -Ronald Reagan

"A society that puts equality ahead of freedom will end up with neither equality nor freedom."
-Milton Friedman



WHAT NOT TO SAY ABOUT A "QUEER" STUDENT: "THE WINNER OF THE HALLOWEEN COSTUME CONTEST IS CHRISTINA FOR DRESSING UP LIKE A MAN. GOOD JOB!"

Obamaisms:

"The point I was making was not that Grandmother harbors any racial animosity. She doesn't. But she is a typical white person, who, if she sees somebody on the street that she doesn't know, you know, there's a reaction that's been bred in our experiences that don't go away and that sometimes come out in the wrong way, and that's just the nature of race in our society."

"I've now been in 57 states - I think one left to go."

"In case you missed it, this week, there was a tragedy in Kansas. Ten thousand people died — an entire town destroyed." He claimed 10,000 died. Actual death toll: 12. Just a bit off.



"We want a society where people are free to make choices, to make mistakes, to be generous and compassionate. This is what we mean by a moral society; not a society where the state is responsible for everything, and no one is responsible for the state."
-Margaret Thatcher

"Liberalism, once professing to advocate liberty, now is a movement for control over property, trade, work, amusements, education, and religion; only the marriage bond is relaxed by modern liberals."
- Russell Kirk- The Conservative Mind

CARTOONS AND COVER BY JUSTIN CROWDER

NOT A MARKET FAILURE

It wasn't Wall Street greed, but government institutions, which caused our financial crisis



by ZACH DEXTER
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Sen. Barack Obama and Sen. John McCain both seized on the recent financial crisis, blaming Wall Street executives for allowing their companies to take on irresponsible mortgages. Greedy financial institutions, the candidates suggested, caused the crisis by allowing people to buy houses without having to show any proof of income and without having to demonstrate their ability to make the mortgage payments.

But this populist refrain erroneously absolves the federal government of any blame. Congress and the government-sponsored enterprises also acted irresponsibly; both played significant roles in originating the subprime crisis.

For example, United States law has long required private banks to make subprime loans. Members of Congress used their leverage with Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac to expand the government-sponsored enterprises' subprime portfolios in the name of so-called social justice. Democrats in Congress opposed increased regulation of Fannie and Freddie.

Also, regulators in the heavily policed financial sector failed to reign in excessive debt-to-assets ratios, setting the stage for the collapse of Bear Stearns, Merrill Lynch and Lehman Brothers. And the Securities and Exchange Commission's mark-to-market accounting rules artificially collapsed some lending markets into turmoil.

For years, activist groups from the political left, like the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), asked Congress to force private banks to make loans to subprime borrowers. In the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977, Congress bowed to these activists' demands and forced private banks to fulfill arbitrary quotas for subprime mortgages.

Congress also demanded that the government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs) Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac help increase "affordable housing." George Mason University economics professor Russell Roberts explained that these demands came in the form of explicit quotas from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Roberts reported than in 1998, HUD required Fannie and Freddie to buy 12 percent of their loans from borrowers with less than 60 percent of their area's median income. For 2005, the number was 22 percent. Before the crisis, Roberts said, the HUD quota for 2008 was set at 28 percent.

To meet these quotas, the two GSEs bought up large numbers of subprime loans and mortgage-backed securities from private firms. This artificial demand for subprime loans helped accelerate subprime lending at companies like Countrywide. In fact, Credit Suisse reports that in 2007, Countrywide-originated mortgages accounted for 23 percent of Fannie and Freddie's combined mortgage volume.

The Wall Street Journal reports that Fannie and Freddie held a combined $1 trillion exposure to shaky mortgages and that the two continued buying subprime mortgages even as the housing bubble started to deflate.

Democrats shrugged off calls for more oversight of the government-sponsored enterprises. Arguing against a new regulatory agency for Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac in a Sept. 10, 2003, hearing, then-ranking member of the House Financial Services Committee Barney Frank (D-Mass.) said:

"The more people exaggerate a threat of safety and soundness, the more [they] conjure up the possibility of serious financial losses, to the Treasury, which I do not see, I think we see entities [Fannie and Freddie] that are fundamentally sound financially, and [that could] withstand some of the disaster scenarios. And even if there were a problem, the federal government doesn't bail them out. But the more pressure there is there, the less I think we see in terms of affordable housing."

In a Sept. 25, 2003, hearing of the committee, Frank reiterated his call for subprime lending: "I do think I do not want the same kind of focus on safety and soundness that we have in OCC [Office of the Comptroller of the Currency] and OTS [Office of Thrift Supervision]. I want to roll the dice a little bit more in this situation towards subsidized housing."

The Journal notes that Frank, now chairman of the House Financial Services Committee, still refuses to encourage government-run Fannie and Freddie to dump their subprime loan programs, even after taxpayers were forced to finance the two firms' $200 billion bailout.

Even as the housing market peaked, Democrats resisted calls for reform at the GSEs. In the Senate Banking Committee on April 6, 2005, Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) said, "I think Fannie and Freddie need some changes; but I don't think they need dramatic restructuring in terms of their mission."

In the committee's June 15, 2006, hearing, Sen. Jack Reed (D-R.I.) said: "I think a lot of people are being opportunistic ... throwing out the baby with the bathwater, saying, "Let's dramatically restructure Fannie and Freddie," when that is not what's called for as a result of [the management failures at the top levels of the GSE's] ..."

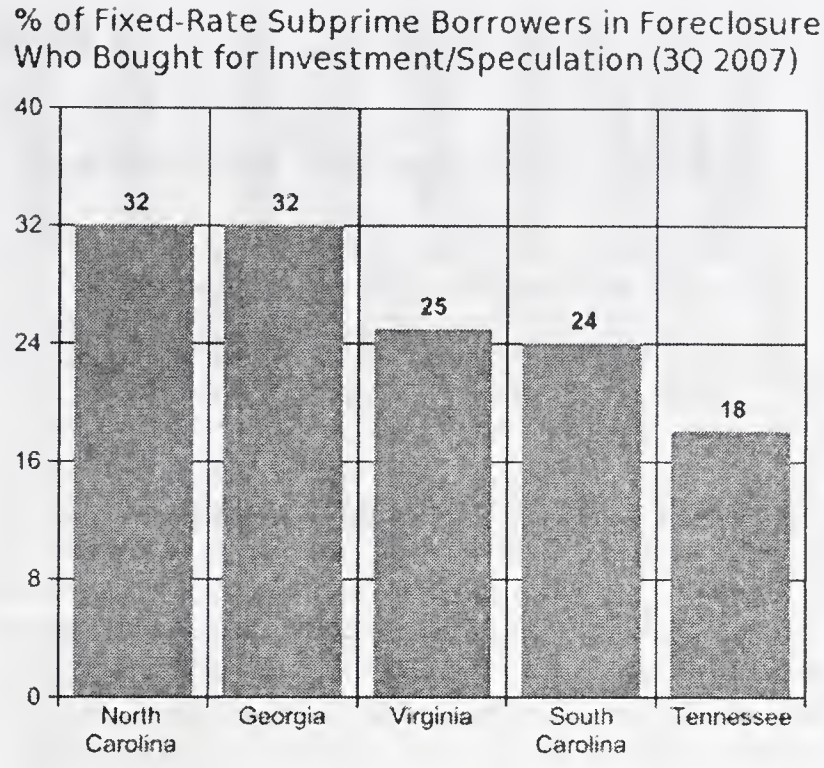
President Bush recently said of Fannie and Freddie: "Because these companies were chartered by Congress, many believed they were guaranteed by the federal government. This allowed them to borrow enormous sums of money, fuel the market for questionable investments, and put our financial system at risk."

Bush was a bit late in explicitly annunciating that risk; the administration's warning that "the GSEs [hold] much less capital in relation to their assets than similarly sized financial institutions ... even a small mistake by a GSE could have consequences throughout the economy" was buried in the 2005 federal budget. But other Republicans had been pushing harder for reform at the GSEs.

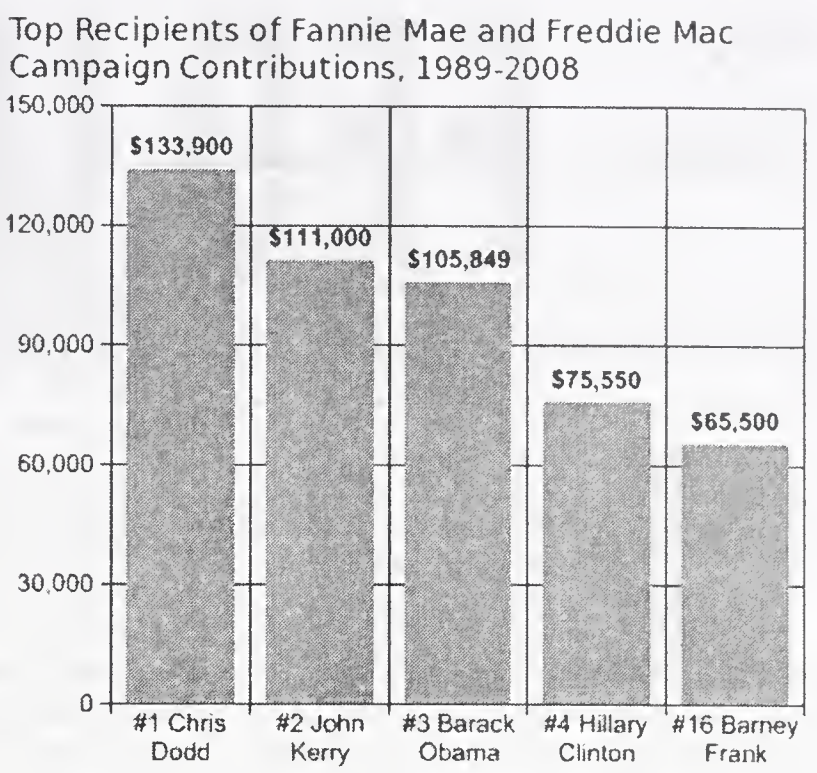
On May 25, 2006, McCain gave a speech on the Senate floor: "For years I have been concerned about the regulatory structure that governs Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac ... and the sheer magnitude of these companies and the role they play in the housing market ... the GSEs need to be reformed without delay."

McCain continued, "If Congress does not act, American taxpayers will continue to be exposed to the enormous risk that Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac pose to the housing market, the overall financial system, and the economy as a whole."

McCain then asked the Senate to pass Senate Bill 190, the Federal Housing Enterprise Regulatory Reform Act of 2005. McCain, Sen. Elizabeth Dole (R-N.C.) and Sen. John Sununu (R-N.H.) co-sponsored the bill, and Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) was its primary sponsor. The bill would have limited the GSE's investment portfolios and placed them under stricter regulatory oversight. **CR**



Dr. Jay Brinkmann, Mortgage Bankers Association



The Center for Responsive Politics

Unfortunately, the bill never made it out of committee. The American Enterprise Institute reports that the bill died because "Freddie and their constituent support groups – the homebuilders and the realtors, among others – made clear that they would fight limitations on GSE portfolios, and Schumer [who sat on the Senate Banking Committee in 2005] and other Democrats made clear that they, too, would oppose any effort to limit this aspect of the GSEs' operations."

Democrats opposed the bill even though experts had called for reform. In Senate Banking Committee hearings on Feb. 24 and 25, 2004, then-Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan warned about the dangers of a lightly regulated GSE: "A very rapidly growing organization, holding assets and financing them by subsidized debt, is growing in a manner which really does not in and of itself contribute to either home ownership or necessarily liquidity or other aspects of the financial markets."

Greenspan once again called for reform in a Feb. 17, 2005, hearing before the House Financial Services Committee: "Enabling these institutions to increase in size - and they will once the crisis in their judgment passes – we are placing the total financial system of the future at a substantial risk."

At a recent conference hosted by the Yale School of Management and the Wall Street Journal, Blackstone Group chairman Stephen Schwarzman said, "It's a perfect storm. It started with Congress encouraging lending to lower-income people. You went from subprime loans being 2 percent of total loans in 2002 to 30 percent of total loans in 2006. That kind of enormous increase swept into the net people who shouldn't have been borrowing."

This September, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac essentially collapsed. Both are now under the conservatorship of the federal government. Looking back, this collapse was probably the transition point from credit crunch into credit crisis. The resulting liquidity shortage accelerated the downfall of already shaky private institutions.

Problems at private financial institutions began when banks securitized packages of risky loans. One type of package contained "Alt-A" loans. Alt-A loans were an alternate type of mortgage that required little paperwork, credit history or proof of income to gain approval. Few investors bought certificates from pools of Alt-A loans; the pools' low lending standards left investors wondering what the average rate of default of these pools would be.

Because almost nobody was buying from the pools, banks had to mark down the value of certificates from the pools to almost zero to comply with the FASB 157 "mark-to-market" regulation. It turns out that Alt-A loans currently have an average delinquency rate of around 5 percent. This rate is lower than the delinquency rate for subprime mortgages but higher than the delinquency rate for prime mortgages. Alt-A loans may not be prime, but they are certainly not as worthless as FASB 157 makes them.

The banks found themselves with billions in Alt-A loans that they had to list on their asset sheets. Because the loans were listed on asset sheets, banks had to hold large capital reserves in case too many customers defaulted at one time. But because FASB 157 forced banks to price certificates from profitable Alt-A mortgage pools at far below their true value, banks were forced to sell other assets at below real-value prices in order to maintain their 12:1 capital reserve ratio. Similar securitized assets also had to be sold for artificially low prices. These "mark-to-market" rules are causing banks to record huge, unnecessary losses.

When banks tried to raise capital to combat these losses, they turned to sovereign-wealth funds, Schwarzman said at the Yale/WSJ conference. Political resistance caused those funds to stop "putting money into the system ... We now find ourselves with a liquidity crisis where fundamentally the cost of money for financial intermediaries is significantly in excess of the cost of lending it."

"So several institutions found themselves in a structurally impossible position ... Goldman reverted to a banking charter for a lower cost of funds, which today is still not low enough for the business," Scharzman explained.

In another regulatory failure, the Securities and Exchange Commission in 2004 allowed exactly five firms – Lehman Brothers, Bear Stearns, Merrill Lynch, Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley – to take on excessive debt relative to their total assets. The Wall Street Journal reports that the ratio of debt to assets for these companies was an astounding 30-40:1. Not surprisingly, two out of the five – Lehman and Bear – recently failed, and Bank of America recently acquired a faltering Merrill Lynch.

The Financial Accounting Standards Board has already reformed mark-to-market rules as they pertain to profitable mortgage-backed securities. Recently, the FASB issued a memo reading, "When an active market for a security does not exist, the use of management estimates that incorporate current market participant expectations of future cash flows, and include appropriate risk premiums, is acceptable."

But there is more to be done. Congress should repeal the Community Reinvestment Act; the government should no longer require banks to purchase subprime loans. Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac should be privatized in order to eliminate their market-distorting government guarantee. Most importantly, people who buy mortgages should be able to afford them. It's not "affordable housing" anymore when the bank forecloses on your home. **CR**

THE ECONOMY

FED UP WITH IT

Government banking institutions deserve their fair share of the credit as well



by ANTHONY DENT
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When the news of the imminent collapse of firms such as Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, the Lehman Brothers and the American Insurance Group became known, the financial world shook with the uncertainty of what would happen next. Immediately, people began to point fingers: "Lax Regulation!" "Bush's economic policies!" "Big business cheating the American people!" "Predatory lending!" ad nauseam.

As Barack Obama said, "Economics 101 tells us special interest politics distorts the free market." What we are now experiencing is not due to lax regulation or the Bush administration policies, but because the special interests that protected Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac and that allowed the Federal Reserve to pursue inflationary policies which vastly expanded the money supply have created a huge distortion in the free market. Given these conditions, are we supposed to believe that the free market is at fault?

The importance of this crisis cannot be overstated. What we do in reaction to what has occurred has far reaching implications that will affect our generation and the next. We need to understand what is going on and what a proper, reasonable response should be. Our natural tendency is to allow the government to take over the situation, slap on some regulatory controls, and then everything will be solved.

But if we are to truly solve this crisis, we must approach this topic with a holistic view of the causes. My colleague Zach Dexter has already detailed the effects that Fannie Mae and the implicit government guarantee had on the crisis. But much of the blame rests with the Federal Reserve that, in essence, created this problem.

Let's begin with some history. The subprime mortgage crisis we are now experiencing began in 2001, shortly after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11. The attacks struck a blow in an economy that was just starting to recover from the recession brought on by the dot-com crash in the late 1990s. In response, Alan Greenspan, then chairman of the Federal Reserve, lowered the federal funds rate, which reached 1 percent by 2003.

A quick economics lesson: The federal funds rate is the means by which the Federal Reserve attempts to control inflation, which is caused basically by having too much money chasing after too few goods or services (i.e., increased demand for insufficient supply). The federal funds rate affects the ability of banks to borrow money from other banks or from the Federal Reserve itself. Banks have to keep a certain amount of deposits with the Federal Reserve. They cannot take that money to lend to consumers; thus, they borrow from other banks or directly from the Federal Reserve at a rate of interest, if they need money, beyond their immediate deposits.

An extraordinarily low federal funds rate such as 1 percent allows for banks to borrow a lot more money, creating a large expansion in the money supply, making money more readily available. Of course, if the increase in money is not followed by an increase in the supply of goods or services, then prices rise.

The low rate vastly expanded the money supply and fueled borrowing, lessening the amounts of savings and investments.

Another effect of the extremely low interest rates was to cause a surge in the number of homes sold. The 30-year, fixed-rate mortgage was at its lowest level in nearly forty years, so people began to purchase homes for the first time or move to more luxurious abodes because they could afford the rate of interest. The supply of housing simply could not keep pace with the demand, so prices increased dramatically. Some people began to assume that the price appreciation of their homes would continue to increase at this pace, and so they basically gambled with their home equity.

Yet the assumption of continued price appreciation is never accurate. Eventually, the supply catches up with the demand and outpaces it, causing a freeze, and then a drop in the prices of homes. Also, as the Federal Reserve's 1 percent rate was never sustainable, it increased, leading many people to default or have their homes foreclosed because they could not continue to pay to live in their homes. This also added to the home supply.

So how does all this lead to collapses of major, respected investment banks like Lehman Brothers? Firms can securitize these mortgages and sell them on the market place in what is called "asset-backed securities." The idea is simple: bundle a bunch of these mortgages together and sell them using the underlying real estate as collateral.

Ginnie Mae, a government-owned corporation, has been doing this for years, selling mortgage-backed securities of loans that have official U.S. government guarantee. The loans mainly come from the Federal Housing Authority, Department of Veterans Affairs and similar agencies. Selling mortgages in the securitized state increases the liquidity that the actual banks have by allowing them to receive cash in return for the securities. That means they can then lend more money to consumers through mortgages, then securitizing them, repeating the process.

Firms like Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac would then pool these securities and sell them on a secondary market. Another financial instrument played a prominent role in the increasing complexity of the relationships between financial institutions. Collateralized-debt obligations (CDOs) repackaged equity and subprime-mortgage backed securities to be sold to institutional investors.

Problems occurred when subprime mortgages began to be packaged in these bundles of mortgages. Subprime mortgages are loans given to people with below-average credit, who usually would not receive mortgages under normal market conditions. The risk associated with these mortgages is extraordinarily high as the owners are more likely to default on their mortgages.

Yet once these subprime mortgages began to be sold with better quality securities, the market became very lucrative. One could be making huge paper profit off of what amounted to a great deal of speculation. This pushed mortgage lenders to allow more and more people who should not have a mortgage to acquire one.

According to Lawrence B. Lindsey of the American Enterprise Institute, "In 2006, the median down payment for first-time homebuyers was just 3 percent. Proof of income became optional as did basic tests of past ability to repay debts." A system without any basic limits will eventually fail, as we have seen.

In other attempts to attract more people to obtain mortgages, some businesses began to offer "teaser" rates that were very low for the first year or two before

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CAN I HAVE $800 BILLION TOO?

The financial sector bailout is as flawed as it is expensive



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In 2006, the media was abuzz with an endless discussion of Iraq, the single greatest issue of our generation. The failure of our military strategy and the increase in sectarian violence provided the template for countless editorials throughout the election season. The only people who were talking about our very strong economy were desperate incumbent Republicans.

Now, the tables have turned. There is endless discussion of the economy, the problems of which now apparently present an existential crisis to our once-great republic. The only people talking about the almost unqualified success of the surge (which we are now told was bound to be successful even though last January the same people told us the surge would certainly make matters far worse), are the same desperate Republicans.

One is tempted to say that the media is necessarily trying to ruin the GOP's chances, by either purposefully or merely by force of habit exaggerating the catastrophic stories and ignoring successful Republican initiatives. In either case, it seems that the success of the surge has led to some of the sound and the fury over the catastrophic stories about the economy.

Just as in 2006, this bias towards reporting only the dreadful news is setting the stage for a Democratic electoral victory and producing a frenzy of fidgety talk about ways to fix the problem at hand. The most important difference between 2006 and 2008 is that the solution we eventually came to concerning the crisis in Iraq (the surge) was so good that, looking back, it seemed bound to succeed. The solution that we now have to the housing crisis (the bailout) is quite the opposite.

The $800 billion (which is approximately equal to the entire gross domestic product of Indonesia) bailout legislation has passed both houses of Congress and been signed into law by President Bush. Even taking into account all of the taxpayers' protections, provisions ensuring accountability, etc., this is a foolish bill on several levels.

Quite simply, our economy isn't so bad that it requires such a drastic reaction. Though the media and the Democratic Party think we are facing the worst economic problems since the Great Depression, this is mostly a crisis in the housing and financial sectors.

In fact, last quarter we recorded 3.3 percent GDP growth, which would be a good growth rate even in an economic boom. On Oct. 3, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the unemployment rate for September was 6.1 percent, the exact same as it was in August. That rate is approximately one-fourth the unemployment we experienced in the Great Depression, and it is within the range of what we used to consider full employment. You might say that the fundamentals of our economy are strong (or, at least they were before the bailout). At the least, the economy is hardly in the sort of freefall which might justify such an extreme reaction as an $800 billion bailout.

Moreover, on a very basic plane, the bailout is using artificial credit to fight a problem caused by artificial credit. Logic which is so obviously flawed can pass only in an institution as consistently fatuous as government. Further, this is a financial solution to what was primarily a housing crisis. The housing crisis precipitated the financial crisis. This bill is fighting the symptoms rather than the illness.

On an economic level, the system of socialism for losses and capitalism for profits is both internally incoherent and detrimental to the signals necessary to an economic marketplace. By lessening the costs of making bad decisions, we are inviting executives to make even riskier decisions in the future.

There are plenty of good examples of what happens to sectors of the economy which receive bailouts. For instance, in 1979, Chrysler received a bailout worth over $1 billion, justified by much of the same logic underlying this bailout. The bailout of the auto industry, which still wallows in the doldrums of economic inertia, was a manifest failure.

The bailout essentially subsidized the poor choices, inefficiency and low quality which have come to define the American automobile industry. Case in point: Chrysler, Ford, and GM are about to receive $25 billion in subsidized loans. If the bailout of the financial sector is equally unsuccessful, then we might just face a bona fide economic depression.

The scariest aspect of the bailout is not the damage it will do now, but rather what comes next. We have a pronounced tendency to ratchet up our government intervention. Once one government solution fails and makes a larger problem, we pass an even bigger rescue package, which itself inevitably worsens the problem and so on in an imbecilic cycle. Once an $800 billion bailout is seen to be insufficient, we might be faced with trillion dollar legislation.

There isn't much reason for hope. Both presidential candidates put their full support behind the bailout. The Senate voted 74-25 in favor of its passage. The only sliver of hope came from the House Republicans, who fought against the bill, and some of the House Democrats (although they mostly opposed the bill for very different reasons than those presented above).

However, the initial failure of the bill in the House now constitutes more of an embarrassment for the House leadership than a principled stand for the free market. Actually, in the long run, the initial failure of the bill was disastrous, as it inspired the bill's supporters to lard the final version of the bill with an extra $100 billion of pork to convince reluctant congressmen to vote for the bill.

Sadly, some day we might look back on this $800 billion bailout as a quaint relic of a moderately free market past. Michael Barone has suggested that this might be an inflection point in American history, much like the Great Depression, which moved us toward interventionism, and the gas lines of the 1970s, which moved us toward Reaganism. We can only hope that this inflection is accompanied by another one which points us back toward capitalism. **CR**

LIKE, CELEB 4

The Obama candidacy is more about vibe and flair than tangible policies



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Early this past August, the McCain campaign drew heavy fire from the media for running an ad that accused Barack Obama of being "The world's biggest celebrity." The ad, which included images of Britney Spears and Paris Hilton, inevitably led to a defensive response from the Obama campaign and the media. With the media portraying this ad as an act of negativity, it is important to realize that the ad was simply addressing a very real concern that many politically engaged Americans share.

It is interesting to consider how a relatively unknown first-term senator from Illinois could, within an extremely short period of time, overcome the political powerhouse that was Hillary Clinton and be hailed as the messiah of the Democratic Party. Obama's path to glory is not all that surprising, however, when one considers how easily he gained momentum from the snowball effect resulting from an influx of previously apathetic young Americans to his cause.

Nowhere is this trend more apparent than on university campuses, where liberalism is already the established norm, and many students, truly on their own for the first time, are eager to rebel from anything they see associated with the "status quo." This eagerness to accept new ideas and approaches to public policy has led many young Americans to become extremely devoted to Obama's intended plans for "change," citing such words as "hope" and "progress" as means to their end, with little real thought as to what any of these terms truly entail. Such a sacrifice of intellectual integrity in favor of sheer gut feeling is a problem one might not expect to encounter on the grounds of an accredited university, but this problem is present nevertheless.

Psychologists have a term for this abandonment of logic in favor of a group consensus: "groupthink." First described by sociologist William Whyte, groupthink refers to the tendency of members of a large group to allow their desire for unanimity to effectively quash any acknowledgement of alternative courses of action. There is no doubt that this tendency has played a major role in politics past and present and has influenced both parties. However, one would be hard pressed to find a better current example of groupthink than that which has occurred within the Obama movement.

Studies on the groupthink phenomenon have suggested that groups led by a highly promotional leader will be more susceptible to the negative effects of groupthink. One such study conducted by psychologists James K. Esser and Noni Ahlfinger was published in the International Journal of Social Behavior and Personality and concluded, "Groups with highly promotional leaders produced more symptoms of groupthink, discussed fewer facts, and reached a decision more quickly than groups with non-promotional leaders."

No one can dispute the amount of promotion Obama has received from his campaign, the media, and even himself. This promotion has been largely targeted towards Obama's vague "change" rhetoric rather than on concrete plans for reform. Incidentally, this emphasis on soaring rhetoric brings to mind the failed Carter administration.

Another negative symptom of groupthink, described by psychologist Irving Janis, is the tendency of a group towards illusions of invulnerability. This invulnerability is often maintained by members of the group known to psychologists as "mindguards" whose function is to shelter the group from information that would serve to challenge its ideals. The mindguards within the Obama movement can be seen in the media, shutting out alternative information and denying the problem of Obama's inexperience.

Perhaps the most intriguing effect of groupthink is its ability to cause members of a group to stereotype and degrade their opposition as evil or unintelligent. During times of an election, this phenomenon is unfortunately all too common. However, the attacks between parties are usually kept to negative advertisements concerning candidates and do not extend to attacks on certain demographic groups. The pull of groupthink is strong, however.

In Obama's infamous gaffe during a fundraising speech in Pennsylvania earlier this year, he stereotyped those in small towns throughout Pennsylvania and the Midwest, saying, "It's not surprising then that they get bitter, that they cling to guns or religion or antipathy to people who aren't like them or anti-immigrant sentiment or anti-trade sentiment as a way to explain their frustrations." This statement characterizes the kind of demonizing rhetoric that comes with groupthink.

I personally witnessed the effects of groupthink in my introductory political science class. On the first day of classes, students were given a survey concerning various political issues, many focusing on the election. The next week, the results of the survey were revealed to the class. Two particular responses piqued my curiosity, as they were obvious contradictions of one another. Of these questions, the first asked whether students supported John McCain or Barack Obama in this year's presidential election, and the responses were around 60 percent in favor of Obama. The second of these two questions asked students their opinion on whether or not the government should play a role in redistributing incomes. Interestingly enough, almost 80 percent of the class expressed strong disfavor of the government's role as a re-distributor of income.

To the politically aware, the responses to these two questions, when examined together, represent a serious problem within Obama's young voter base: a disregard for real understanding of Obama's proposed (and highly socialist) policies. Although I

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do not cite this one example as irrefutable proof of the ignorance of a generation, it is no doubt a specific instance of a larger problem that, left unchecked, could leave our country with many unexpected and unfortunate consequences.

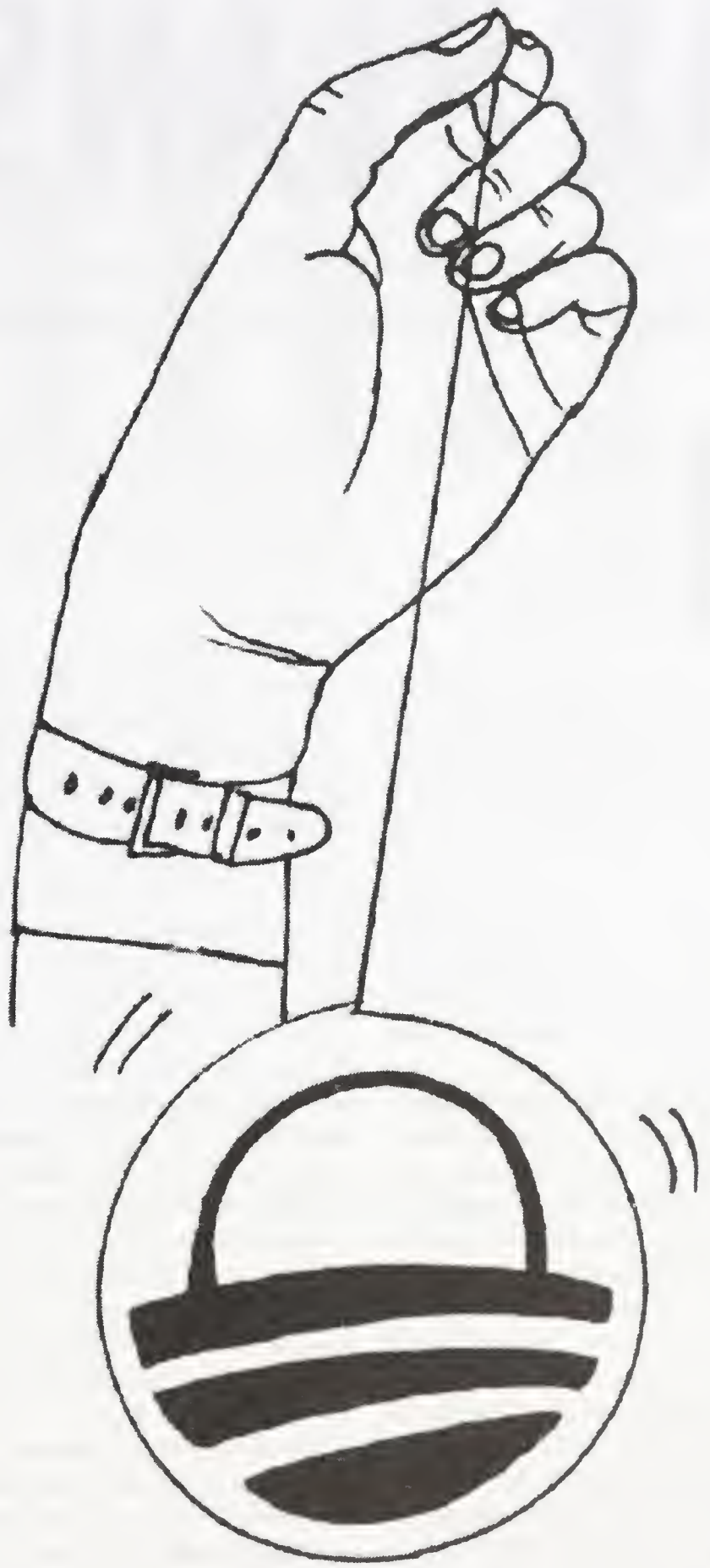
In the end, all of this analysis leads to the question of how Obama was able to gain such fiercely devoted followers when other, infinitely more qualified candidates were also presented by the Democratic Party. The most likely answer to this question is that Obama is undoubtedly a "feel-good candidate." In a time when conservatism has become unpopular, an eloquently-speaking liberal like Obama is a very easy candidate to support. His policies, following the party platform, are typical for a Democrat. If his speaking skills and race were forgotten, Obama would prove to be a particularly bland candidate.

Obama's speaking skills are incredible, as he has been able to woo large crowds with his inspiring, if shallow rhetoric. Martin Luther King comparisons aside, Obama is undoubtedly one of the great speakers of our time, but it is important to acknowledge that skill at the podium does not translate into skill in the White House.

Obama's race also makes him an appealing candidate for many voters. The idea of a black man in the Oval Office for the first time is no doubt an exciting prospect for all Americans. However, race should not be a factor in considering a candidate's qualifications.

These two factors have likely led to the incredible support behind the Obama campaign and have served to obscure from view Obama's true weakness: his lack of significant political achievements. The widespread popularity he has enjoyed is not surprising, as he has proven to be just what the doctor ordered: a surface-level candidate for surface-level voters.

During this election season, it is more important than ever that voters make up their own minds, searching deeper for solutions and avoiding the temptation to fall into a mob mentality. As we've seen in the past, the loudest and most self-assured groups seem to be the ones who, when the time comes, are the least able to stand on their principles and take real action. So choose your candidate wisely and independently, for we will all live with the consequences of Nov. 4, 2008. **CR**



THE TAX MAN'S TAX PLANS

Though the Democrats call their tax policies "fair," it is McCain and the Republicans who are truly presenting a fair tax plan.



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Fairness – it is a term politicians embrace when they pitch their new tax plans to the American people. It is a term used so lightly and promiscuously in today's politics that even the most discriminatory political policies can be justified in the name of "fairness."

As Sen. John McCain and Sen. Barack Obama continue fighting for the White House, both promise that their new tax policies will benefit all Americans and help the economy grow. And of course, they both claim that their tax policies are fairer than the other's.

It is apparent that McCain and Obama disagree on their ideas of fairness in the tax system. In general, McCain's tax plan cuts taxes for Americans in all income brackets. In contrast, Obama's proposal cuts taxes for the majority of Americans, but raises the tax burden significantly on wealthy Americans.

According to the nonpartisan Tax Policy Center, under Obama's plan, lower and middle-class Americans could see savings of about $567, $892, $1,042, $1,290, $2,204 or $2,789, depending on the person's income. However, the savings cease as soon as income reaches $200,000. The Tax Policy Center study estimated that families making over $250,000, or singles making above $200,000, would see significant increases in their income taxes. The study estimated that wealthy Americans with incomes above $603,000 could see their income tax rise by as much as $115,974, while the very wealthy could have to hand over an enormous $701,885 of their income to the Obama White House.

Under McCain's plan, the lower and lower-middle income brackets may not see quite as big savings in comparison to the Obama plan. The upper-middle class sees nearly an equivalent tax break in comparison to Obama's plan: an estimated average of $1,009 compared to Obama's $1,290.

Above this point, though, savings for families and individuals under the McCain plan overshadow those estimated under the Obama plan. This is due to each candidate's proposed marginal tax rates for high-income earners. Under Obama, high-income earners would see their income tax rates increase from 33 percent and 35 percent to 36 percent and 39.6 percent respectively. Under McCain, the Bush tax cuts would be made permanent, leaving the highest income tax rate at 35 percent.

The monetary differences between the candidates' policies on taxing wealthy Americans are astounding. While those making between $227,000 and $603,000 will see their income taxes increase under Obama's plan, they would save as much as $7,871 under the McCain plan. As tax burdens increase by hundreds of thousands of dollars for the wealthy under Obama's proposal, McCain's plan provides an estimated savings of about $45,361 for those making from $603,000 to $2.9 million, while earners of above $2.9 million could see savings of up to $269,364.

There is a clear disparity between the candidates' proposals with regard to higher income earners. Obama intends to raise taxes on wealthy Americans, while McCain supports maintaining low tax rates.

Here is where fairness plays into these tax proposals.

Obama refers to his tax policy – that is, lower taxes for most Americans at the expense of wealthy Americans – as the fair alternative to the present tax code. Obama, however, neglects the blatant class warfare that exists in this tax policy.

Tax Savings Under Proposed Plans

Income	McCain	Obama
Under $19K	$19	$567
$19K-$38K	$113	$892
$38K-$66K	$319	$1,042
$66K-$112K	$1,009	$1,290
$112K-$161K	$2,614	$2,204
$161K-$227K	$4,380	$2,789
$227K-$603K	$7,871	$(12)

When Glen Ifill, moderator of the 2008 Vice Presidential Debate held on October 2, asked Obama's running mate, Senator Joe Biden, how Obama's intentions on raising taxes on the wealthy was not a case of class warfare, he argued, "Well, Gwen, where I come from, it's called fairness, just simple fairness ... It's fair. They [the middle class] deserve the tax breaks, not the super wealthy, who are doing pretty well. They don't need any more tax breaks."

Indeed, the middle class is deserving of tax breaks but so are the wealthy. The left, including Sen. Obama and Sen. Biden, enjoy painting America's wealthy as sinners, thieves, criminals, and traitors who have immorally and unlawfully stolen their earnings from lower-income earners; and thus they are undeserving of keeping a larger portion of the paycheck they earn. In reality, these wealthy Americans are in fact fellow small business owners, corporate managers, entrepreneurs, investors, authors, musicians, inventors, innovators, and living American success stories – most or all of them hard-working Americans – who are being discriminated against in our federal tax policy.

Perhaps the fairness Senator Biden claimed Obama's tax policy would place into our tax system was the fairness outlined by Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto. In his writings, Marx endorsed "a heavy progressive or graduated income tax, in which tax

rates substantially rise as an individual earns more income, and in consequence, forces higher-income earners to pay a disproportionately higher amount in taxes to the government." Why, then, in our constitutional republic, would the Democratic candidate and his running mate intend to make the already progressive income tax even more progressive?

It is no secret that Obama is a valiant soldier in the recurring class warfare that the left wing of the political spectrum often wages. In his speeches, Obama makes it very clear that he has no intention of supporting any policy that would benefit or aid wealthy Americans. In fact, he even oftentimes jokes about exploiting their wealth.

When referring to McCain's tax plan in a speech in Dover, N.H., Obama said, "His [McCain's] plan gives more than half a million dollars in tax cuts for households making over $2.8 million a year. That's right, $2.8 million a year. Can I see a show of hands, all of you, who are making $2.8 million a year or more?"

Obviously, as no hard-working American would support a candidate who vows to increase their taxes significantly, no one raised his or her hand. He went on to say jokingly, "If you're shy and make more than $2.8 million, we are looking for contributions to our campaign."

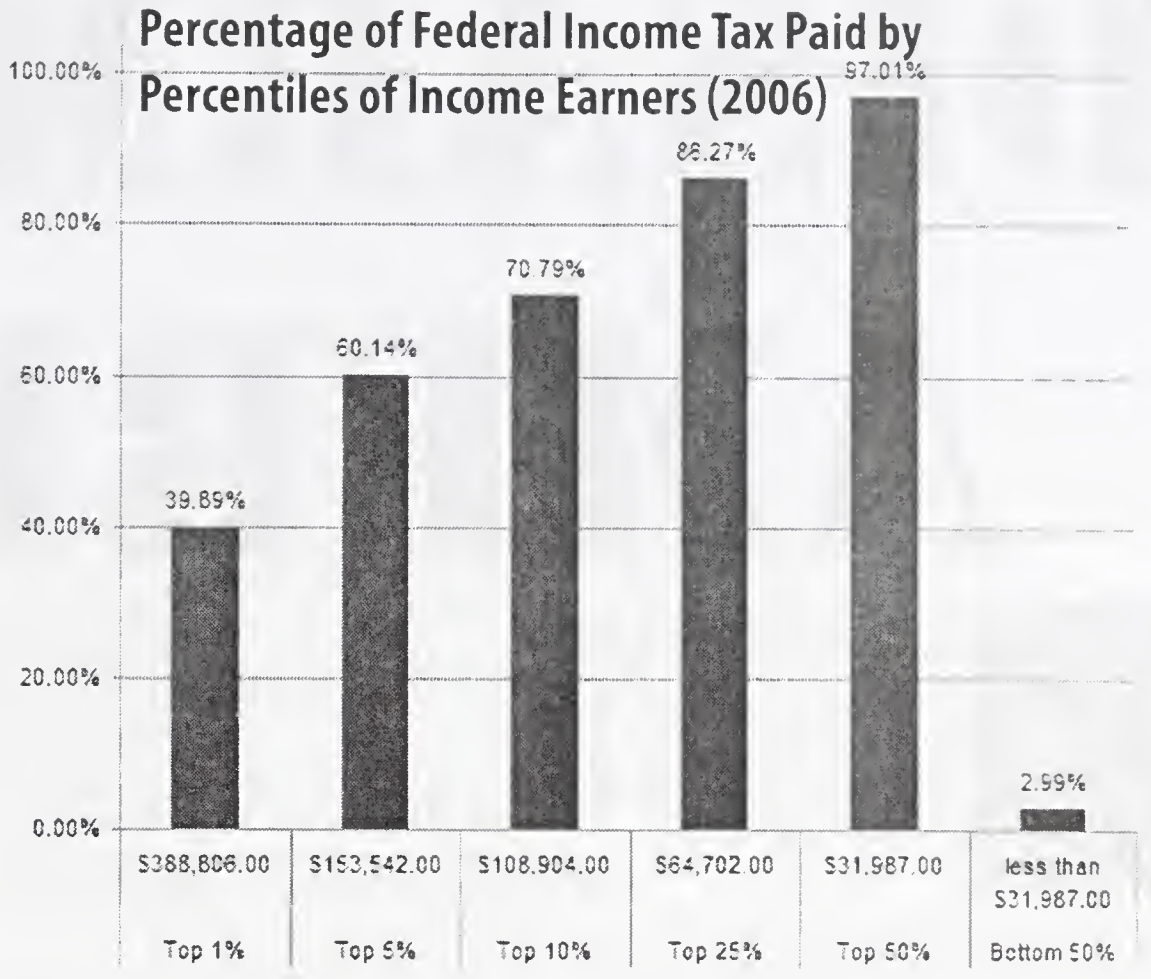
Obama made very similar jokes at other speeches, opposing tax cuts for individuals and families who "don't need them, and half the time, don't ask for them."

Just how skewed is our progressive income tax system already? According to the Statistics of Income (SOI) posted by the Internal Revenue System (IRS), the top 1 percent of income earners in 2006 paid nearly 40 percent of the entire nation's income taxes. The top 5 percent, who Obama has repeatedly said will see higher tax rates under his administration, bore over 60 percent of the nation's tax burden.

These wealthy Americans, who Obama and Biden plan to punish in their tax policy, who Obama and Biden believe are not "paying their fair share," paid over twenty times the amount of federal income taxes that the entire bottom 50 percent of income earners in the United States paid. It seems the Democratic ticket still does not feel that this is "fair" enough.

[LU1] Obama's tax proposal will not only place a larger burden on wealth Americans, but it could also have negative economic ramifications in our nation.

According to Salary.com's Small Business Compensation Survey reported by The Wall Street Journal, the average annual income of a small business owner or executive was $233,600. This definitively crosses Obama's proposed cut off



of $200,000 for an annual individual income to receive any tax savings.

With tax increases being proposed on these individuals, more strain will be placed on our nation's small businesses. This would result in lost jobs, lower incomes for employees, higher prices for goods or other such means of compensating for the additional taxes.

Increasing taxes on the wealthy, and also in general, seizes much of the money that would otherwise be available for investment in businesses and markets. Unlike lower-income families, which use money for mainly consumption purposes, higher-income earners use available money for investment in our nation's businesses. With this extra money being invested, businesses are able to create more jobs for the middle and lower classes. Proof of lower taxation stimulating the economy is provided by Russia and Eastern European countries. After implementing a flat tax rate system, which largely reduced taxes on high-income earners and quite significantly on middle-income earners, Russia saw its federal tax revenue actually increase by 25.2 percent. Lithuania has increased tax revenues, a higher standard of living and declining unemployment rates. Other Eastern European countries have seen their GDP grow by as much as double-digit percentages.

Unlike Obama's plan, McCain's would reduce taxes on lower, middle and upper income brackets, fostering the creation of new jobs and businesses and increasing the amount of money available for consumption and investment in our nation's markets. In addition, McCain's proposal to lower the corporate tax from 35 percent to 25 percent, which has been repeatedly subjected to harsh words from the left, would make the United States a more competitive breeding ground for businesses. With more businesses entering the United States, more jobs would be created, fewer jobs would be outsourced and free market competition would increase.

In this coming election, the liberal left has done something few presidential candidates have ever been able to execute. Sen. Obama, through glittering rhetoric, and his running mate, by twisting the definition of the word "fair," have convinced a large number of Americans that class warfare and higher taxation is the key to succeeding in the globalized 21st century world. By taking more and more money from the portion of Americans who already carry 60 percent of the entire nation's federal income tax burden, Obama argues he can bring economic justice and replace the current tax code with the "fair" alternative.

Meanwhile, his Republican opponent, Sen. McCain, proposes a tax plan that reduces taxes for all Americans without regard to their incomes and economic status. Although the American income tax system will still not be completely fair, as it still will be heavily progressive, we can conclude that, in fact, John McCain's tax proposal is the "fair" alternative to Barack Obama's tax proposal.

And by the way, Russia and many Eastern European countries have implemented a flat rate tax system – even the ex-Communists are doing it better than we are. **CR**

DISARMING AMERICA

Obama's plan to make America less safe



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In a campaign advertisement widely circulated on the Internet, Barack Obama appears seated in front of an American flag and expounds upon his plans for the future of the American military. Pledging to "end misguided defense policies," Obama gives his boilerplate promise to end the war in Iraq. He then delivers a long list of military programs that he wishes to eliminate, including most modernization programs for the U.S. Army, unmanned vehicles, missile defense, nuclear weapons and space-based weapons. Not once does he propose a program to modernize or strengthen the U.S. military. It's little wonder this video is primarily being circulated unedited by anti-Obama groups. It's an amazing self-indictment of Obama's dangerous ideas about defense policy.

Obama has supported cutting funding for "unproven missile defense systems." His campaign website states that "past efforts were both wasteful and ineffective, pursued with neither honesty nor realism about their costs and shortfalls. We must seek a nuclear missile defense and demand that those efforts use resources wisely to build systems that would actually be effective." This blanket statement overlooks the fact that there are many layers and methods of missile defense, and most systems are already operational.

Obama ignores the reality that the United States already fields several missile defense systems that have been proven both in tests and in combat. Missile defense is divided into three segments based on the point in the missile's flight path that is being targeted. The first segment is the Boost Defense Segment, which occurs right after takeoff. At this point, a missile is fighting against earth's gravity and is at the slowest speeds of its flight trajectory, making it vulnerable. The challenges of hitting a missile at this stage are very short warning times and the long range required to hit it when still over enemy territory.

The second segment is the Midcourse Defense Segment, which occurs as the missile reaches apogee and begins its descent towards its target. Hitting a missile in this phase requires long range and precise targeting over long distances.

The third and final segment is called the Terminal Defense Segment, which occurs after the missile reaches apogee and begins its descent towards its target. This segment has the longest warning time, but the target is traveling at the highest speed. A full missile defense system will target all three phases to provide a layered defense in case a missile gets through the first or second layers.

The U.S. military currently has no system targeting the boost phase of a missile launch but is developing two systems to serve as a first line of defense: a ground-based high speed missile and an aircraft-based laser.

The United States currently fields two midcourse defense systems: the Ground Based Interceptor system and the SM-3AEGIS ship-launched missile. The SM-3 is based on the SM-2 Standard surface to air missile which has been used by the U.S. Navy since the 1960s. According to the website GlobalSecurity.org, the SM-3 missile has successfully intercepted its target in 11 out of 12 tests, and in February 2008 a SM-3 missile successfully shot down a malfunctioning spy satellite.

The Ground Based Interceptor is a "kill vehicle" which intercepts a long range missile in space and destroys it by using the kinetic energy of the impact. The kill vehicle is launched on top of a large missile based in a silo. The system was first tested successfully in 1999, and despite some early setbacks has achieved nine successes in 15 tests. Of the six failures, three failed because the already proven technology of the interceptor rocket failed to launch, and only three failed through fault of the kill vehicle. The system was declared operational in 2006.

The best known terminal defense system is the Patriot missile. Made famous in the 1991 Gulf War despite never scoring a hit against an Iraqi missile, the Patriot was upgraded to the PAC-2 and PAC-3 variants in the 1990s. During the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Patriot PAC-2 destroyed all nine missiles it intercepted, and according to GlobalSecurity.org the PAC-3 missile has achieved a 90 percent success rate during tests.

A second system with longer range, the Theater High Altitude Air Defense system (THAAD), passed its final testing phase with flying colors earlier this year and has been declared operational.

What all this shows is that Obama is stuck in the debate of the 2000 election rather than the debate of 2008. Rather than being an unproven and unfeasible system with myriad test failures, most missile defense systems are a proven and working reality.

The remaining area to solve is that of the boost segment systems, which are still several years from being fielded. Completion of these systems will give the United States a three-tiered layer of defense against the threat of a missile attack from a rogue nation such as Iran or North Korea. Cancellation of these systems will leave the United States without a robust missile defense capability.

Obama has pledged to "not weaponize space," and his campaign website calls for a worldwide ban on anti-satellite weapons. This is obviously aimed at China's test of an anti-satellite missile in January 2007. This is attempting to put the genie back in the bottle; once something has been invented, it cannot be un-invented. What's more, military innovation has driven technological invention throughout history, and the space race was no different. The truth is, space is already weaponized and will be as much as is militarily feasible.

The space race was driven by the development of long-range missiles for military purposes. Today the American military relies on satellites for communications, photographic intelligence, electronic spying, navigation and guiding munitions. Given the American reliance on military satellites, it is not surprising that other countries wish to develop anti-satellite missile systems. Countries such as China, whose armed forces have less reliance on satellite systems, would have little reason to agree to a mutual ban on anti-satellite weapons.

The true solution is not in futile attempts to convince another side to cede the position of military strength, but in developing countermeasures to protect our military's vulnerable space-based assets.

Obama's calls for the elimination of programs are not limited to missile defense and space-based weapons. Despite stating that he wants to provide our troops "with the first-rate equipment, armor, training and incentives they deserve," he has also called for slowing the development of the Army's Future Combat Systems program. Future Combat Systems is an umbrella for every current modernization program of the United States Army, consisting of four main components: new manned ground vehicles, new unmanned ground and air vehicles, the Future Force Warrior infantry combat system and the FCS Network.

The manned vehicle component of the FCS program involves developing a family of tracked vehicles which are far lighter and more easily transportable than existing tanks and armored vehicles. These vehicles will have around 70-80 percent commonality in parts, making maintenance easier and less expensive. They are all expected to weigh less than 20 tons, making them air transportable by a C-130 aircraft.

Currently, a Stryker Mobile Gun System weighs 20.5 tons, an M2 Bradley infantry fighting vehicle weighs 25 tons and an M109 self-propelled artillery piece weighs 27.5 tons. These vehicles can be flown only one at a time on the largest cargo aircraft, so in order to be moved in large numbers they must travel by ship. The FCS manned vehicles will mean that the military will be able to respond more rapidly to crises around the world by transporting a sizeable armored force by air.

Several types of robotic ground and air vehicles are being developed, including a large wheeled vehicle for reconnaissance missions, backpack-portable remote controlled aircraft and small remote controlled systems weighing less than 30 pounds, which can be carried by a single soldier. Early versions of such systems have been used for scouting and explosives disposal in Iraq and Afghanistan, where they have undoubtedly saved many soldiers' lives.

The Future Force Warrior infantry combat system is the successor to the Land Warrior program of the late 1990s and early 2000s. It aims to provide a comprehensive upgrade of the individual soldier's fighting capabilities. Soldiers will be equipped with "smart" uniforms that monitor vital signs such as heart rate, body temperature and blood pressure and provide this information to medics through a networked system. Night vision and thermal sensors will be integrated with the soldier's helmet rather than carrying around bulky goggles. Uniforms will have their own climate-control system for extremely hot or cold environments. Unmanned ground vehicles will accompany infantry squads to carry equipment and provide recharging stations for batteries.

The most important part of the FCS program is the backbone of the entire program: the FCS Network. This system represents a wholesale leap in the way war is fought. It will integrate all military communications in a single decentralized computer network, linking every unit to every other unit with no central hubs that can be destroyed by the enemy. Commanders will be able to know where all their men are at any given time and give orders accordingly. Medics will be able to view information about wounded soldiers as they are en route to give aid. Tank commanders will know where all friendly units are in their area, preventing friendly fire incidents.

This is part of the U. S. Military's 21st century doctrine of "network-centric warfare," which seeks to use distributed network communications to gain an informational edge on the enemy and use it against them. Obama's plan to scale back the Future Combat Systems program will not only hobble the Army's modernization, it will hamstring its application of the latest advances in military doctrine and leave our military stuck in the 1990s, unable to take advantage of the latest technology.

Opposing the development of new weapons systems is one thing, but reducing current capabilities is another matter entirely. Obama wishes to cut America's existing arsenal of nuclear weapons, as well as ban the production of fissile material, take American nuclear forces off of "hair-trigger" alert in conjunction with Russia and eventually eliminate all stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

This is pure naiveté. Once again, once something has been invented, it cannot be un-invented. The proliferation of nuclear weapons cannot be stopped, only slowed. Even if every nation were to eliminate their nuclear stockpiles immediately, the knowledge to build such a weapon would still be in existence.

America's stockpiles of nuclear weapons have already been drastically cut to 14 missile submarines, 20 B-2 bombers and 450 land-based Minuteman III missiles. Cutting them further threatens to permanently cede nuclear superiority to Russia, and given the recent belligerent attitude of the Russian government and military towards the West, this might not be in the United States' or the world's best interest. Balance in nuclear forces prevents one side from acting too aggressively towards the other side, due to the risk of igniting total war and mutual destruction.

Obama believes he can lessen the likelihood of a total nuclear war erupting because of a misunderstanding or accident by taking American and Russian nuclear forces off of "hair-trigger alert." In fact, "hair-trigger" is somewhat of a misnomer, as firing a nuclear weapon is a complex process requiring launch codes and direct authorization from the president and secretary of defense. Regardless, taking nuclear forces off of high alert would at first glance seem like an excellent way to reduce the risk of total war. What this would actually accomplish is to eliminate the United States' ability to respond to a nuclear attack.

"It is not surprising that Obama's defense proposals are both naive and dangerous to America's national security."

The only thing that kept the Soviet Union from flattening the United States during the Cold War was the knowledge that as their missiles were detected in flight, American missiles would be launched before the Russian missiles hit their targets. With this capability removed, the United States would be wide open for a first strike attack by any other nation with a nuclear arsenal. Such an attack could destroy dormant nuclear bases in one salvo, leaving the U. S. with no ability to launch a response.

Not all cuts in military procurement are a bad thing. The military has on occasion wasted fantastic sums of money on unfeasible or misdirected projects. For example, in 2005, after years of development, the Army cancelled the XM-8 rifle from the Future Force Warrior program once it became obvious that the weapon was no better than existing M16 rifles.

The problem is when programs are cut wantonly without considering how they will affect our armed forces. Programs such as the Future Combat Systems, which are implementing lessons learned from combat in Iraq and Afghanistan and are part of wholesale changes in U. S. military doctrine, are needed in order to maintain our military's technological superiority.

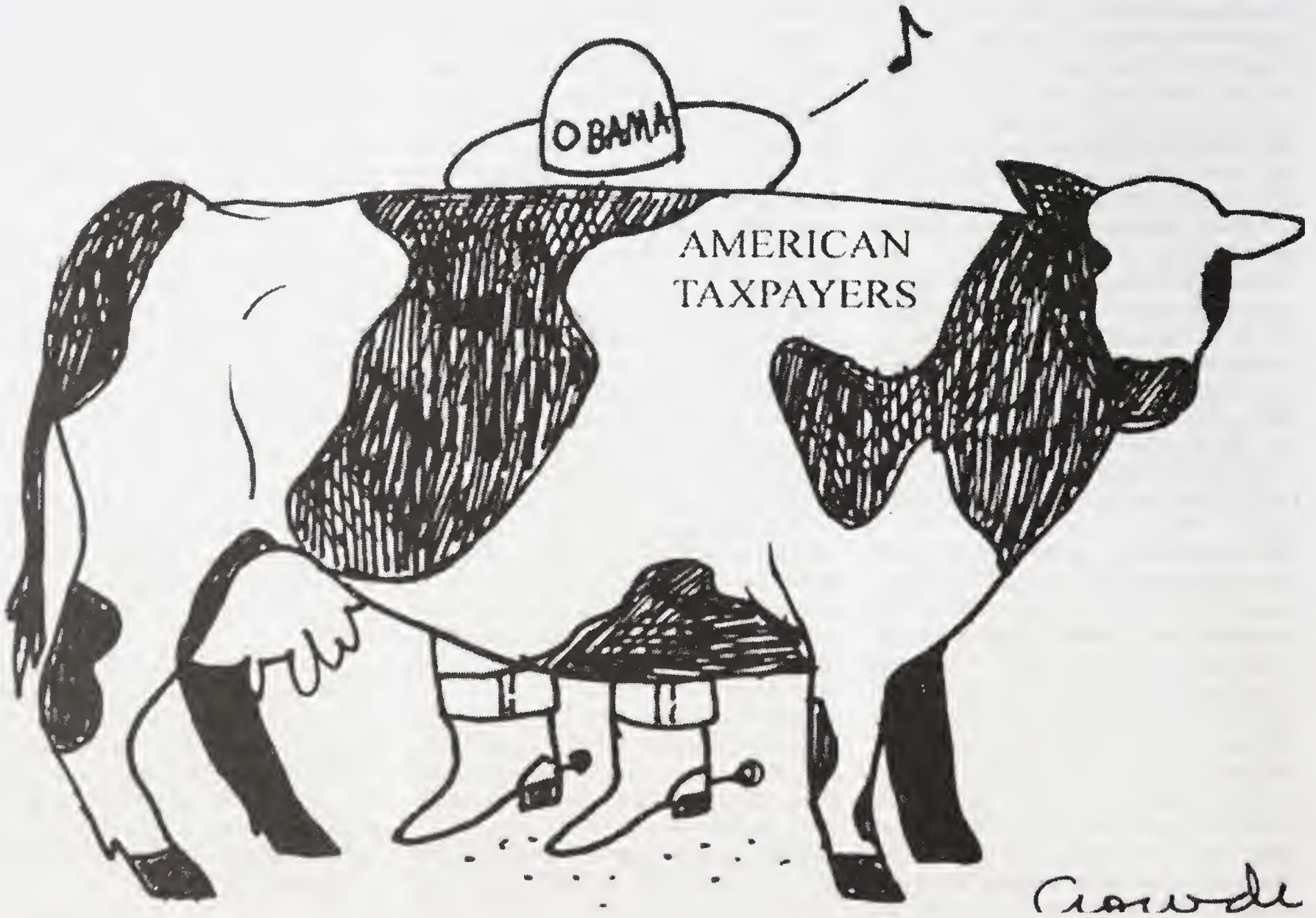
Obama shows his ignorance of military matters by criticizing missile defense systems, most of which are already operational. He also shows his naiveté by expecting other nations to negotiate themselves to a position of inferiority on space warfare and by offering to give up America's second-strike capability to respond to a nuclear attack.

These reckless proposals stem from a complete lack of experience in military matters. Obama has never served in the military in any capacity, and throughout his adult life he has not held any position or gained any experience regarding military matters. Hence, it is not surprising that Obama's defense proposals are both naive and dangerous to America's national security. Indeed, it is what one would expect. **CR**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

be making huge paper profit off of what amounted to a great deal of speculation. This pushed mortgage lenders to allow more and more people who should not have a mortgage to acquire one. According to Lawrence B. Lindsey of the American Enterprise Institute, "In 2006, the median down payment for first-time homebuyers was just 3 percent. Proof of income ?. became optional as did basic tests of pastability to repay debts." A system without any basic limits will eventually fail, as we have seen. In other attempts to attract more people to obtain mortgages, some businesses began to offer "teaser" rates that were very low for the first year or two before increasing dramatically. Given the booming market conditions, borrowers could theoretically make money from these arrangements. However, when the market crashed and they did not refinance, they were stuck with these exorbitant rates. This is not an example of "predatory lending," however. There would have to be a certain level of coercion in these deals for the term to apply. Given the fact that many borrowers sought out these "teaser" mortgages because they thought they would make a huge profit in a few years would certainly not be an example of "predatory lending," but rather of a leave of senses on the part of the borrower. A cycle developed. Mortgage lenders would lend money to people with poor credit. They would sell these securities through Fannie Mae or Freddie Mac. Investment banks and other large investors would borrow more and more to create these investment instruments, increasing the debt-to-asset ratio exponentially and creating highly leveraged balance sheets. When things came to head, chaos ensued. The chain had developed to the point that the CDOs and other financial instruments had been sold and re-sold so often that many investors were unaware of the level of subprime exposure. So when the housing market stalled, housing prices stopped rising and interest rates began to rise, causing some homeowners to default on their mortgages. This put a huge dent in the system that had developed. The financial institutions could no longer sell these financial instruments. Investors had become risk-averse and did not want subprime exposure. This is where the government truly exacerbated the entire problem. While there were some homeowners who were defaulting (a 75 percent increase in 2007), the actual value of the CDOs and other financial instruments was still substantial. The vast majority of homeowners and mortgage holders were not defaulting, so these investments had value. The financial institutions failed in a large part due to the "mark-to-market" rule that made them report that these long-term investments were actually worth nothing. As the market for these had dried up, they were, according to the parameters of the mark-to-market practice, worth nothing. So, which accusations were correct? Was the financial crisis caused by the Bush administration, "predatory lending" or big business? No. It was the product of a number of causes (others of which my colleague Zach Dexter explains): extremely low interest rates in the early 2000s; the ensuing housing bubble; a complex web of CDOs and securities that, when everything began to unravel, caused problems everywhere; and mark-to-market accounting, causing assets with worth to be valued at zero.

The primary cause of the crisis was the Federal Reserve; without dramatically increasing the money supply with harmful inflationary policies, this whole crisis could have been averted. Government legislation and activism from organizations such as ACORN only aggravated the problems by mandating that banks grant mortgages to people who could not afford them. The lack of oversight of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac allowed them to vastly expand their subprime exposure. President Bush and Republicans ? such as Sen. Elizabeth Dole, Sen. John McCain and Rep. Christopher Hayes ? pushed for more oversight, only to be thwarted by Democrats such as Rep. Barney Frank and Rep. Maxine Waters. Of course, correctly blaming the Federal Reserve or the lack of oversight of Fannie and Freddie is not politically expedient, especially when the latter was caused by members of one's own party. Democratic candidate Barack Obama lays the entirety of the blame at President Bush's doorstep, and Republican John McCain blames the "greed" on Wall Street. The real lesson is that the "special interests" that "distort the free market" are not big business or "evil" investors, but our very own federal government. Yet where are its critics? **CR**



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THE FIRST



by ROSIE BUCHERATI
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Michelle Obama not as perfect as she appears

Many in the media claim it is in inappropriate to focus on the families of political candidates, that their private lives should be respected. However, in the case of aspiring first ladies, this must be overlooked due to the vital role they play on the campaign trail. The wife of our next president will be one of the most influential women in the country and voters need to be almost as familiar with her as with her husband.

In many ways, Michelle Obama, the Harvard-educated lawyer married to Barack Obama, has become almost as big a celebrity as her political rock star husband. She has played a much larger role in her husband's campaign than the typical candidate's wife, putting herself in the public eye as much as her husband has, thus making her a factor in the coming election.

Because of this, Michelle Obama must allow herself to be scrutinized as closely as any presidential hopeful. But while the media attempts to focus more on her sense of style, voters must listen to the words coming out of her mouth.

"For the first time in my adult life, I am proud of my country, because it feels like hope is finally making a comeback."

These were the words uttered not once, but twice by Michelle Obama in February 2008 during two speeches in Milwaukee. Outrage ensued. It seemed everyone, including Barack Obama and one of his advisors, but the woman herself tried to cover up her patriotic slip.

"Statements like this are made and people try to take it out of context and make a great big deal out of it, and that isn't at all what she meant," Barack Obama said a few days after the controversial statement was made. "What she meant was this is the first time that she's been proud of the politics of America."

Michelle Obama finally tried to take responsibility for her actions during the her opening night speech for the 2008 Democratic National Convention by repeatedly stating how proud she was of her country, but the attempt felt too forced to be taken seriously.

It is unsurprising that the wife of a man who refuses to wear an American flag pin or place his hand over his heart during the pledge of allegiance would admit to not always being proud of her country. It was also not the smartest comment to make when Michelle Obama's husband is running against a former American soldier who spent five years as a P.O.W. in service for his country.

Michelle Obama's comments shed light on a sacred truth of liberals: "I believe it was Michael Kinsley who quipped that a gaffe is when a politician tells the truth," Michelle Malkin, a conservative columnist wrote in response to the controversy. "In this case, it's what happens when an elite Democrat politician's wife says what a significant portion of the party's base really believes to be the truth: that America is more a source of shame than pride."



Photograph courtesy of www.babble.com

So how did Michelle Obama feel when America came together after 9/11 or rushed to the aid of the 2005 tsunami victims? Or when Saddam Hussein's statue was pulled was pulled down and Iraqi women were allowed to vote for the first time? Or watching fireworks on the Fourth of July? Michelle Obama is the perfect example of the American dream, yet the immigrants who struggle for years just to call themselves American citizens love this country more.

Michelle Obama had another verbal mishap later in February 2008. During a speech at UCLA, she delivered a frightening, 1984-esque speech to the enthralled crowd.

"Barack Obama will require you to work. He is going to demand that you shed your cynicism. That you put down your divisions. That you come out of your isolation. That you move out of your comfort zones. That you push yourselves to be better. And that you engage. Barack will never allow you to go back to your lives as usual, uninvolved, uninformed," she said.

I thought that we were voting for the next president, not the new Big Brother.

Another hot topic is Michelle Obama's senior thesis, entitled "Princeton-Educated Blacks and the Black Community." Princeton University restricted access to the document until after the 2008 presidential election.

"A thesis can be restricted or unrestricted for a variety of reasons, including at the request of alumni," Princeton spokeswoman Cass Cliatt explained. "It falls within the purview of alumni to discuss their academic work."

The restriction ignited dozens of rumors as to the content of the thesis. In a surprisingly smart move, the Obama campaign released a copy of the document to politico.com, which caused Princeton to lift the restriction.

The thesis was done after Michelle Obama surveyed black students at Princeton to see how their attitudes changed during their years at the university, observing that most students identified less with the black community.

"Predominately white universities like Princeton are socially and academically designed to cater to the needs of the white students comprising the bulk of their enrollments," she wrote in her thesis. "My experiences at Princeton have made me far more aware of my 'blackness' than ever before. I have found that at Princeton no matter how liberal and open-minded some of my white professors and classmates try to be toward me, I sometimes feel like a visitor on campus; as if I really don't belong."

While some claim that the university was much more 'conservative' in 1985 when the thesis was written than today, could her views really have changed that much? This must be kept in mind as the race card continues to be thrown around.

There is no doubt that Michelle Obama is an amazing woman who has fulfilled the American dream, a girl out of the south side of Chicago now poised to move into the White House this January, but like her husband, lacks the experience to set up as our nation's first lady. Malkin put it best, stating, "Michelle Obama has achieved enormous professional success, political influence, and personal acclaim in America. Ivy League-educated, she's been lauded by Essence magazine as one of the 25 World's Most Inspiring Women; by Vanity Fair as one of the '10 World's Best Dressed People'; and named one of 'The Harvard 100' top influencers. She has had an amazingly blessed life. But you wouldn't know it from her campaign rhetoric and her griping over her and her husband's student loans."

They say that behind every great man is an even greater woman, but neither Barack nor Michelle Obama fit either of those roles. And in today's troubled world, America needs that great man and greater woman. We simply cannot afford to have the Obamas in the White House. **CR**

FAMILY



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Conservative leader launches charity to care for Barack's impoverished half-brother

Driving around UNC-Chapel Hill, you are likely to see small econo-box cars sporting bumper stickers that read "Republicans for Voldemort."

The implication, for those who have not had a chance to read "Harry Potter," is that Republicans are so mean that they would support politicians as evil as Harry's arch nemesis Voldemort, who goes around killing non-magical folk ("muggles").

Of course, like most cliché liberal beliefs, this portrait of Republicans does not stand up to the test of reality. In fact, an objective look at the facts reveals that the truth is much closer to the opposite of that aforementioned assumption.

Consider George Hussein Onyango Obama, half-brother of presidential candidate Barack Obama, who lives in a six-by-nine foot hut in a slum outside Nairobi, Kenya. "I live here on less than a dollar a month," he told Vanity Fair magazine. "If anyone says something about my surname, I say we are not related. I am ashamed."

George Obama has met his famous half-brother twice. Barack Obama, the elder of the two, described George Obama in his autobiography in just one paragraph as a "beautiful boy with a rounded head."

This shines an especially damaging light on Barack Obama's statement at the Saddleback Forum on Aug. 16, 2008: "I think America's greatest moral failure in my lifetime has been that we still don't abide by that basic precept in Matthew that whatever you do for the least of my brothers, you do for me."

Logically, Barack Obama is either a total hypocrite or he does not see the act of contributing to "America's greatest moral failure" as objectionable.

Keep in mind that Barack Obama has recently been raking in millions from sales on a book written about himself.

If Vanity Fair is not a reliable enough source, CNN also tracked down George Obama to do a report. Despite trying to cover up for the presidential candidate, the report denies none of the information reported by the magazine. It is clear to anyone viewing the pictures that he is stuck in the worst of African poverty.

Barack Obama could send him a twenty dollar bill and double his annual income, helping George Obama fulfill his goal of going to technical school to become a mechanic, but as of yet he has sent absolutely nothing.

In striking contrast to such hypocrisy is conservative icon Dinesh D'Souza, best-selling author and fellow at the Hoover Institution, who set up (at his own expense) the George Obama Compassion Fund to help alleviate his grinding poverty. So far he has raised over $2,000, which is enough to keep George Obama above the Kenyan poverty level ($100/year) for twenty years.

D'souza was recently confronted by a reporter from The Nation, Kenya's leading newspaper. Asked if he was doing this to embarrass Barack Obama, D'Souza replied, "Absolutely! He deserves to be embarrassed."

Nor is this an isolated event. Despite the liberal assumption that Republicans are mean, the facts point the other way.

Nearly two years ago, Arthur C. Brooks, a professor at Syracuse, published "Who Really Cares: The Surprising Truth About Compassionate Conservatism."

His data shows, for instance, that the average conservative-headed household gives 30 percent more to charity than its liberal counterpart, even though the average liberal family's income is 6 percent higher.

In 2004, George W. Bush swept 24 of the 25 most generous states. In the ten reddest states (based on percent that voted for Bush), the average portion of income donated to charity was 3.9 percent. In the ten bluest states, the average was just 1.9 percent.

Furthermore, individuals who rejected the idea that "government has a responsibility to reduce income inequality" gave an average of *four times* more than those who accepted the proposition.

Dr. Brooks' study reveals that the two major factors that influence charitable giving are religion and beliefs about the proper role of government.

Conservatives tend to regard charity as a personal responsibility, while liberals consider it a governmental one.

The latter approach is potentially much more dangerous to the poor, however, than the former, as elucidated by Brooks.

He warns, "If support for a policy that does not exist ... substitutes for private charity, the needy are left worse off than before. It is one of the bitterest ironies of liberal politics today that political opinions are apparently taking the place of help for others."

It would appear that conservatives have the moral high ground, after all, unless you consider support for an as-of-yet non-existent government program to be a charitable contribution.

Government programs, needless to say, do not help the poor, but discourage the charitable giving that does. Furthermore, taxes that strip people of their hard-earned income to pay for such government programs eliminate the ability of individuals to help their fellow man.

However, this does not prove that conservatives would never support Voldemort. It merely reveals that if they did send money to Voldemort, it would most likely be to help pay for a badly-needed nose job rather than promoting his political agenda.

Contributions to the George Obama Compassion Fund of $5, $10 or $25 (or whatever you can spare) can be sent to P.O. Box 3384, Rancho Santa Fe, CA 92067. Make your checks to "George Obama." **CR**

The Unforgivable Truth

Obama's record on abortion casts doubt on his esteemed character



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"The most disturbing aspect of Obama's voting record on abortion is his shameless advocacy of infanticide."

Sen. Barack Obama has used the issue of abortion rights as a stepping stone to prestige within liberal circles throughout his political career, but few of his supporters seem to have explored just how deep-seated his pro-abortion sentiments are. In a time when many Americans have increasingly demanded instant gratification in all aspects of life, Obama has consistently styled himself as a white knight willing and able to bring them abortion on demand. His consistent 100 percent approval rating from the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League is a disquieting testament to his opinion of the value (or, in his view, lack thereof) of human life. However, the most disturbing aspect of Obama's voting record on abortion is his shameless advocacy of infanticide.

In an ironic twist of fate which greatly incensed Obama, the initial attempt to give abortion survivors the right to life was made in the Illinois state Legislature. After it was discovered that Illinois hospital workers were leaving babies to die in soiled utility closets when abortion doctors were unsuccessful in ending their short lives, the Born Alive Infants Protection Act was introduced to the Illinois Legislature in 2001 by Sen. Patrick O'Malley.

The act contains specific language stating that the human race includes any "infant member of the species *homo sapiens* who is born alive at any stage of development." Accordingly, infants who survive the best efforts of abortion doctors and their own parents to murder them are extended citizenship rights, including, most importantly, the Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection under the law.

The impetus for the bill was that nurses at hospitals were unclear about their role: should they care for the babies, or were they required just to let them die? When O'Malley introduced the bill, he informed his colleagues that it would mandate that doctors who performed an unsuccessful abortion resulting in premature birth be required to provide the baby with the best possible medical care.

Though he had previously voted against the bill in committee and therefore must have been familiar with its terms, Obama took the floor to ask leading questions in an attempt to make it seem as though babies born prematurely as a result of a failed abortion were only "as some might describe it … temporarily alive outside of the womb," and that the main concern of the bill lay in providing medical care to infants as they expire.

He seemed to have deliberately misconstrued the language of the bill to downplay its importance; the purpose of the legislation was not merely to comfort infants as they die, but rather to give them adequate medical care so that they could live. He continued to speak fervently against the bill, maintaining that it would "not meet constitutional muster" because it defined infants born alive under these conditions as "persons that are entitled to the kinds of protections that would be provided to a – a child, a nine-month-old child – that was delivered to term." According to Obama, the litmus test for a newborn's right to avoid death by exposure is whether or not its parents and an abortion doctor originally intended for it to die.

Because doctors in Illinois and throughout the country perform (or attempt to perform) late-term induced-labor abortions, many victims of botched abortions are born alive and are in fact *viable*. The written opinion of *Roe v. Wade*, which pro-choice supporters cling to like a security blanket, defined "viable" as "potentially able to live outside the mother's womb, albeit with artificial aid." Had many of the past infant victims of botched abortions been given the "artificial aid" that the federal Born Alive Act signed by President Bush now guarantees them, they could have been given the same chance other premature babies have who are naturally born one or two months prematurely. They would not have merely been "temporarily alive outside of the womb," as Obama put it.

In response to Obama's claim that extremely premature babies are rarely capable of living outside of the womb, I would like to note that my twin brother and I were born two months prematurely because of complications; the neonatal ICU gave us several weeks of first-class care and sent us on our merry way. It seems egregiously unfair that my brother and I had the option of optimum medical

care, but, according to Obama, other less fortunate infants do not deserve such care and should instead be left to die alone in a utility closet because their parents deem them unworthy of life.

One of the most heartrending examples of abortion survival that I have come across is the story of Gianna Jessen, spokeswoman for bornalivetruth.org and survivor of a saline abortion during which she was burned alive for eighteen hours in her mother's womb. She was miraculously born alive and viable, but because of the oxygen deprivation which resulted from the botched abortion, she was also born with cerebral palsy. Doctors believed that she would never be able to walk, but she greatly surpassed all expectations and is now running 26-mile marathons in addition to speaking out for abortion survivors who are too small to have a voice.

She gives Jesus Christ the credit for her incredible life, and is actually grateful for her suffering because she believes that it forced her to put her trust and reliance in Him. This is a lady without a resentful bone in her body, although she has good reason to be bitter because, as she puts it, "if Barack Obama had his way, I wouldn't be here."

In his vehement argument in opposition to the Illinois version of the Born Alive Infants Protection Act, Obama fretted that the bill "would essentially bar abortions, because the equal protection clause does not allow somebody to kill a child, and if this is a child, then this would be an antiabortion statute." However, the statute defines a "born alive infant" as one with "a beating heart, pulsation of the umbilical cord, or definite movement of voluntary muscles, regardless of whether the umbilical cord has been cut and regardless of whether the expulsion or extraction occurs as a result of natural or induced labor, cesarean section, or induced abortion." Obama seems to be suggesting that Congress and all hospitals should differentiate between a child and an abortion survivor, and that they should do so solely on the basis of whether abortion or live birth was the original intent of the presiding physician. Obama's insistence that a victim of a botched abortion is somehow less than human even if it exhibits all the characteristics of any other living human being confounds logic in addition to shredding every convention of morality that our society holds dear.

To placate Obama and other abortion fanatics, the bill was amended (with our Illustrious Savior's help) to include a section stating, "Nothing in this Section shall be construed to affirm, deny, expand, or contract any legal status or legal right applicable to any member of the species homo sapiens at any point prior to being born alive as defined in this Section." This section effectively reserves a woman's initial right to abortion by denying the expansion of the "legal right" of an infant before it is born; until and unless it is born alive after an unsuccessful abortion, it has no legal right to life.

However, even after reworking the bill to address his fears about what passes "constitutional muster" (read: what protects any and all forms of abortion) Obama still inexplicably voted against the bill, bringing his total number of votes against some version of the Born Alive Act to four. Let's see him spin that.

As unconscionable as Obama's record on the Born Alive Act is, those votes only continue his pattern of supporting even the most gruesome violations of an infant's basic human rights. He opposed a partial-birth abortion ban passed in Congress in 2003; a year later, Michelle Obama bragged about his inability to maintain even a semblance of regard for human life during her criticism of the partial-birth abortion ban as a "ban on a legitimate medical procedure," naming her husband as a "candidate who will be tireless in the fight to protect women." Pardon me if I don't jump to the head of the line to thank Obama for protecting me. Just tell him I was too busy bitterly clinging to my religion.

Most Americans seem to be unaware of Obama's extreme and indefensible stance on abortion and infanticide, which is to the left of Barbara Boxer and Ted Kennedy; if that is the case, we are in for some real buyer's remorse if he is elected.

If America does not regret holding up for the highest office in the land a man who can unabashedly mandate leaving suffering babies to die of exposure in the name of unfettered abortion rights, we should take a good hard look at ourselves and see how far we have slid down a very slippery moral slope. Senator Obama and his ilk would do well to bear in mind the lesson taught to us as children in "Horton Hears a Who" by Dr. Seuss: "A person's a person, no matter how small." **CR**



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From the Campaign Trail



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Imagine James Madison and Patrick Henry, reunited after 250 years, sitting in The Daily Grind to discuss again the merits and demerits of the Constitution they helped to create, and consider which political, oratorical and intellectual giant would prevail: the revered Madison, foremost defender of the Constitution, the man who led the Bill of Rights to passage and who was eventually elected president, or Henry, the rigid Anti-Federalist and opponent of Madison who is remembered by few for anything other than his immortal, "Give me liberty or give me death."

What a debate that would be! It would be one quite different, even opposed in nature to the political discourse most frequently heard today. Madison would note the strength of the federal government in preserving the effectiveness and cohesiveness of our Union, while at the same time fervently touting its limit and restraint in protecting the rights and freedom of the states and of individuals. Henry, of course, would again decry Madison's safeguards as insufficient and warn of the gradual usurpation of power by the federal government, and the subsequent disappearance of individual and state rights.

In actuality, it would likely be met with the same incredulity and perplexity that is directed at a Ron Paul speech. The oddity of politicians framing their conversation within the context of the Constitution would be passed off as radical, and the highly egregious foul of discussing rights without mention of free healthcare would render both not worth taking seriously.

And already we have a winner!

For those of you who forgot to notice the affront to our Constitution which is our modern political culture, you are the 250 years of evidence that Mr. Henry now has in his favor. James Madison was wrong.

He was wrong not with respect to the system of government that he helped create that, when followed, protects individual freedom as no other system of government in the history of the world does; he was wrong in trusting that it would be followed, and in not foreseeing that it would be replaced in importance by a culture that says the government, limitless in scope, should crusade to solve all of society's struggles.

That culture is the point at which Barack Obama and John McCain enter the debate. It doesn't take long to realize that something doesn't make sense; there is a disconnect between the two ages that is much more than simply the passage of time: McCain and Obama, both of whom have built their campaigns on this new culture that demands of them answers to problems previously outside the sphere of the government, have committed exactly what Madison and Henry sought to prevent.

Months of recorded debate during the state and national conventions held to edit and then adopt the Constitution show that the discussion was almost exclusively on that question which was central to both Madison and Henry: how to ensure that the federal government would not become too strong, excessively tax citizens, and trample on the sovereignty of the individual and the state. This struggle led to such critical amendments as the Ninth, "*The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people,*" and the Tenth, "*the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.*"

Rights were of supreme importance to this generation of politicians, and to them political rights had a much simpler definition than the extravagant one lavished on them today: the insurance that the government will stay out of our way so that we can live with the free will we were given at creation.

It need not be asked whether anyone has noticed the remarkable infrequency with which our two presidential candidates talk about these same kinds of rights; unless you are one of those "crazy" Ron Paul supporters you probably haven't.

But let's settle a point here clearly: a nationalized healthcare system, federal involvement in education and a whole host of other platform planks for both candidates were not only missing from the Founding Fathers' vision for their country – they are directly counter to it. It is fairly obvious that at this point in our history we are ok with that; perhaps our values have changed with the times, and our government has had to adapt.

But let us at least acknowledge the implications of this shift. Obama for one shouldn't proclaim his desire to make the Democratic Party the "Party of Jefferson." Thomas Jefferson would be offended by the scope of government espoused by both parties. Really, we should probably stop teaching students the Bill of Rights in civics class as if it is the foundational truth by which our government operates, when it's not.

Trivial examples aside, it mandates noting that there has been a dramatic paradigm shift in American politics that seems to have finally culminated after a couple of centuries in the replacement of political principle with a pragmatism that says the government is an instrument of providing solutions, not of protecting the private sphere's ability to do it more effectively. This shift, among many other negative consequences discussed throughout this magazine's most recent issues, has brought about nothing less than the end of the constitutional era of politics in the United States.

Sure, the Supreme Court still exists, but most of its decisions are based on case law from previous corrupted judgment. More importantly, the American people do not answer to the defense of the Constitution in forming their political values; they answer to the ideology that asserts most directly that it will fix their struggles. A recent TIME magazine poll showed that eight in 10 Americans currently expect the government to lift us from our current economic recession. Hoards of voters are siding with Obama's pledge to work for them once elected, and even the Republican McCain is having to, in some respects, deviate from his party's principle of limited government to even have a chance with the people he has to persuade.

It used to be that the government only did what it had to do: protect the good from the evil. The good then took care of the rest of society's needs. Hopefully the merits of this approach will be shown at some point during the next eight years. Another less recent, and less publicized, TIME poll showed that charitable giving tends to respond negatively to increased government action.

Until then, I'll settle for a little historical awareness; right now I'm left to wonder why we still revere our Founding Fathers when we didn't even like their brand of freedom enough to keep it. **CR**



Artwork by Justin Crowder

SIMPLY SATIRE

The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

You don't need to read Barack Obama's platform to know what's wrong with his message. Just in time for voting season, the Rub offers its BS-to-English translation of Obama's talking points.

Shh…my common sense is tingling!

Using his superior mastery of economics, Obama will single-handedly drive our already-struggling economy into the ground.

Hope!

Obama's intuitive hindsight has allowed him to see exactly what caused our current financial crisis, giving him a divine mandate to reregulate the financial system, Sarbanes-Oxley style.

Change!

Obama will also defy the laws of mathematics and divide zero.

Yes we can!

How does Obama do the impossible, you ask? He will (at least so he says) reduce taxes for 95 percent of Americans – 40 percent of whom already pay no income tax.

¡Sí se puedes!

By the way, the increased taxes that will befall the other unfortunate 5 percent will fall on small businesses and corporations, helping to further prolong our recession.

Hope!

Even more impressive, Obama will lower taxes AND balance the federal budget while investing in clean energy, fighting global poverty, reforming Social Security, increasing education spending and socializing health care – and that's before factoring in the $700 bailout plan.

Yes we can!

Speaking of socialized health care, Obama will…well, socialize health care, which means skyrocketing costs to the government as competition is slowly squeezed from the market.

Change!

Along the way, Obama has created a cult of personality reminiscent of those of Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong, both upstanding former leaders of their countries.

Hope!

Just look at the video of the singing kids on YouTube. That's no different than the Chinese "reeducation" camps – where, mind you, they indoctrinated children.

Hope!

Obama's unspoken goal, after four to eight years as president (if not impeached first), is to fundamentally undermine the 232-year-old foundation of American political history.

Change!

Something about that just doesn't seem right. It's almost as if there's some mental force people are missing that keeps them from seeing it.

Hope! Change! Yes we can!

Ay, there's the rub.

Shh…my common sense is tingling!

Paradigms and Principles

Chapel Hill reaching too far with impractical Halloween plans

Fall in Chapel Hill is truly a special time. It's football season and the leaves are changing. Despite the lovely weather and all kinds of campus events to keep students busy, everyone's calendar is inevitably fixated on one, albeit technically unofficial, event: Halloween. But this year it popped up early, long before the summer heat faded.

We have been hearing about Halloween since the beginning of the semester, but not in the exciting way we have come to expect. The Town of Chapel Hill suddenly decided that the mayhem that engulfs Franklin Street each Halloween is not OK anymore, and town officials are throwing out all kinds of ideas as to how to change it.

Ideas to curb the crowds include everything from the plausible, like closing bars early (which business owners have vehemently opposed), to the ridiculous, like somehow enclosing the street and charging admission. Other ideas include eliminating shuttles and unleashing the parking Gestapo (even more so than normal) to make it harder for people to attend from out of town.

It is a mystery as to what suddenly lit a fire under the Town of Chapel Hill to prompt them to take measures *this* Halloween to shrink the crowd, but some of the concerns are legitimate. Fears of gang activity as the night wears on are not unwarranted, and even the argument that the celebration should be a local one sounds more or less justifiable. But Halloween is a Chapel Hill institution, and it is unlikely most measures to curb it are going to do anything but waste a lot of money.

We are confident someone was just failing miserably at being funny when they suggested enclosing Franklin Street and charging admission, for example. One of the concerns about Halloween is the cost involved in keeping the event safe, but imagine the cost of somehow temporarily encaging a downtown street and having ticket agents at the gates. And somehow securing wads of cash from rowdy college mobs. And securing those same wads from the gangs everyone's so concerned about. And the lines. And the very likely displacement of the party to just outside the gates. The ridiculous possibilities go on.

Everyone agrees that Halloween should be a safe and fun night, but the Town is going a little overboard with some of its proposals. Few of these ideas will do anything to prevent determined, disguised partygoers from flocking to Franklin.

We at the Carolina Review are keeping a close eye on this situation… at press time there is still no concrete plan as to what the Town plans to do about Halloween. We will follow up with a thorough evaluation of whatever action the Town ends up taking, which hopefully won't put too much of a damper on a fun night.

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December 2008 A.D.

Carolina Review

REDISCOVERING CONSERVATISM



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FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

So far this year, we have devoted almost all of our attention to the national elections. Since we have heretofore neglected our self-imposed duty of covering UNC news, and we realize that the election is probably still a sore spot for many readers, we have focused this edition on campus issues.

Justin Crowder, our Staff Cartoonist, makes his writing debut with an article detailing the University's discrimination policy, especially as it concerns homosexuality. He argues that the policy goes too far, to the point of giving homosexuals a special status, effectively discriminating against heterosexuals.

Zach Dexter responds to the exuberant celebration that flooded Franklin Street after it was announced that Barack Obama (D-Ill.) and Joe Biden (D- Scranton) had won the Presidential election. While Dexter understands the elation of those who rushed Franklin, he argues that the tradition should be reserved for events of significance to the entire University, not partisan victories.

We also have an article analyzing the modern manifestation of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a Far Left protest organization. The article compares the current SDS with the original SDS of the 1960s and finds today's SDS wanting. In the 60s, the UNC Chief of Police was so threatened by the SDS that he felt the need to attend each of the group's meetings to keep tabs on them. Nowadays, it seems that even the members of the SDS don't find it necessary to attend the group's meetings.

Kelly Esposito critiques Chapel Hill's contentious regulation of the Halloween festivities on Franklin Street. She concludes that, despite concerns that attempts to depress turnout might ruin the spirit of the event, the policy was an overall success. The Town approximately halved turnout while acceptably preserving the special verve of Franklin on Halloween.

We also have a few articles of more national relevance. Anthony Dent's article tries to define Conservatism, a word which has been obscured by the events of the last eight years. He traces the philosophy to its roots in the minds of men like Edmund Burke, Russell Kirk, and William F. Buckley Jr.

Duke Cheston takes a critical look at Kwanzaa and uncovers the holiday's Marxist and ethnocentric message. His article will undoubtedly surprise anyone who was taught that Kwanzaa was a African quaint celebration of the harvest in elementary school.

We hope that this issue provides an insightful, thought-provoking diversion from exam preparation.

Sincerely,
Nash Keune and Bryan Weynand, *Co-Editors*



CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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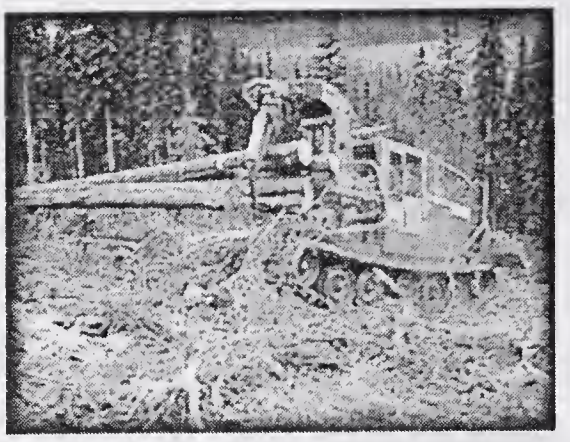
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CHEERS & JEERS

October 2008 The October 2008 issue of the Carolina Review highlighted what a now pending Barack Obama presidency will look like. It also offered a perspective on the financial crisis one often misses in the mainstream media, and examined just how far our country has come from its founding roots. As usual, you can read our old issues online at **unc.edu/cr/**



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Comment on December articles at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com**.

FORUM

To the Editor,

If adversity and debate are supposed to hone the capacity for critical thought, then why has The Carolina Review, the self-proclaimed speaker-box for the beleaguered conservative minority on campus, become so intellectually lazy? In the flurry of unexamined assertions that made up the last issue of CR, two prominent (and mistaken) ones stand out in the "From the Editors" section. First of all, in examining the list of "conservatives" that endorsed Obama for president, co-editors Keune and Weynand make the false claim that Christopher Hitchens is among their ranks. Hitchens is a complex political thinker who cannot really be placed on a simple American political spectrum of left and right. Yes, he supported the War in Iraq, but CR should not be so foolish as to think that this alone makes one a conservative. Hitchens' support for the War in Iraq is motivated as much, if not more so, by the leftist notion that the U.S. has a responsibility to correct the Cold War moral shortcomings of the C.I.A. as it is by the neo-con notion of American hegemony. This is, after all, a man who as recently as August 2007 identified himself as a "democratic socialist," which is perfectly understandable when one considers his admiration of such liberal-left writers as Orwell and Thomas Paine. Clearly, Keune and Weynand should look twice before they count their ranks. Then the CR editors make the claim, unimpressively restated in Abir Chatterjee's article, that Obama's intended progressive taxation structure is Marxist. Yes, Marx suggests a heavily progressive income tax in The Communist Manifesto (Plank 2). He also proposes such nefarious schemes as free public education for all children (Plank 10), which I'm sure CR would similarly like to condemn as socialist. Joking aside, the fact is that America has had a progressive income tax for decades, and yet we have never moved towards government control of the means of material production (much less in the interests of dismantling the bourgeois class structure), which is the only economic ideology one can truly call Marxist or socialist. Progressive income taxation is not a fundamentally Marxist notion. It is not even really a socialist notion of any type; it is a project of social democracy that is not incompatible with market capitalism. If CR really wants to be a bastion of intelligent conservatism, I suggest that y'all stop playing quite so fast and loose with your words.

Jonathan Pattishall
Sophomore, English and German
Durham, NC

From the Editors,

While we agree that Christopher Hitchens falls into a unique category, we admit no wrong in listing him as a conservative. If you read his column endorsing Obama, he states that he used to be a single-issue voter on "the essential question of defending civilization against its terrorist enemies and their totalitarian protectors." Since he has long agreed with the conservative position on foreign policy, he was operationally conservative, if ideologically socialist.

Concerning Marx, our column stated that "Obama's policies are so leftist as to satisfy Marx's policy suggestions." We never claimed that a progressive income tax was a defining characteristic of Marxism. Obviously, a Marxist society would have no place for any sort of tax, seeing as there would be no private property to tax. We merely asserted the readily verifiable fact that Marx suggested a steep progressive income tax. He thought it would pave the way for socialism, and, to an extent, American history since 1913 (when the 16th Amendment passed) proves him right.

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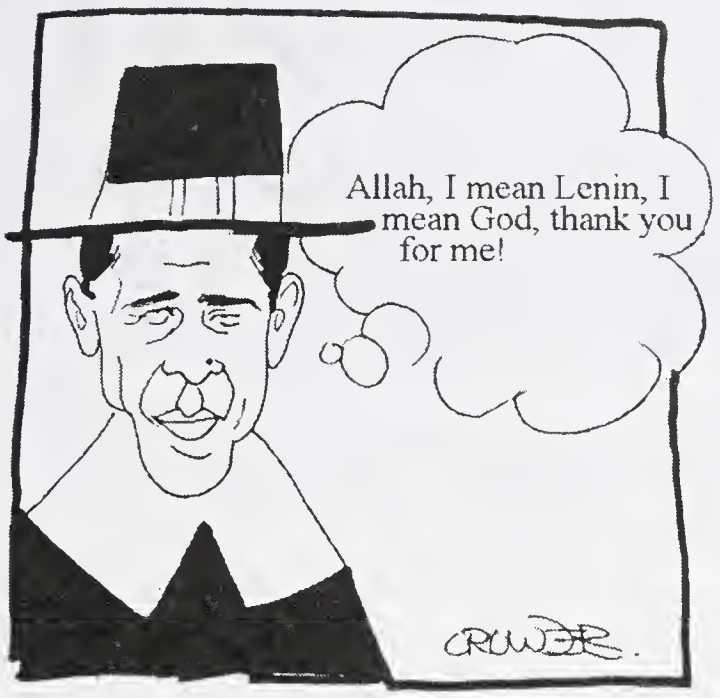
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VIEWPOINTS



"It is natural for man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of that siren till she transforms us into beasts... For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth, to know the worst, and to provide for it."
-Patrick Henry

"Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." -Barry Goldwater

"To renounce liberty is to renounce being a man, to surrender the rights of humanity and even its duties. For he who renounces everything no indemnity is possible. Such a renunciation is incompatible with man's nature to remove all liberty from his will is to remove all morality from his acts."
-Jean Jacques Rousseau



VOTERS OFFER WORSHIP TO THEIR LORD

"The government is best which governs least."
-Thomas Jefferson

"Still one thing more, fellow citizens -- a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government."
-Thomas Jefferson

"The Democratic Party should be the party of Thomas Jefferson."
-Barack Obama



IN A BREACH OF THE NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICY, CJ SKENDER'S NECK-TIE OFFENDED MANY A STUDENT

"Of all tyrannies a tyranny sincerely exercised for the good of its victims may be the most oppressive."
-C.S. Lewis

"Restlessness is discontent and discontent is the first necessity of progress. Show me a thoroughly satisfied man and I will show you a failure."
-Thomas Edison

"Aim above morality. Be not simply good, be good for something."
-Henry David Thoreau

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

MARXIST STATE

Student group lost in the '60s in its pursuit of a radical leftist agenda



by NASH KEUNE
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"Up against the wall, motherf#ker!"*

Thus ran the almost too saccharine motto of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Formed in 1960, the SDS, a descendent of the Intercollegiate Socialists Society, was a militant protest organization. It was involved in many of the violent riots which have become iconic of a certain part of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Perhaps most notably, in 1968 the SDS led an uprising at Columbia University in New York City in which protesters violently invaded and occupied Hamilton Hall, a building which housed classrooms and the offices of Columbia's administration.

According to the University Archives, the UNC chapter of the SDS was originally founded in the spring of 1965. Though it never reached the heights attained by the Columbia SDS, it was threatening enough to arouse the attention of campus police and administrators. Then UNC Chief of Police Arthur Beaumont "attended each meeting, taking notes and recording the names of students who were present." The administration was so afraid of the adolescent revolutionaries that "Dean of Student Affairs C. O. Cathey wrote to both FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and to the Chair of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)" for information about the group.

However, the nationwide SDS quickly fell prey to internal division (apparently it ran into discord over how best to express its solidarity). In 1969, the group effectively went defunct as different factions broke off to create separate organizations. One famous offspring of the SDS was the Weather Underground, the terrorist organization which has recently reentered the public discourse because of William Ayers, one of the group's alumni.

In 2006, though, the SDS was revived at UNC and around the nation in response to the Iraq War. But, whereas the old SDS embodied the excesses of the '60s, this new SDS embodies the relative lethargy of today's radical movement on campus. The modern reincarnation of the group, which lacks any sort of formal leadership, has a core of only 15 to 20 members (most members of the SDS flatly refused to comment, and any first-hand information is from reluctant sources).

Most Tar Heels will recognize the SDS mainly from their annual walk-out to the Pit to protest the anniversary of the start of the war in Iraq. While these protests (which we can only hope to see for years to come, as that would indicate a continued sizeable presence in Iraq) do indeed attract large crowds and are somewhat disruptive (at least if one is trying to get from the Student Union to the Undergraduate Library), they are nothing compared to the protests of yore. After all, it's far easier to occupy the Pit than it is to occupy important university buildings.

Beyond its annual war protests, the SDS might easily escape the attention of most undergraduates. Their members have been rather rude to several guest speakers, especially John Ashcroft, but the bulk of their activity is utterly harmless and non-threatening. For instance, one night earlier this semester, SDS hosted a movie night, just like any run-of-the-mill Girl Scouts troop.

When it is actually noticed, the SDS doesn't necessarily arouse much fear, or even respect. Charles Dandy, writing in The Daily Tar Heel earlier this year, called the UNC SDS "little more than a progressive-minded improv comedy troupe."

Much of the SDS's current work is in conjunction with the group Student Action with Workers (SAW), a student group dedicated to "mobilizing support for labor solidarity campaigns." This year, the SDS and SAW have been focusing on winning collective bargaining and a living wage for UNC workers (our housekeepers and such).

To sum up, the SDS has gone from shouting, "Up against the wall, motherf*#ker!" in



Photo by Nash Keune

the 1960s to pleading, "We would really appreciate it if you enabled the UNC staff to bargain in unison in hopes that that might lead to them being granted a living wage which would hopefully then be indexed annually to inflation and any other pertinent cost-of-living measures."

There are plenty of reasons for the decreased intensity of the current manifestation of the SDS. Concerning the war, Iraq has always been far less deadly than was Vietnam. In Vietnam, the United States lost nearly 60,000 soldiers in action. In Iraq, just over 4,000 U.S. soldiers have been killed. Further, there is no draft to arouse the self-interest of our generation. Finally, the U.S. is, at least for now, in a position to win in Iraq (recent events notwithstanding).

But there is much more to the defanging of campus radicalism. It seems that in its maturity (an odd word to use to describe the Far Left), campus radicalism has reached the point where it is no longer ascendant. In other words, as radicalism has become regnant, it has ceased to be an active movement.

Rebellion has become redundant in the modern university environment. In the '60s, rebels were motivated by what Shelby Steele calls "white guilt," the novel notion that Western culture was irredeemably evil and caused the many ills in the world. Our modern radicals accept the same postulates, but UNC is already soaked in "white guilt." To try to make campus authorities feel guilty is unnecessary. "White guilt" is the orthodoxy.

Extending the analysis to society as a whole, the SDS of the '60s helped to define the "New Left." The New Left, which was closely associated with the hippies, was distinguished from the "Old Left" by its focus on personal issues such as alienation and anomie in addition to the typical concerns of progressives, such as national labor issues. In other words, the New Left argued in favor of the budding counterculture.

We may well see a Newer Left emerge someday, but it will not likely come from the SDS. Today's radicals are so uninspired that they are left to simply imitating their forbearers, forming the same organizations and repeating the same decades-old leftist catechisms.

There are some important insights for Conservatives to take in from the atrophy of the Far Left. While liberalism and radicalism are ubiquitous at UNC, they have gone soft. Some might point to the rabid support on campus for Barack Obama as proof of increased political activity, but undergraduates have been fanatical supporters of leftist candidates since George McGovern and even Adlai Stevenson. Undergraduate support for Obama, then, was merely the activation of a beast whose tentacles have long been engrained in the campus.

I would completely discredit myself if I were to write that Conservatives might dream of overthrowing the Left's senescent campus hegemony (at least anytime soon), but I think we can draw hope from the lethargy of campus radicalism. If Conservatives can be what the radicals are not – serious, dynamic, assertive, etc. – then we might very well challenge the ruling orthodoxies at UNC. **CR**

REDISCOVERING

Republicans need to learn from leaders of the past



by ANTHONY DENT
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"In the United States at this time, liberalism is not only the dominant but even the sole intellectual tradition," declared the literary critic Lionel Trilling. "For it is the plain fact that nowadays there are no conservative or reactionary ideas in general circulation ... the conservative impulse and the reactionary impulse do not ... express themselves in ideas but only ... in irritable mental gestures which seek to resemble ideas."

He was speaking in 1950. But one could convincingly argue that conservatism is currently facing another exile into the wilderness. There are so many questions that remain unresolved. The basic question, however, is and always shall be, "What is conservatism?" In America, conservatism developed into a fragile alliance between classical Liberals (or libertarians) and Burkean Conservatives. This alliance has been shattered, however. What William F. Buckley so carefully crafted and Ronald Reagan so wisely maintained throughout his presidency has now been dismantled by George W. Bush.

Many elements of his presidency reflect the more modern strain of the conservative tradition, anathema to some Conservatives, neoconservatism. Neoconservatism is derived from left-wing thought, having its roots in Trotskyite theory. The war in Iraq, domestic spending, emphasis on "compassionate" conservatism and so forth represent this strain of thinking. One can see where neoconservatism diverges from conservatism when President Bush said, "[When] somebody hurts, government has got to move." This is an explicit break with conservative tradition, but raises the question: Whence is conservatism derived?

"I flatter myself that I love a manly, moral, regulated liberty as well as any gentleman of that [French] society, be he who he will; and perhaps I have given as good proofs of my attachment to that cause, in the whole course of my public conduct. I think I envy liberty as little as they do, to any other nation. But I cannot stand forward, and give praise or blame to any thing which relates to human actions, and human concerns, on a simple view of the object, as it stands stripped of every relation, in all the nakedness and solitude of metaphysical abstraction."

With these words, Edmund Burke, the Whig statesman in 18th century Britain, enunciated the new doctrine of conservatism. He denounced the stirrings of rebellion in France under the rule of King Louis XVI. The revolutionaries in France considered him an ally; he had supported the Americans in their fight against British rule, so his support for a similar revolution in France would have seemed to have been a forgone conclusion.

His Reflections on the Revolution in France destroyed any lingering hope that he supported the French Revolution. Just as the 1960s engendered conservatism in America, the French Revolution prompted the response that allowed modern-day conservatism to find its voice.

Prior to Burke, one cannot find a coherent, consistent conservative philosophy. Burke can therefore be known as the "Father of Modern Conservatism." From Burke onwards, there has been a widespread effort to develop a consistent system of conservative thought. There is actually a great deal of diversity within the conservative movement, ranging from President George W. Bush, to Patrick Buchanan, to William F Buckley Jr., or even to Congressman Ron Paul. What many consider the orthodox strain of conservative thought in the United States was first developed by Russell Kirk, the great 20th century thinker and conservative intellectual. He developed the ten "Conservative Principles" which can serve as a beginning point to understanding the movement as a whole.

Conservatives believe there is a relationship between the moral state of citizens and the society as a whole. They emphasize that a country must have a majority who are governed by mandates of private morality built upon tradition, customs and the precedents set by their ancestors.

The ideal government established with conservative principles would allow some inequalities to exist in society because the pursuit of equality undermines the liberties established by that government. The only equality that can exist is before the law and before the Final Judgment. The importance of respect for the law and tradition is recognized by Conservatives who are hesitant to make continual changes in an attempt to immanentize the eschaton. Conservatives recognize the immutability of human nature, and therefore, attempts to ignore the imperfect nature of man can only lead to failure. Hence, pre-existing institutions and moral standards are important in restraining the inherent wickedness of human nature. The levelling power of ideologies like Leninism or Maoism who sought to perfect mankind and rid the world of societal inequalities did not create a utopia, but a truly miserable perdition.

Another important component of conservatism is the primacy of property rights. "Property rights are not only a source of economic freedom. They are also a source of political freedom," said Milton Friedman, a renowned, Nobel Prize-winning economist.

A government with established property rights will eventually become a free society (e.g. Chile). The importance of property rights is that it guarantees power to the citizen: the government can do many things, but it cannot take away a citizen's property or his ability

CONSERVATISM

to transfer it to another entity. For example, once a newspaper company owns a press, the government cannot stop it from printing. If basic property protections are assured, all other rights are guaranteed.

A truly conservative government must not only have checks within the government, but also checks on the passions of the people so the government does not degenerate into a "mobocracy" or a majoritarian democracy.

What makes conservatism distinct from other systems of philosophy, however, is that it recognizes the basic wickedness of mankind. No man may trusted to seek the common good in whatever capacity his is placed, nor do men collectively seek the common good, merely the good of the greatest coalition. This necessitates checks within the government regarding the power of specific individuals and, also, checks on the power of a majority to institute laws that may deprive the minority of their rights.

American conservatism incorporates all these aspects and is infused with Burkean thought; however, it has been heavily influenced by classical liberalism and modern libertarianism, from the Austrian School economists, Adam Smith, Milton Friedman and others. American conservatism came to include an emphasis on the free-market, free trade and the autonomy of individuals. Great economists of the Austrian School like Friedrich von Hayek, who also considered himself a "Burkean Whig," were able to develop a moral framework in which liberty would be maximized. President Ronald W. Reagan considered conservatism and classical liberalism one and the same: "I believe the very heart and soul of conservatism is libertarianism."

The year 1955 proved momentous for the establishment of conservatism as a viable philosophical system within the American framework when William F. Buckley, Jr. synthesized these two intellectual traditions within the umbrella of American conservatism with the first publication of National Review. National Review promoted "fusionism," the binding of Burkean conservatism and classical liberalism. Writers such as Frank Meyer, Willmoore Kendall, L. Brent Bozell and others developed a systematic body of thought.



EDMUND BURKE

Photo from Wikipedia

This important achievement cannot be underestimated; prior to this, conservatism ranged from Sen. Robert Taft, Southern Democrats, the John Birch Society, etc. Once conservative beliefs were made coherent and consistent, Sen. Barry Goldwater was able to win the Republican nomination, and 16 years later, Gov. Ronald Reagan was able to win the presidency.

After such success, what should we do now? Unfortunately, we do not have a truly conservative leader within either political party. President-elect Barack Obama represents the antithesis of a restrained government, which seeks not utopia, but the common good of all through the established natural rights.

President Bush has sought to eradicate hurt from the world, which fails to recognize the proper bounds of government and the immutability of human nature. The Iraq War and neoconservatism represent a deviation from conservative tradition; nowhere in Iraq's history has there been a republican strain that could manifest itself as a legitimizing force within the nation. If President Bush were a true Conservative, he would have reinstituted the Hashemite dynasty along the lines of a British constitutional monarchy to provide a legitimizing, unifying force for stability.

Republican nominee John McCain has no overriding, coherent ideology. His political positions are based upon his passion of the moment, although it must be admitted that he adhered to some conservative positions.

Is there a statesman that represents the conservatism of Burke, Kirk, Buckley and Reagan? That remains to be seen. **CR**

Defining Discrimination

An in-depth review of the University's unclear discrimination policies



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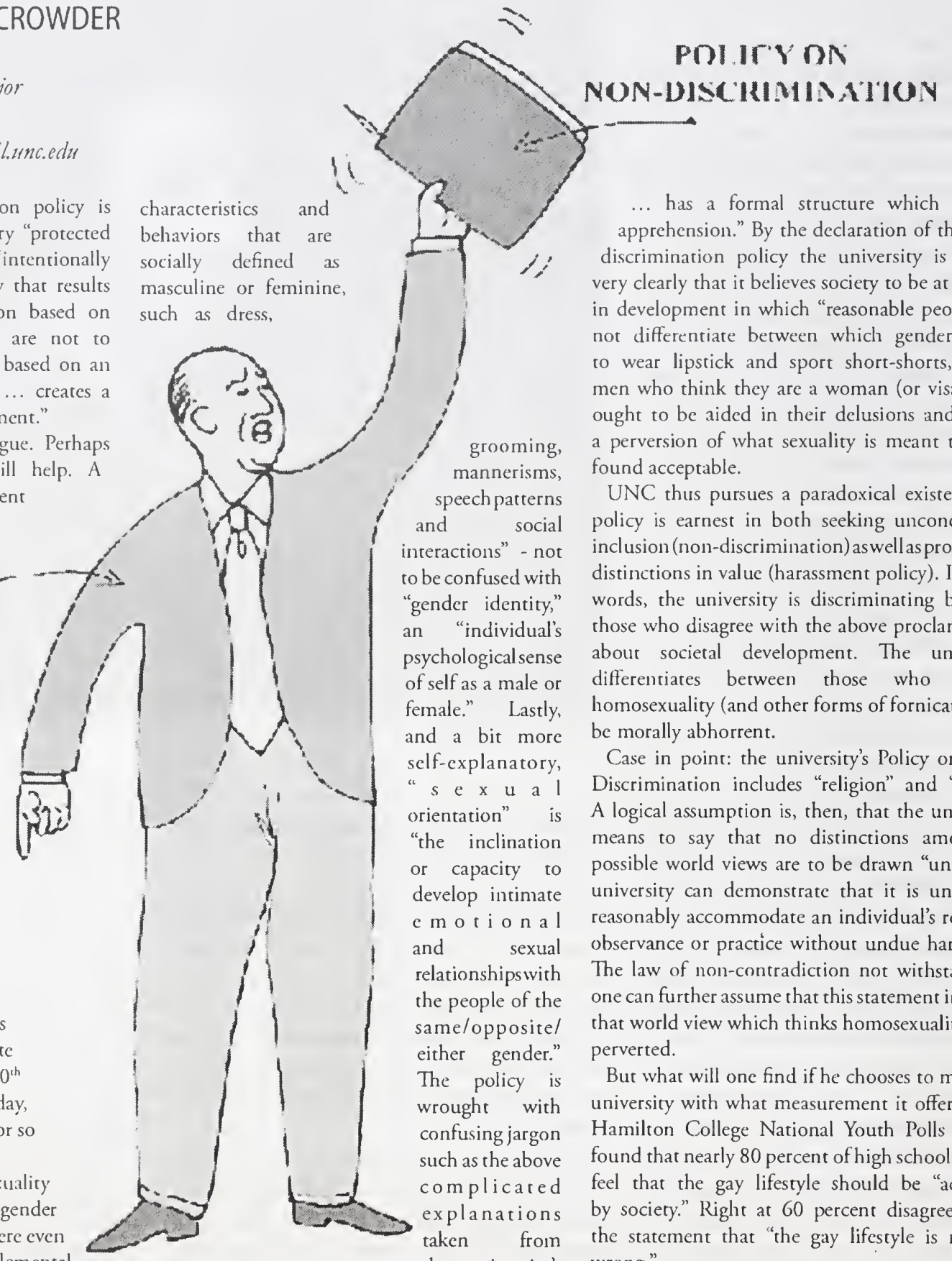
The university's non-discrimination policy is written to be a protection for sundry "protected statuses." Specifically, we are not "intentionally or unintentionally" to act in a way that results in "adverse treatment" of "a person based on … protected status." Further, we are not to exhibit "verbal or physical conduct based on an individual's protected status which … creates a hostile work or educational environment."

So far the policy seems a bit vague. Perhaps defining "hostile environment" will help. A "hostile environment" is an environment in which "unwelcome conduct … that is sufficiently severe or pervasive enough that it alters the conditions of education or employment and creates an environment that a *reasonable person* would find intimidating, hostile or *offensive*." Between the phrase "intentionally or unintentionally" and the use of "offensive," the university leaves much room for nearly any action to be defined as discrimination. The policy seems vague because it is.

Amazingly, sexuality is included among the beloved protected statuses. Malcolm Muggeridge is quoted as saying, "Sex is the ersatz or substitute religion of the 20th century." The 20th century – ah, the good old days! Today, sex is more akin to a substitute god, or so it seems in Chapel Hill.

The university's policy regarding sexuality includes "gender expression," "gender identity" and "sexual orientation." Here even the most loyal Sexian is lost. Supplemental information is once again necessary to cut through the jungle that is harassment policy.

"Gender expression" ensconces "the external characteristics and behaviors that are socially defined as masculine or feminine, such as dress, grooming, mannerisms, speech patterns and social interactions" - not to be confused with "gender identity," an "individual's psychological sense of self as a male or female." Lastly, and a bit more self-explanatory, "sexual orientation" is "the inclination or capacity to develop intimate emotional and sexual relationships with the people of the same/opposite/either gender." The policy is wrought with confusing jargon such as the above complicated explanations taken from the university's website.



Richard M. Weaver wrote in his most famous work, *Ideas Have Consequences*, "Rational society … has a formal structure which enables apprehension." By the declaration of this non-discrimination policy the university is stating very clearly that it believes society to be at a point in development in which "reasonable people" do not differentiate between which gender ought to wear lipstick and sport short-shorts, where men who think they are a woman (or visa-versa) ought to be aided in their delusions and where a perversion of what sexuality is meant to be is found acceptable.

UNC thus pursues a paradoxical existence; its policy is earnest in both seeking unconditional inclusion (non-discrimination) as well as promoting distinctions in value (harassment policy). In other words, the university is discriminating between those who disagree with the above proclamations about societal development. The university differentiates between those who believe homosexuality (and other forms of fornication) to be morally abhorrent.

Case in point: the university's Policy on Non-Discrimination includes "religion" and "creed." A logical assumption is, then, that the university means to say that no distinctions among all possible world views are to be drawn "unless the university can demonstrate that it is unable to reasonably accommodate an individual's religious observance or practice without undue hardship." The law of non-contradiction not withstanding, one can further assume that this statement includes that world view which thinks homosexuality to be perverted.

But what will one find if he chooses to meet the university with what measurement it offers? The Hamilton College National Youth Polls (2006) found that nearly 80 percent of high school seniors feel that the gay lifestyle should be "accepted by society." Right at 60 percent disagreed with the statement that "the gay lifestyle is morally wrong."

That would put those college students who oppose the gay lifestyle in the minority. Judging by the preferential treatment given other minorities

it would seem that the "tolerant" response would be to create these students a "protected status."

However, it is not; the university pursues the promotion of a radical homosexual agenda and actively seeks to marginalize dissenters. Whether it includes making fun of heterosexuals or persecuting a Christian fraternity for its stance against homosexuality, as the examples below will prove, intolerance is not tolerated and yet pretence at "non-discrimination" is kept. The arrogance is ironic and insufferable.

Examples of pro-homosexual activity on campus are many, here are but a few: this past summer reading book, Covering, was written by a homosexual and focused much space to defending homosexuality and explaining that an expansion of "discrimination" lawsuits is desirable; the "Vagina Monologues," performed on campus every year in which there is lesbian behavior; a drag show is performed yearly on campus; there is open celebration of "Coming Out Day" in which homosexuals flaunt their gay-pride; Orgasm Week is held annually on campus during which, in Polk Place, diagrams of different types of homosexual behavior are displayed; lastly, a campus magazine devoted to a radical homosexual agenda, Lamdya, aggressively crusades for, among other things, the righteous cause of "same-sex restrooms" (because "male" and "female" restroom signs "discriminate").

But, perhaps, for most of the aforementioned examples one may object that the university does not extend its endorsement of the viewpoints expressed in these activities to the student organizations that sponsor them. But, the university certainly endorses the viewpoints of Housing and the Housing and Residential Education diversity committee initiatives. Housing's stated "understanding of community" is the following: "We strive to create communities where all people care about, listen to, and deem each other significant regardless of ... sexual orientation."

The university thus includes sodomy within its definition of accepted behavior. Housing also celebrates "Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transgendered persons, Intersexuals and Queers" during the month of October, even providing colorful wristbands for willing participants that help "us to support and learn about" the homosexual lifestyle. There is, however, no celebration of "straight" people, nor are heterosexuals afforded the privilege of an honorary wristband.

What is more, the Housing Department recently held an event entitled "The Straight Epidemic" wherein the ever important question "what's with all these straight people?" was explored. Housing makes the suggestion that being "straight" is the product of a disease. Perhaps Housing meant it as a pun or a joke but, to be sure, the university's preferential treatment of homosexuality suggests that an event of opposite implication would not have been tolerated.

A more prominent example of the university's discrimination against those who believe homosexuality to be immoral is that of the religious fraternity Alpha Iota Omega. Two years ago the fraternity refused to sign the policy on non-discrimination because it would have required that they allow homosexuals to join their organization. In response, the university dissolved their status as a fraternity. The fraternity sued the school, and a federal judge ordered them to be reinstated noting that the non-discrimination policy may violate first-amendment rights.

Conservatives who attend UNC, at least those who hold to traditional moral values, are minorities who are quite literally discriminated against. Not that there is anything wrong with discrimination in itself, but the university has a "non-discrimination policy" written to protect all "creeds."

As that amicable heterosexual, G.K. Chesterton, once wrote, "to desire action is to desire limitation." The university seems to desire action without limitation. This is impossible. To say that those who believe homosexuality to be moral are within a "protected status" is to say that those who do not believe homosexuality to be moral are outside "protected status." And this is what the university states both by word and by deed. This is wrong; it not only infringes on a public university's obligation to freedom of speech, but it also breaks the university's own rules. UNC's broad tolerance of homosexuality coupled with a purposefully vague harassment policy combines to allow for a strong-arming attempt at seeking to legitimize immoral behavior.

Homosexual activists often hide behind the connotations of such words as "tolerance," "inclusion," "compassion" and "fairness." They have also found security in the use of ad hominem attacks. For example, enemies (as opposed to supposed "allies") are threatened with stigmas such as the labels of "homophobic" or "ignorant."

Yes, that's very clever, but to the contrary, it is not "homophobia" which prevails among our community; rather, as gathered upon close examination, UNC holds "*heterophobic*" tendencies. How queer. **CR**

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The Truth About Kwanzaa

The real history behind the Afrocentric & Marxist holiday



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Every year at that special time we call the holiday season, a community of people, connected by skin color and united in their belief of racial superiority, assembles to celebrate their racial heritage. For seven days, they dedicate themselves to the seven sacred principles of their race.



No, it is not a neo-Nazi cult commemorating Hitler or the Ku Klux Klan gathering for a week of cross burnings. It is Kwanzaa.

This celebrated feature of our multicultural society came into being in 1966, founded by a man who calls himself Maulana Karenga. Karenga, formerly Ron N. Everett, is a convicted felon who was sentenced to prison in 1971 for torturing two women with a soldering iron and a vise, among other misdeeds.

Karenga has also achieved notoriety for founding the radical Afrocentrist Marxist organization United Slaves. United Slaves, which still exists today (now simply called "Us"), was even more militant and ruthless than its rival, the Black Panthers, according to renowned Constitutional scholar and political commentator Ann Coulter.

The United Slaves, covertly encouraged by the FBI during the 1960s, is famous for the murder of Black Panthers Al "Butchy" Carter and deputy minister John Huggins in a dispute over leadership of the Black Studies department at UCLA.

Karenga got out of prison in 1974 and, several years later, inexplicably landed a job as chairman of the Department Black Studies at California State University, Long Beach. He has been actively spreading pseudo-historical and cultural delusions ever since. One such delusion is the idea that Swahili is "the most widely spoken African language," even though it is spoken by only 7 percent of Africans. Arabic, as William J. Benetta, a fellow at the California Institute of Sciences, points out, is in reality the most widely spoken language on the continent. Karenga calls Swahili "a Pan-African language," which, as previously stated, is ludicrous.

Kwanzaa, Karenga's made-up holiday, makes a mockery of historical scholarship and religious traditions. The official Kwanzaa website declares that the festival is supposedly derived from "the first harvest celebrations of Africa" that "are recorded in African history as far back as ancient Egypt and Nubia."

However, as Benetta notes, there is no clear reason why harvest celebrations would be held during the time of the winter solstice. If Kwanzaa were a real harvest celebration with African roots, it would occur during harvest time and not involve non-African foods like maize.

Not only is Kwanzaa fake, it is surreptitiously both Marxist and Afrocentric almost to the point of separatism. The official website states that "you should not mix the Kwanzaa holiday or its symbols, values and practice with any other culture. This would violate the principles of Kujichagulia (Self-Determination)."

Even the colors of Kwanzaa are race-based. The three colors represent "black for the people, red for their struggle and green for the future and hope that comes from their struggle." Needless to say, there are no white candles.

The "struggle" of the black race, symbolized by the color red, is to reaffirm and restore "the communitarian vision" and "values of African culture," according to the official website.

The "hope," symbolized by the color green, lies in the realization of this vision. As Barack Obama might say, the hope of Kwanzaa lies in the imposition of "major redistributive change" by spreading "the wealth around."

The *Nguzo Saba*, "The Seven Principles of Kwanzaa" (originally the *Nguzu Saba*, "The Seven Principles of Blackness"), emphasize cooperative economics, collective work and responsibility and unity; in a word, communism. The connection between communism and African heritage is also unclear.

The *Saba* further emphasizes unity in the family, community, nation and race. Forty years after the founding of Kwanzaa, it is safe to say that political unity of race has been, or is close to being achieved, with upwards of 90 percent of blacks voting for fellow black Barack Obama. Unity of family, however, seems to be sliding in the opposite direction, with roughly two thirds of African-Americans being born out of wedlock.

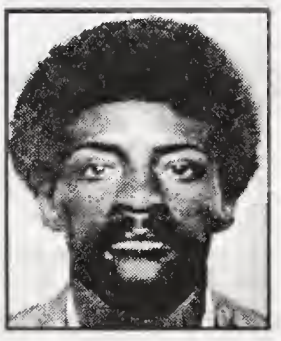
According to National Public Radio, approximately one in four African-American children were born to unmarried mothers four decades ago. Today, nearly 70 percent of black children are born out of wedlock. Surely it is unreasonable to blame Kwanzaa for this, but it is not unreasonable to speculate that the Afrocentrist movement, which gave rise to Kwanzaa and stresses unity and struggle rather than individual responsibility, has contributed significantly to the disintegration of the black family. The most disastrous effect of the emphasis on the shared struggle of the black race is the lack of responsibility placed on the individual. This is disastrous because, as the influential French scholar Alexis de Tocqueville points out, self-reliance is crucial to success in a free society. "That Providence has given to every human being the degree of reason necessary to direct himself in the affairs that interest him exclusively is the grand maxim upon which civil and political society rests in the United States," Tocqueville writes.

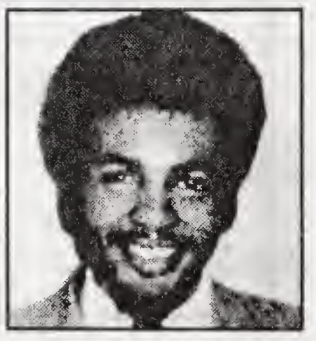
What is shocking is how thoroughly this fake "African" holiday has made its way into popular culture. Children are taught about Kwanzaa in elementary schools, the children's network Nickelodeon wishes its viewers a "Merry Christmahana*kwanzaa*kuh," and George W. Bush even issued a Presidential Kwanzaa Message in 2004.

Presumably, these things are done to be inclusive and promote tolerance. In reality, they are founded in ignorance, and that is also what they promote (besides Marxism and ethnocentrism, of course).

So, this holiday season, when someone wishes you a happy Kwanzaa, do not respond with the Karenga-recommended "joyous Kwanzaa." Display your wisdom and depth of understanding by returning the ignorant greeting with a detailed recommendation of exactly what the offending greeter can do with his or her fake holiday.

Merry Christmas. **CR**





A Review of Halloween 2008

An overall a success, but be wary of more restrictions in future years



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Halloween has come and gone. The much-debated town of Chapel Hill's plans to exert control over the event succeeded in decreasing the size of the crowd, from about 80,000 in 2007 to an estimated 35,000 this year. We at the Carolina Review had major reservations about the town's attempt to influence our night of mayhem, but we must reluctantly admit that overall, the town did a pretty good job of decreasing the crowd without completely destroying the spirit of the event.

The horses were a much-anticipated conclusion to the night. In the week preceding Halloween, students wondered aloud how many Clydesdales would have to be lashed together side-by-side in order to clear the street.

Unfortunately, technical difficulties prevented the horses from making their appearance, and instead the stragglers were treated to a cacophony of revving motorcycle engines, sirens and horns, a technique the police called a skirmish line. Our personal favorites were the costumed helpers: someone dressed as Jesus who was parting the crowds ahead of the motorcycles and a student dressed as a policeman on an inflatable horse who made sure the equine contingent still had representation.

However, despite the decreased crowd that was undoubtedly due to far fewer out-of-towners attending the event, the "sketch-factor," for lack of a better term, was as vibrant as ever. The town's measures did little to curb the masses of people on Franklin who were not in costume and were not trying to disguise the fact that they were creepily following students around, snapping unsolicited photos.

Despite the reduced crowd, there were quite a few out-of-towners present, which demonstrates that the most determined of the visitors were not deterred by the lack of parking and shuttles. One UNC-Wilmington student said as she was driving up I-40 to Chapel Hill on Friday afternoon, she saw "at least 20 cars with UNC-W student parking stickers on them, heading toward Chapel Hill."

And who can blame them? Chapel Hill is a great place to be for Halloween, and we really doubt that anyone minds our collegiate comrades coming to share in the festivities. The out-of-towners that were meant to be excluded are the people who come and have no interest in the Halloween spirit. There are no figures on the gang and thug turnout this year – that would be a little too politically incorrect for the town to release, even though they were obviously the intended targets of the restrictions.

There is already talk of expanding the town's involvement next year, but the last thing we need is more government intervention (and that goes for a lot more than just Halloween in Chapel Hill).

Chapel Hill officials have said the downsizing measures were unexpectedly successful and that residents and students can expect more changes in the future. The parks and recreation department has already voiced intentions of further organization, which could include planned aspects such as vendors, entertainment and kid-friendly activities earlier in the night.

This all sounds fine at first glance, until we remember what happened the last time the town tried to host an organized, sponsored event. Apple Chill was a street fair that was allegedly focused on local crafts and foods. It attracted huge crowds, especially for the after-hours portion known as the "After Chill." The crowd dynamic during this time was primarily gang members who flocked from Durham to cause problems, and after a shooting two years ago, the event was officially cancelled.

Two years ago, I remember having no idea what Apple Chill was, but an older student told me to stay away from Franklin Street if I valued my life. Thinking this was a gross exaggeration, you can imagine my shock when the event was cancelled soon thereafter due to a shooting on Franklin Street during the After Chill.

The successfulness of this year's Halloween celebration was due in large part to the fact that the town did *not* carry out many of the ideas it tossed around early in the semester, many of which would have made Halloween resemble a second attempt at Apple Chill (enclosing the street, charging admission, vendors, etc.).

Overall, Halloween on Franklin was still Halloween on Franklin. The town seemed to strike a good balance between keeping the event from becoming total anarchy and letting everyone still have their fun. We just hope they do not get overconfident and think that more measures will have proportional success in the future. **CR**



UM, YEAH, YOU'RE GOING TO NEED TO LEAVE FRANKLIN; IT'S LIKE 11:30

Rushing for Obama

A closer look at the reasons for UNC's vote for change



by ZACH DEXTER
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When Barack Obama won the Presidency on November 4th, hundreds of UNC students rushed on to Franklin Street to celebrate Obama's win. For the race-conscious, Obama's victory was an affirmation that the era of racial bigotry and injustice in America is really over. For the class-conscious, Obama's victory represented a successful division of America into the haves and the have-nots.

Many other students simply cheered the fact that an inspiring, well spoken man of color, just one generation descended from immigrants to this country, can rise to the nation's highest office. That Obama did so in only 11 years – he first took office in 1997 – testifies to his keen sense of timing and rhetorical skill.

Brimming with emotion, students blocked traffic as they sang the Star Spangled Banner. It was as if the American Dream that supposedly went into hiding during the Bush years could suddenly become real again; as if this budding federal politician would restore the meaning of our country, as if Obama would lift millions of Americans into prosperity with his economic agenda.

None of that is necessarily true. What is certain, however, is that Obama has helped make the federal government so important to the average voter that candidates at all levels of both parties this year competed on how much pork they could bring to their constituents. In the 4th district this year, the incumbent made sure to emphasize his pork barreling. Mr. Lawson said "no more," but the voters said, "the Price is right."

Rushes to Franklin Street are a tradition that should be reserved for displaying our pride for our University; we rush Franklin when we beat Dook or a win a national championship. When students got carried away with the emotion of progressive politics, the substance of the tradition became diluted.

But more importantly, the childishness of treating a federal election like a societal revolution or a monarchial coronation, interspersed with cheers of "rah, rah, Carolina-lina!," reveals a lack of understanding in our students about the seriousness of the political process. The United States is the world's most prosperous democracy because we generally uphold our principles of ideologically divided government, separation of powers and freedom of expression and the press.

Each of these principles is under siege by the Left. If we want our democratic republic to stand, and if we desire to prevent mob rule by coronations of progressive politicians, we must take our responsibility to screen candidates for public office more seriously.

Speaking to students from both ends of the ideological spectrum, I found that too many students at UNC voted for Obama because of his rhetorical prowess or vibrant personality. Too few students are aware of the immediate consequences of asking for Leftist "progress," and even fewer seem aware of the end goals of today's political movements.

For those who are aware and still voted for Obama: you have an intelligent, if misguided, reason to celebrate in the streets; democratic-socialist doctrine calls for mob rule. But in an important war of ideas, too many UNC students overemphasized their feelings for Obama and ignored the erosion of traditional American principles in favor of activist government.



Francis Scott Key's poem was meant to celebrate the preservation of our principles through our military victories in the War of 1812, not to be sung at the dawn of a Leftist takeover of all three branches of the federal government. It is a tribute to our service members who protect our sovereignty and not a fitting hail to those who wish to cede it to bodies like the United Nations General Assembly.

In 2007, Obama sponsored a Senate bill (S.2433; currently awaiting a vote) that would compel the next President to comply with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. And in a 2007 interview with the humanitarian group ONE last year, Obama said, "We are going to make the Millennium Development Goals America's goals."

If all of the Millennium Development Goals as defined in the U.N. Millennium Declaration are implemented, we will see a ban on small arms, the cession of our judicial sovereignty to the International Criminal Court, and a 0.7% 'global poverty tax' on our gross national product to pay for ineffective redistribution of wealth managed by the United Nations (instead of more effective economic liberalization programs). The poverty tax is the most likely of the Goals to be implemented in an Obama Administration.

Without a solid opposition in either the House or the Senate, Obama will have almost unlimited political capital to bring about "major redistributive change," as he called for in a 2001 interview with a Chicago radio station. But this kind of change has never brought prosperity to any nation.

Instead of pushing for global redistribution of wealth and equality of outcome, we should focus on wealth creation and equality of opportunity for all by helping developing countries implement more production capacity, extensive private property tights, and strong government protection of intellectual property.

Many moderate students at UNC agree with these capitalistic principles. So it is somewhat of a mystery why so many moderate students voted for Obama in spite of his socialist economic views. It is also a mystery why moderates were among the cheering crowds on Franklin Street, celebrating a defeat for the American principles of divided government and limited scope of government.

Like the hard Leftists, who believe trust that Obama is the long-awaited 'One' to lay the groundwork for socialism, these moderates view more government control over the means of production in several critical industries, like healthcare, energy and education, as a positive step. Perhaps the only explanation we have is that Obama's forceful personality motivated moderate students to overlook the historical failures of collectivism in return for a feeling of hope.

The coming failure of our entitlement system and the inevitable failure of Obama's large-scale government interventions will quash that hope. But America is the world's most potent force for good, and Obama will be her keeper for the next four years. May God guide President-elect Obama in his decision-making. Next time around, let us remembet to execute our civic duty with more civility and wisdom (no matter whom you end up voting for), and let us treat it more like a solemn duty more than a UNC-Dook basketball game. **CR**

SIMPLY SATIRE

The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

It's the most wonderful time of the year, perfect for sitting by a roaring fire in the living room fireplace, roasting chestnuts and telling Christmas stories…right?

The Winter Story

How the Grinch Stole Christmas
By Davis Library

Illustrated by the Office of Diversity and Multicultural Affairs

'Twas the week of exams and all through the library
Not a creature was stirring, not even that student in the corner studying for organic chemistry

Was experimenting on the mouse

All the students in Davis looked down and depressed
Though 'twas the season to be jolly

Fa la la la la la la la la

Why ever was this the case, we asked?
A little investigative reporting revealed the answer:
Davis Library had removed its Christmas trees
And nobody remembered 'twas the season

Hope they recycled them

Students were so busy studying for exams
Nothing reminded them that Christmas was here

Cold weather didn't do the trick

Realizing that students needed a pick-me-up
Davis Library leaped into action

A scary thought, indeed

All kinds of wintry holiday decorations appeared
Snowflakes, menorahs, reindeer and Kwanzaa symbols

Make it rain, dear

All this in an effort not to offend any one group,
A worthy goal in the name of tolerance

That was sarcasm

But not even Oprah could have seen the consequences
Dark and dire how they ravaged the campus

In the form of red spray paint

Students left and right – white, black and purple with pink polka dots – were confused
Unable to recall the reason for the season

Hint: It's not just winter

In "tolerating" the minority
They alienated the majority

Sound familiar?

And that is how Christmas was stolen

By Davis Library

Ay, there's the rub

The Winter Story

Paradigms and Principles

Carolina Review still wishing you a Merry Christmas

'Tis the season to be jolly, just not in any of the UNC libraries. In the latest example of the secular left's War on Christmas, libraries on the UNC campus will play Scrooge by not displaying Christmas decorations this holiday season.

For Wilson Library, this will be the first time in over 30 years that a Christmas tree has not been on display. Davis Library will also not house a tree in their lobby, as they have in past Decembers.

The reason?

Their presence doesn't "cultivate a welcoming atmosphere for all library patrons and employees."

Because, you know, trees are so offensive that they completely ruin someone's day as soon as they walk in the door. Honestly, who wants their study experience interrupted by those awful trees?

In all seriousness, the truly awful thing about this situation is the university's obsessive fixation with political correctness. This undermines the right to free speech, replacing it with an element of fairness and a right not to be offended, neither of which are found in the First Amendment nor anywhere in the Constitution. To undercut such a basic, intrinsic right is dangerous and irresponsible.

Merry Christmas, UNC.

Protests over Proposition 8 misunderstand "rights"

Many opponents of the recently passed Proposition 8 protested in Raleigh, Asheville, Greensboro, Greenville, and Wilmington. Proposition 8 passed with a 52 percent majority in California, overturning a California Supreme Court decision which overruled a previous ban on same-sex marriage. The courts believe they are above the people, but they were reminded again on November 4 that the majority still rule, and that it is the people's voices that should be heard, not the judges'. Despite the misery for conservatives on December 4th, this vote helps lift our spirits in proving that this country's morals are still there. The majority of people still believe that marriage is a sacred privilege between a man and a woman. That is very encouraging, especially coming out of a blue state like California.

There is a new group on Facebook called "A Day Without Gays." They are calling for a nationwide strike and economic boycott on the part of all their members, the LGBT community, and their supporters. The strike is planned for December 10, 2008. Why are they doing it? "Because LGBT workers, business owners, consumers and taxpayers contribute over $700 billion to the U.S. economy each year and should not be treated as second class citizens."

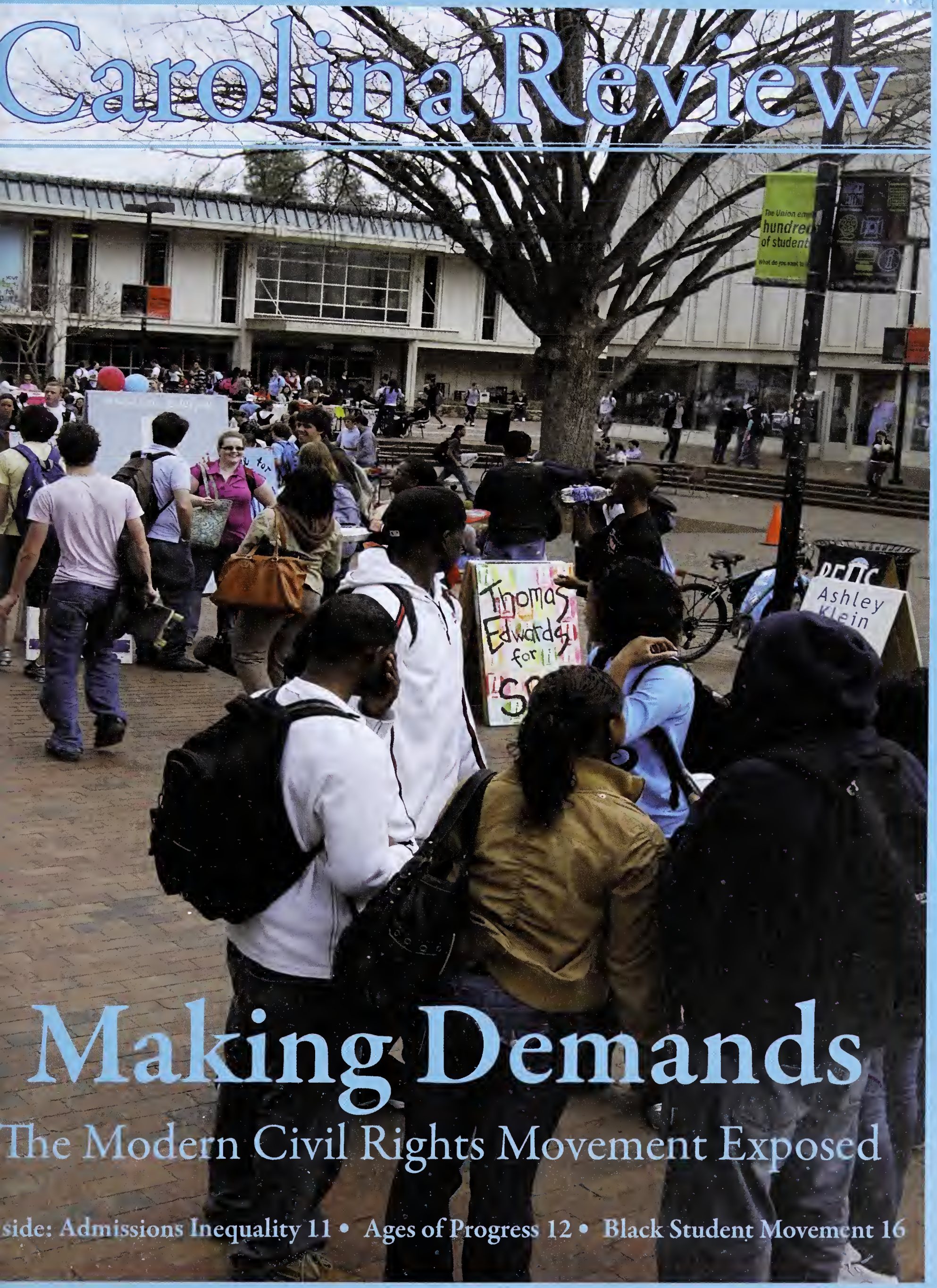
They go on to say that such boycotts are effective non-violent protests and that they must sacrifice in order to gain civil rights.

Many in the gay community dare compare their fight for same-sex marriage to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Nobody in the gay community is getting hosed down by policemen or chased and mauled by guard dogs. Homosexuals have the right to vote, and they have every right for which blacks so ardently fought. They do not have to sit at the back of buses, or use a different restroom, or use a different water fountain, or not be allowed to certain restaurants.

The movement for same-sex marriage is not the next civil rights movement, as many supporters of same-sex marriage like to claim. This is about morality and historical structure, not a claim to made-up "rights."

ruary 2009 A.D.

Carolina Review



Making Demands

The Modern Civil Rights Movement Exposed

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FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

We are very proud to announce that we are introducing several new features to the Carolina Review this year. First, we hope that you enjoy the more professional and durable format.

We have also added a few new light-hearted features within the magazine. Opposite "The Rub," you will find the Carolina Review's Classifieds. In order to raise revenue for our new layout, we have sold off space in the back of each issue to advertisers from throughout the country.

Along with the Classifieds, we have added a section of Review Recommendations. Each month we will present topical suggestions to improve our world. With Black History Month in mind, we have offered a list of currently uncelebrated ethnicities. In the interests of building an inclusive society that looks beyond race, we think these races deserve to be separated out and contemplated exclusively based on their race for an entire month.

Finally, we have launched a new blog this semester, which can be found at www.crdaily.com, or through the link on our website at www.unc.edu/cr/. To get your Carolina Review fix between our monthly print editions, visit the blog for investigative journalism, weekly columns, and daily commentary on local, national, and global issues.

However, we are also continuing an old tradition in this issue. In honor of Black History Month we devote every February issue to civil rights.

Lydia Walker's article chronicles the long and universal history of racial oppression. History shows that every race has been discriminated against at one time or another, though few races bring their times of torment up as persistently as some in the black community. It seems that constant contemplation of the past is one of the severest obstacles to actual racial progress.

We also have a column focusing on the Upendo Lounge of the Student Academic Services Building North on Manning Drive which argues that the notion that one race should be given its own particular lounge unquestionably runs contrary to the ideal of racial equality. The races cannot be completely reconciled on campus as long as the university gives special favors to one race, at the tacit exclusion of every member of every other race.

Last March, after the atrocious sermons of Pastor Jeremiah Wright came to the attention of the nation, Barack Obama gave a speech on racial issues. During that speech, he said that America needed to have a conversation about race. Frankly, we have been engaging in that conversation for years. That said, we hope that this issue serves as an insightful, coherent addition to that ongoing conversation.

Sincerely,
Nash Keune and Bryan Weynand, *Co-Editors*

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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NEW BLOG DESIGN

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Now it is even easier to explore Carolina Review's back issues. Every issue from 1999 to 2006 is online and available for download at **unc.edu/cr/archive/.**

CHEERS & JEERS

December 2008 The December 2008 issue of the Carolina Review reexamined the conservative movement and its definition in light of the results of the November election. It also exposed the injustice of the university's discrimination policies and criticizes the protest methods of the Students for a Democratic Society. As usual, you can read our old issues online at **unc.edu/cr/**

Comment on December articles at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com**.



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CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

* We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.

* We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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Editor

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Online
The Carolina Review Web site includes staff information, our complete mission statement, and search tools. In addition, you can access our archives, special features, and blog. Just point your browser to www.unc.edu/cr/.

VIEWPOINTS



"Immaturity is the incapacity to use one's intelligence without the guidance of another." – Immanuel Kant

"I attribute the little I know to my not having been ashamed to ask for information, and to my rule of conversing with all descriptions of men on those topics that form their own peculiar professions and pursuits." – John Locke

"I cannot speak well enough to be unintelligible." – Jane Austen



THE FIRST COOL PRESIDENT.

"Every month that we do not have an economic recovery package, 500 million Americans lose their jobs; I don't think we can go fast enough." –Speaker Nancy Pelosi

"I found this national debt, doubled, wrapped in a big bow waiting for me as I stepped into the Oval Office." –President Barack Obama

"Capitalism is the astounding belief that the most wickedest of men will do the most wickedest of things for the greatest good of everyone." – John Maynard Keynes



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"'Emergencies' have always been the pretext on which the safeguards of individual liberty have been eroded." –F.A. Hayek

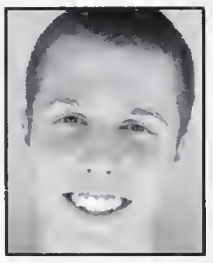
"Before I refuse to take your questions, I have an opening statement." –President Ronald Reagan

"A wise and frugal government, which shall leave men free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned - this is the sum of good government." –Thomas Jefferson

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

TYRANNICAL RULE

Board of Elections' broad interpretation denies candidates freedom



by ZACH DEXTER
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In this year's Student Government elections, the Board of Elections infringed on the freedom of students to campaign among their peers. A new set of arbitrary regulations prevented candidates from talking about platform points to more than two people at a time before candidates became certified. Candidates could not pass around a petition to a group of more than 15 people.

Title IV states that "upon providing the BOE with an official declaration of candidacy, a candidate and his/her campaign workers may begin seeking signatures for his/her candidacy petition and inform students, on a personal basis, about the candidate's platform, including information relating to their website."

The candidate may seek signatures with the following restriction: "No candidate, nor any campaign worker, shall publicly campaign for said candidate, nor publicly seek to further the interests of said candidacy prior to one's candidacy being certified by the Board of Elections."

That is, candidates may engage in campaigning prior to being certified. But the campaigning must be "private." Title VI does not clearly state the difference between "public and private." Board of Elections Chairman Ryan Morgan said that whenever "[Title VI is] unclear, we sort of interpret it for ourselves." And that's what the Board did.

Talking to a group of three friends about your platform is not public campaigning. Nor is passing around a ballot petition in a dining hall or inside a classroom public campaigning. Passing around a petition does not involve discussion of platform points, and it does not imply a vote for or support of a given candidate.

As a result of these new regulations, candidates could not pass around a ballot petition to a group of friends Lenoir Dining Hall, a dorm lounge, or anywhere else on campus if the size of the group exceeded fifteen people. In the end, all that the Board of Elections did was to prevent candidates from relying on their network of friends and acquaintances for ballot petition signatures. Instead, candidates congregated at one congested location. All of them stood around the Pit hounding every passing student for signatures. It did not have to be that way.

The Board of Elections should have interpreted the silence of the student code on the difference between public and private campaigning as an opportunity to allow students to freely engage in campaign activity within the basic limits set by Title VI.

The Board of Elections also decided that dormstorming, the long-standing tradition of knocking on doors in residence halls to solicit ballot petition signatures, constitutes public campaigning.

But last year, Student Body President candidates dormstormed without any major incidents. And this year, the Residence Hall Association was prepared to allow dormstorming during the ballot petition signature-gathering period.

Board of Elections chairman Ryan Morgan faulted the RHA guidelines that were sent to the Board, saying they were unclear. Morgan said that had the guidelines explicitly stated that if dormstorming were allowed in the petition-gathering period, the Board of Elections would have "absolutely" permitted it.

Since neither Student Congress nor RHA nor Housing provided clear guidelines on dormstorming, the Board also created a definition for dormstorming.

Title VI for Dummies, the Board's published interpretation of Title VI, claims that "asking anyone in your dorm room, either your roommate(s) or guest(s), to sign a petition is not considered dormstorming; knocking on the doors of your suite-mates is."

In general, most Carolina students know their suitemates. They know their fellow dorm residents. They don't always know



Artwork by Justin Crowder

random passer-byes in the Pit. These rules meant that Student Congress candidates could not knock on the doors of their friends on the same hall or in the same dorm and ask for signatures.

Student Body President candidates are generally charismatic people with many friends and many connections, especially in their areas of residence. Since Title VI does not explicitly define the difference between public and private campaigning, the Board of Elections should in the future resist the temptation to broadly interpret the Student Code and should err instead on the side of freedom.

In accordance with the principle lain down by the ninth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the codification of UNC Student Government candidates' ability to campaign on a personal level should not be construed to deny those candidates the ability to gather ballot petition signatures or to campaign in residence halls.

Board Chairman Ryan Morgan defended the Board's interpretations, saying that while "on the surface it may seem like some of our policies and decisions are questionable, we spend a lot of time on it" and that the "overarching trend in everything that we do is to encourage a fair election."

Congress responded positively in regard to the prohibition of dormstorming during the petition period, removing the BOE's authority to regulate campaigning in residence halls and dining facilities. In future elections those policies will be determined solely by the respective University department. However, the definition of public and private campaigning will still be subject to their judgment.

If campaigning regulations are clearly defined in the Student Code well in advance of elections, candidates will also avoid receiving contradictory interpretations of Title VI from different members of the Board of Elections. This year, when the Daily Tar Heel published an incorrect "Frequently asked campaign questions" story, the Board of Elections chairman and vice chairman submitted contradictory corrections to the DTH.

All of Title VI should be definitive, and none of Title VI should leave room for significant interpretation by either the Board of Elections or the Student Supreme Court. A clearer Title VI will leave campus media and Student Government candidates with few doubts about what is legal and what is not. The Board of Elections will be able to focus on its primary mission: enforcing campaign law as defined in Title VI. The entire elections process will flow more smoothly this way. **CR**

SOCIALIZED

Fee proposal indicates university's ideological bias



by CHELSEA WALKER
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As the events of this election have clearly evidenced, socialist ideology seems to be ascendant again throughout the United States. The shift from self-reliance to dependence on the state for personal needs is clear not only at the national level, but also in state and local government and even in the policies of universities throughout the nation.

Taking advantage of the benefits of the largest government since the New Deal, Americans are asking how much society can do for them rather than attempting to be responsible for their own welfare, and this tendency has increasingly permeated the policies here at UNC.

The child care subsidy program at UNC clearly exemplifies the development of a welfare state in this country. The Treasurer of Student Congress is currently attempting to pass a resolution which would impose a referendum on the student body regarding an increase in student fees in an attempt to gain additional funds for the program, which gives financial assistance to student parents at UNC.

The resolution would increase the current fee of $2.44 per student allocated to child care services by $10.37. According to Treasurer Pedro Carreño, the fee increase would give financial aid to the 68 parents on the wait list for child care services assistance in addition to the 27 student parents already receiving funding. In other words, if this fee increase is passed, every student at UNC will be bankrolling the life decisions of fewer than 100 individuals.

This is nothing more than the same redistribution of wealth which is a staple of liberalism. Requiring money from the majority to finance the personal needs of a small minority is patently unfair and a classic socialist policy. Teaching students that their children will be provided for at no cost to them while in school only discourages them from working and prepares both parents and children for life on the welfare rolls in the real world.

UNC currently has a contract with Child Care Services Association, which administers a financial assistance plan for student parents at Carolina. The university pays for a full-time child care program for each qualifying student parent. Parents may choose any program regardless of cost from those licensed and registered by North Carolina's Division of Child Development. Student parents may also qualify for the UNC Students for Child Care Financial Assistance Program, which provides further assistance.

A single student parent with one child is solely required to have an income of $44,000 or less to qualify for UNC's CCSA financial program; this requirement is ostensibly meant to distribute money only to those in dire need.

However, it is important to note that the CCSA maximum is over three times the 2008 poverty threshold and, according to the US Census Bureau, would probably identify the family as part of "middle class America." Student parents in that income range presumably already have a job and are going back to school after having children.

It would seem that adults who decide to go back to school have already established themselves in the workforce and have found a method of obtaining care for their children during the day. Most adults who decide to pursue a college degree do so without the help of financial aid.

In fact, most of them do not expect it; they know, or at least they should know, that choosing go to school while being a parent usually means choosing to forgo complete financial freedom. Perhaps a few adults would prefer to have for free what they have most likely been paying for since their children became old enough to attend daycare, but most adults who attend school later in life find ways to fulfill their goals without taking money from their fellow students.

Undergraduate and graduate student parents who have never had a job and have a limited or nonexistent source of income may want to rely on UNC's Child Care Financial Assistance Program and wish to see funding increases for the program, but the reality is that the vast majority of students who will be affected by fee increases will in no way benefit from the child care subsidy.

Student fees should be used for projects and institutions which will benefit the student body as a whole, not merely a select few. Demanding from every single student at Carolina to benefit fewer than 100 people is clearly not in the best interest of the majority.

In allowing members of Student Congress to raise and appropriate a large sum of student fees for a small group of students whom they have declared worthy, we are permitting them to make their own social policy.

By claiming the power to decide that students with children deserve to benefit from money collected from their fellow students, Student Government is buying into the "spread the wealth" mantra espoused by liberals in the federal, state and local governments.

"I do not feel that it is the responsibility of students to subsidize childcare for other students who had children before they were in the financial position to do so," said Jason Sutton, the South Campus Representative for Student Congress. "College students, who are

Child Care

already strapped for cash, will be subsidizing the program, and that isn't right nor is it fair to the students who do not have children."

In addition to being inherently unfair to the majority of students at Carolina, increased funding for the CCSA program seems unnecessary. There are a host of government-funded programs available for students who meet CCSA guidelines as well as for those whose income exceeds the prescribed limits: various tax credits, More at Four, the Orange County Department of Social Service, Head Start, Early Head Start, and Smart Start, which all provide means to alleviate the cost of child care and are financed by federal, state and local government funds.

It seems that the precept that the private lives and choices of a small minority should depend on the financial aid of the majority is becoming endemic in our society. This state of dependence is symptomatic of a loss of personal responsibility.

"I don't feel that it would be my responsibility as a student making responsible choices to finance the choices of other students," said Brandon Jaklitsch in a recent Student Congress committee meeting convened to deliberate about putting increased fees on the ballot for referendum.

During the course of the committee meeting, Treasurer Pedro Carreño went on a counterattack against those opposed to the resolution, claiming that their opposition was shamefully tied to "partisan ideology."

However, it would seem that the notion that over 20,000 students should not be forcibly involved in financially supporting the private lives of a handful of their peers is no more of a partisan belief than the idea that they should.

In fact, many of the same liberals who would support legislation similar to these fee increases are the very same liberals who complain about "too much involvement in the private lives of individuals" when people take a stand against abortion and gay marriage. Perhaps they only desire intervention when it is beneficial to them or to their cause.

The opposition posed by more conservative members of Student Congress to the resolution is not a product of partisan ideology or "maliciousness," as the Treasurer later charged. The persistent liberal tendency to paint conservatives as heartless and unfeeling is nothing more than a smear tactic.

Opponents of the resolution do not lack feelings of sympathy for student parents and their situation; they simply recognize that redistributing funds from the majority to support the personal needs of a small minority is inefficient, unfair and blatant socialism.

There is no "partisan ideology" that stands against child care, nor do conservatives wish to hinder the ability of parents to further their education; the only motivation behind opposition to the resolution is the belief that no government, be it national, state, local or even at the university level, should take on the role of provider for a few at the expense of the many. Governments are created for the purpose of administration, not to do work that could be better accomplished by private charities.

In fact, rather than passing around a charity basket with a mandate attached to it, the Student Parents Association at UNC and other groups who want financial help with their children's day care could establish a charity and ask for donations to fund their child care. This alternative would give students the choice to help their classmates financially without requiring that they do so, leaving room for personal choice in the matter and fostering goodwill rather than socialism.

Statistics from Professor Arthur C. Brooks' "Who Really Cares: The Surprising Truth About Compassionate Conservatism" show that conservatives give an average of 30 percent more to charity annually than liberals; as long as their money is not being forcibly redistributed, many conservatives will part with it happily in order to help others.

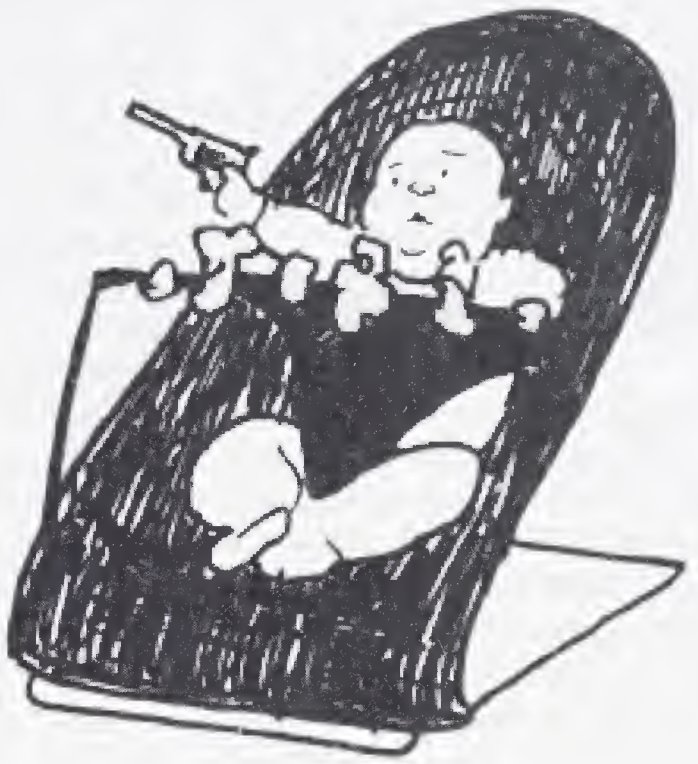


Illustration by Justin Crowder

To quote William F. Buckley, "There is an inverse relationship between self-reliance and reliance on the state." Requiring the student body to bankroll child care for student parents does nothing to promote independence and only teaches those receiving money from the majority of their classmates that there *is* such a thing as a free lunch, a lesson they will have to unlearn in the real world if they hope to succeed.

A university that takes money from students simply because policy makers determine that they can spare it and gives it to those termed "needy" because they chose to have children and seek a degree is no better than a government that uses tax policy to redistribute taxpayers' hard-earned income. **CR**

ERASING HISTORY

Criticizing controversial statues misunderstands past



by CHRISTOPHER JONES
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It's an issue that rears its head at the University of North Carolina every few years: is it appropriate for the University to display monuments to individuals who supported slavery? Last October, the Daily Tar Heel raised the issue yet again, with a front-page headline proclaiming "Statues Hold Double Meaning." A graphic identifies "Silent Sam," the monument to Confederate soldiers from the University, as a statue with a "controversial message." Also labeled controversial include the monument to Joseph Caldwell, the first University president who also happened to be a slave owner, and the monument to the early University Trustees, most of whom were also slave owners.

The implication is that these men are undeserving of being honored with a statue because of major past wrongdoings. These men committed great offenses against humanity by taking part in the practice of slavery. It is argued that to honor them is to honor what they did.

The trouble with this thinking is that it promotes a state of ignorance about history. It is an attempt to divide history simplistically between "good" people and "bad" people.

Such a simplistic view of history ignores that people are complex creatures who do a variety of things in their lifetimes. "Bad" people can sometimes do good things, and "good" people can sometimes do bad things. These men owned slaves, but they also helped found the oldest public University in America. By ignoring the moral complexities of history and human existence, proponents of the removal of these statues are promoting ignorance of the lives of these individuals and denying basic human nature.

And this is why monuments must be examined with an eye towards their purpose. Monumental statues are made to honor the admirable qualities and accomplishments of the individuals that they represent. Everyone is far from perfect. Therefore, no monument should be taken as implying that an individual is in any way perfect or be taken as an endorsement of everything this person did.

According to Alysa Campbell, vice president of the UNC Black Student Movement, "Removing a statue because of its character flaws or prejudiced undertones is deceitful to me. I say, don't cover it up. Let the statue speak for itself and let the people hear what they want to hear. To some, it's a very real reminder of how far we've come, to others, a gripping reality of how much more work we need to do. But that's just the beauty (and gamble) of art: it's open to interpretation. But removing statues removes many thoughts and conversations that could have been had."

In the center of the town of Gori in the Republic of Georgia, there stands a large statue of Joseph Stalin. Stalin was a brutal dictator, an enslaver of millions, a mass murderer and a general all-around psychopath. However, his statue still stands in Gori, the town of his birth. Even though Stalin was one of history's worst tyrants, he also spurred the industrialization of the Soviet Union. This in turn allowed the Soviets to create the military-industrial power required to counter the greatest existential threat in Russian history by defeating Nazi Germany. It is for this act that Stalin is honored inside the former Soviet Union.

In our own capital city there is a large statue of Abraham Lincoln. This statue is surely not an endorsement of Lincoln's wartime policies such as suspending habeas corpus and imprisoning anti-war activists indefinitely without charges. It is also not it an endorsement of the fact that Lincoln, despite freeing the slaves, expressed white supremacist views. Rather, it is a monument to Lincoln's leadership in ending slavery while holding America together as one nation.

Everyone is imperfect, so it makes little sense to pick out one flaw amongst many as worthy of disqualification from being honored for one's accomplishments.

Likewise, a monument dedicated to the founding trustees of the University should not be taken as an endorsement of everything they ever did. These men are some of the most important people in the history of North Carolina, and the purpose of a monument to them is to honor their efforts in founding the University of North Carolina at a time when there were very few private and no public universities in the United States.

A monument to Confederate veterans from the University is just that: a monument to Confederate veterans who left their homes, studies and families to fight and sometimes die for their country. The rightness or wrongness of their cause is not being discussed here.

A monument to the first chancellor of the University is in honor of this man's achievements in life. It should not be taken as an endorsement of all of his political, social or racial views.

Race relations are an important part of the culture of the American south. One cannot understand modern-day race relations in the South without understanding the history of slavery and segregation. And one cannot understand the South without understanding the most traumatic experience in Southern history – the American Civil War. Removing monuments removes the visible reminders of these periods of history. Rather than promoting education and understanding, it hides history from public view.

Such reactionary ideas towards statues of controversial figures only serves to promote an ignorance of the moral complexities of history and an ignorance of our history itself by attempting to hide it. **CR**

Hidden CONSEQUENCES

The real results of affirmative action in education



by DUKE CHESTON
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Ask different people the same question, and you will often receive different answers.

For example, when asked the question "What is race?" a biologist will respond by explaining how melanocytes in different people are genetically programmed to secrete different levels and types of the pigment melanin.

If you ask Noam Chomsky, the famous linguist, you will get an extensive, largely unintelligible commentary about the social construction of race, whatever the heck that means.

Ask the Rev. Jesse Jackson and he will tell you that race is a convenient tool to intimidate corporations and shake them down for millions of dollars.

Ask UNC undergraduate admissions, and they will tell you race is worth a few points on your SAT score, added or subtracted depending on which race you belong to.

The reason for this, among other things, is that we need diversity. Diversity is important because… well, it's difficult to say.

According to UNC's website, "The Carolina community is deeply committed to diversity and its value to the educational process."

Furthermore, the community is "gratified that the Supreme Court decision in the Michigan case affirms diversity can be a compelling government interest in these circumstances."

Despite these sweeping assertions of its goodness, nowhere does the site list the benefits of diversity. Nor is it clear what those benefits are.

Janel Monroe of the Black Student Movement endeavored to explain these elusive benefits."Diversity is important because the United States and the world are becoming a global village and diversity fosters relationships between different groups," she said. Basically, by being surrounded by people from different ethnic backgrounds, we learn how to deal with these other groups.

In a guest column in the *Daily Tar Heel* on September 24, 2008, titled "Diversity is complex and exactly the point," Archie Ervin, associate provost and director of diversity and multicultural affairs, claims that diversity "matters because it is an important element of a vibrant learning environment."

It is an important element because it "offers unlimited potential for learning and exchange."

However, neither of these is satisfying, and neither claim rests on empirical data. In fact, they are contradicted by empirical data, which shows that added "diversity" from affirmative action adds little to nothing to intergroup relations.

In a study by former Princeton University president William Bowen and former Harvard president Derek Bok titled *The Shape of the River*, 56 percent of white students in colleges and universities that practice affirmative action reported knowing at least two black students "well." Outside of the university setting, 54 percent of whites reported having at least five black friends.

In the words of conservative scholar Dr. Thomas Sowell, "Diversity has added nothing."

As UNC's website points out, the U.S. Supreme Court has issued a series of decisions in recent years that have resulted in an absurdly convoluted policy on affirmative action.

Two lawsuits regarding affirmative action (*Grutter v. Bollinger* and *Gratz v. Bollinger*) have resulting in the ruling that, when individually deciding which students to admit, race can be considered "along with other factors."

However, it is illegal to "[give] undergraduate minority applicants extra points toward admission because of their race."

In essence, the Supreme Court said, "You can continue to discriminate based on race, just don't leave a paper trail." It is all there in the Constitution, you just have to look hard enough.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill faithfully abides by this logically warped policy, vowing to continue to discriminate based on race, just in a non-formulaic way.

Regardless of the elusive nature of the benefits of diversity and the inexplicable rulings of the Supreme Court, perhaps the strongest argument against affirmative action is that it hurts those that it presumes to help.

When a group of students are placed in a school where all others are slightly more qualified, that group is slightly more likely to fail. This has been shown time and again.

A 1988 study by John H. Bunzel titled "Affirmative Action Admissions: How it 'Works' at Berkeley" points out that the number of black students at Berkeley rose in the 1980's while the number of black *graduates* actually fell. The correlation between affirmative action and graduation rates is also visible at UNC.

According to the Office of Institutional Research, the six-year graduation rate for African-Americans from the freshman class of 2000 was 75.4 percent at UNC, compared to the American Association of Universities rate of 62.4 percent. For this comparatively high graduation rate, the University boasts that it has the 2nd highest African-American graduation rate among the top 50 U.S. schools (according to the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* in 2006).

The reason for this boasting is that black graduation rates are consistently lower than average. At UNC, the total six-year graduation rate for the freshman class of 2000 was 83.8% (compared to AAU 71.8%). Thus, blacks at UNC are roughly 10 percent less likely to graduate than the average college student.

In the past, "affirmative grading" has sought to correct for the imbalance created by affirmative action, denoting a clear concession of the deleterious effects on the preferred groups (Riesman, 1980).

Dr. Sowell again says it best, in a 2002 opinion column: "You are not doing anybody a favor by sending them where they are more likely to fail rather than where they are more likely to succeed."

If UNC is serious about racial reconciliation and the best outcomes for all groups and society as a whole, it should stop affirmative action altogether.

Disclaimer: I am white. Also, some of my ancestors were Huguenots in 17th century France, and thus were discriminated against as well, although I hold no grudges against the French monarchy. **CR**

Ages of Progress

The emergence from history's other dark chapters



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For the past two years Barack Obama promised progress; and he did deliver.

It is impossible to deny the significance of this election. A black man is president of the United States, leader of the free world, the iconic symbol of liberty. This is progress.

President Obama obviously played the race card in his campaign, saying what an important step his candidacy was for the anti-racism movement. Multiple times he referenced Ann Nixon Cooper, the 106 year-old black women from Atlanta, as a witness to this great change.

However, in a time when America should be pushing forward, she seems to be stuck in the past. Furthermore, she seems caught up in the cries of a race that just won the most profound victory over racial divide, yet still finds them unwilling to move beyond the past.

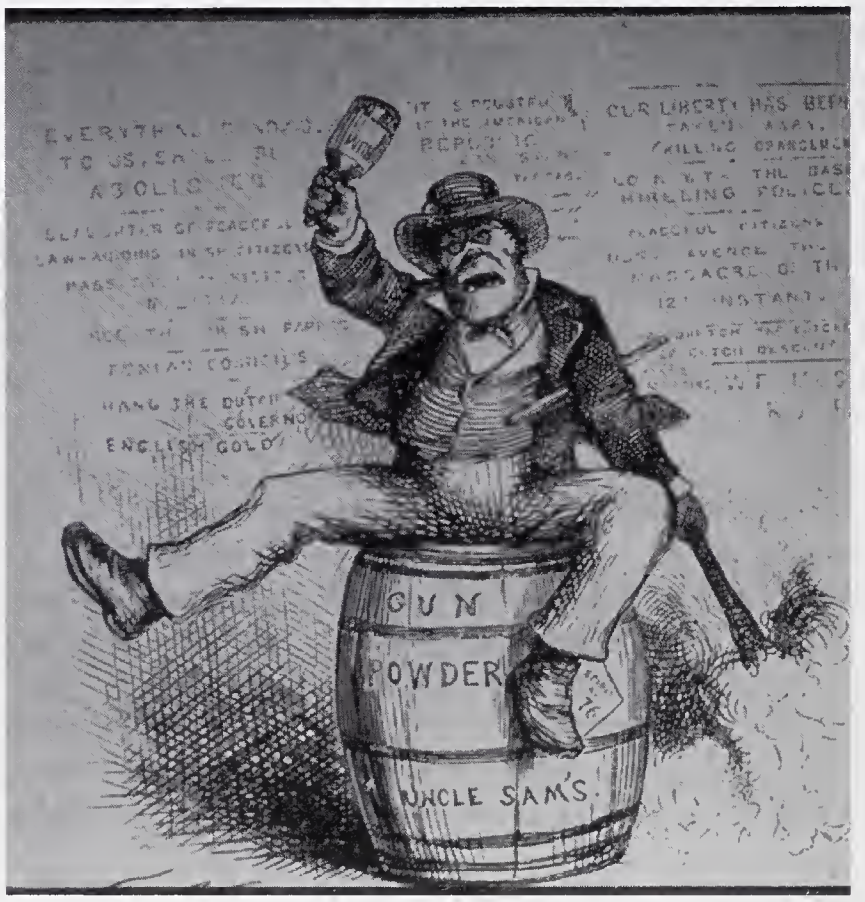
The horrors of slavery, Jim Crow, segregation and on-going racism should not be belittled. They truly are, as Obama said, a "dark chapter" in history. Even so, the world has started a new chapter of history that we need to begin unveiling. When reading a book, it is strange to return to chapters already read. The audience can remember how events in those chapters affect the present chapters, but it should end there.

Sadly, history is made up of many shameful chapters, yet we have been able to keep many of them in the past. What gives this particularly dark chapter the right to force itself continuously into the spotlight? There are other chapters that hold years of suffering.

The Irish

Anti-Irish racism began back in the 12th century during the reign of Henry II with the Norman invasion of Ireland. The British sent up historians to chronicle the takeover of the Irish people and the Irish Catholic Church.

Anthony S. Wohl, a history professor at Vassar College, in his studies of the Victorian Age found that the British used the science of phrenology, the study of the brain and character reading from the brain, to prove that the Irish were inferior beings on the evolutionary scale – closer to apes than the superior Brits.



This Punch magazine cartoon shows the British mindset of an Irish man; taking the features of an ape, wild, drunken with a bottle of liquor, violent and stupid firing his gun at the ground. This was the true nature of the Irish as the world judged them.

At that time, Punch magazine, a humorous political publication, often depicted the Irish as "bestial, ape-like or demonic features and … invariably given a long or prognathous jaw, the stigmata to the phrenologists of a lower evolutionary order, degeneracy, or criminality," said Wohl.

The 19th century British novelist, Charles Kingsley, wrote after visiting Ireland, "I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw."

After centuries of harsh British rule, Ireland finally collapsed into the Great Potato Famine. The British blamed the famine on the laziness of the Irish, when in fact the British agricultural policies were the deadly problem. England conquered Ireland several times and took ownership of the vast agricultural territory, exploiting the land as Britain's breadbasket for the Industrial Revolution in the 1850s. Englishmen were given control of large chunks of land and then hired Irishmen to work it in exchange for cash crops and land to live on. In essence, the serfdom was reborn.

The Irish had no rights in their own land, and their children were assimilated at the shoddy schools they were allowed to attend. Their own nation became like a stranger to them.

Finally, the Irish were forced to leave because of the famine – which claimed at least a million lives from starvation and dispersed millions more – and the reluctance of Britain to loosen its strong grip on the Irish economy and religious persecution. It seems more of an exile than emigration.

Their fortunes did not improve in America. The heavy British influence in the early United States allowed the old anti-Irish prejudices to thrive.

The Irish were still considered inferior humans, so they were forced into urban shantytowns. Signs in business windows that read "No Irish Need Apply" or "No Salesman, No Irish" halted any attempt the Irish made to improve their lives. These pitiful living conditions, often void of proper plumping and/or running water, bred disease and ultimately death. United States Irish studies estimated that in New York City approximately 80 percent of infants born to Irish immigrants died.

Constant unemployment started a cycle of poverty, which kept the Irish in the slums of the major cities. The few jobs available to the Irish were restricted to the docks and other industries with high risks of injury. Slaves would not even work these jobs because a slave owner rejected the idea of losing money from sacrificing a slave to the dock house.

In many ways, the Irish were subjected to the same cruelties as the slaves. When the Know Nothing party came into power in the 1840s and 1850s, they passed legislation to halt Irish Catholics voting rights and rights to run for office. The Irish militia was disbanded and no Irishman could hold weapons, though it was against the Constitution. If the Irish became "too poor," the state claimed rights to deport them back to England.

Much of this occurred in the North, but the South held just as hateful racist values against the Irish as they did against the blacks. According to the Heidelberg University studies, this attitude led to "the phenomenon known as the 'black Irish.' Irish workers in these areas were referred to as 'niggers turned inside out' while the slaves in turn would be called 'smoked Irish.'"

It seems that skin color does not always define racism.

The Native Americans

Since the Europeans first settled in the New World, the Indians were forced to learn a foreign concept – private property.

"The Indians had no concept of private property, as applied to the land," said Appalachian State history professor, John Alexander Williams in his book, *West Virginia: A History for Beginners.* "Certainly, the idea of an individual having exclusive use of a particular piece of land was completely strange to Native Americans."

For the new settlers, this was the age of progress. The new continent was there for the taking; it was only a matter of pushing the Indians further and further to the West.

In the 1600s, the Iroquois Confederacy, popularly known as the Six Nations, controlled present-day West Virginia and the Ohio Valley, two territories the British specifically wished to conquer. The colonists at Jamestown, Va., began efforts to force back the Indians from West Virginia in 1607. For the next century, the Indians remained content trading with the Europeans to acquire valuable new products, such as guns, steel hatchets, cloth, and kettles, and then playing the different European nations against each other.

In Treaty of Lancaster of 1744, the Confederacy surrendered all land east of the crest of the Alleghenies, "the land of the setting sun." Yet, the British had a different interpretation, and in 1748 Virginia pioneers pushed west of the Alleghenies.

After this, the history of Native Americans became a pattern of war and relocation.

Following the French and Indian War (1753-1763), England assumed control over all land east of the Mississippi River, forcing out the southern tribes. Then Ottawa chief Pontiac began his war that ended in the Proclamation of 1763 by King George III prohibiting settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains. However, this could not stop the fervor of our founding fathers, such as George Washington, from claiming Indian land in western Virginia. Finally in 1768, the Confederacy relinquished their territory between the Ohio River and the Alleghenies to the British by signing the Treaty of Hard Labour and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

But these treaties were the "peaceful" evictions of the Indians from their native lands. The worst had yet to come.

By the start of the 19th century, settlers grew so anxious to move deeper into the South in search for rich agricultural lands that the people pressured the government to evict the Indians. The Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chicasaw and Seminole nations stood in the way of their progress.

General Andrew Jackson led the movement to steal Indian territory. In 1814 he defeated the Creek nation and took 22 million acres of their land in Georgia and Alabama. Between 1814 and 1824 he negotiated nine treaties. While these treaties were considered a "tradeoff" of land, the Indians only agreed to the terms to appease the government so that they could potentially hold onto some of their rightful land; harassment from settlers made it unsafe for the Indians to remain in the land anyway.

The American government completely obliterated any property rights for the Native Americans. In 1823 the Supreme Court decided that Indians could live in "United States lands," but their "right of occupancy" was subordinate to America's "right of discovery."

These years of progress for the early Americans were soiled with wrongs against the Native Americans: burning their towns, stealing their livestock, "squatting" on their land, forcing them to leave their homes.

By 1830, Jackson became president and passed the Indian Removal Act that allowed him to make treaties to force out Indians to the west of the Mississippi. Jackson asserted the relocation as necessary for "the good of the Indians."

Probably the most horrific climax to the Indian removal was the Trail of Tears. In 1838, after the Cherokee nation refused to leave their southern lands because of an unlawful treaty, the U.S. government sent 7,000 troops to subdue 16,000 Cherokee by putting them into stockades and then driving them to Oklahoma escorted by 13 Army groups. For every Cherokee the government gave 65 dollars to the army for medicine and



In his painting "The Trail of Tears," Robert Lindneux captures the Cherokee Indians fighting to survive their months of forceful marching into the West.

food for the Indians. Not surprising, little of that money was actually spent on caring for the evictees.

Starvation, drowning, exhaustion, bitter cold and an outbreak of Cholera killed over 4,000 Indians during the 1,000-mile march that was "for their own good."

Racism towards the "Red Man" continued into the 20th and 21st centuries.

The Jim Crow laws, commonly thought to have only segregated blacks, also applied to the Native Americas. Not until 1924 did the federal government classify Indians as citizens. Finally in 1944 the Indians were allowed to influence national politics by founding the National Congress of American Indians, a representative body for 250 federal tribes.

Yet even with this progress, tribal land is still not completely secure. In the 1950s more than 100 tribes were "terminated," their lands confiscated, and once again the Federal government relocated thousands of Indians, this time into urban slums.

The 1960s and 1970s were not a strict civil rights movement for the black community, but also a time for the Indian nations to fight against the government's apathy towards the promises made in Indian treaties. The American Indian Movement began to protect Native American rights, and in 1968 the Indian Civil Rights Act passed, which established Indian constitutional rights.

It's sad; they were the first ones here, yet the last to receive concrete civil rights.

Japanese Americans

The day that will live in infamy started a nation-wide paranoia. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, America was thrown into chaos and war. While this country takes pride in her war efforts overseas, it was the war America waged within her own borders that carried years of shameful, unjust brutality.

After the devastating attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt vowed that "the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory." On Feb. 19, 1942 President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which began a new war between the Japanese Americans and the rest of the nation.

Through the order, the military was given full power to incarcerate any Japanese American or Japanese alien living on the West Coast, an area that stretched from Washington to California and inland into Arizona.

Over the next year, more than 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry were taken into "relocation centers" in the Western states; the government wanted to isolate them from the coast to avoid espionage. According to the government at the time, these dramatic actions were justified as "military necessity."

The military secluded the internees in 10 different camps, mostly in remote deserts, where the residents had no civil rights and no knowledge of why they were being held. They only knew that the military had come to their homes, ordered them to leave within a few weeks or days or minutes, and no one could tell them when they would see home again.

The conditions of the facilities showed the concern the government had for these people. The internees were stuffed into small barracks, where up to 25 people crammed into a space made for four. Food supplies barely produced a meager meal, and the people had to farm and raise livestock to fulfill shortage needs. Military reports indicated that not even all the blocks received running water.

"In desert camps, the evacuees met severe extremes of temperature. In winter it reached 35 degrees below zero, and summer brought temperatures as high as 115 degrees," read a report from the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. "Rattlesnakes and desert wildlife added danger to discomfort."

It is ironic and disconcerting that at a time when America was denouncing the Nazis for having concentration camps against the Jews because of Nazi racism and paranoia, America was continuing a similar practice at home.

President Roosevelt finally labeled the effect of this military operation "concentration camps" in a press conference on Oct. 20, 1942 after the War Relocation Authority had wildly denied it since the beginning.

This entire issue found its footing on prejudice and distrust even before the war began.

In October and November of 1941, President Roosevelt ordered Special Representative of the State Department Curtis B. Munson to investigate the loyalty of Japanese Americans through a special intelligence commission.

On Aug. 18, 1941, Rep. John Dingell of Michigan wrote a letter to Roosevelt suggesting the incarceration of 10,000 Hawaiian Japanese Americans as hostages to secure "good behavior" from Japan.

After the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945 and another on Nagasaki three days later, the war in the Pacific ended on August 14. Within the next few months, the United States' concentration camps began to close down.

While the suddenly released prisoners obviously held joy in their new freedom, the camps had left them scarred from malnourishment and without any place to go; their homes had mostly been sold off, their jobs given to others and they had little money with which to start over. The camps spat them out nearly as destitute as when they were actually in the camps.

On July 2, 1948, President Truman signed the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, which attempted to compensate for Japanese American losses during their time in the camps, but it was largely ineffective.

"Our government had in its possession proof that not one Japanese American, citizen or not, had engaged in espionage, not one had committed any act of sabotage," said Michi Weglyn, author and activist who helped 80,000 Japanese American receive reparations in the 1970s.

It is one thing to be wrongly accused by a stranger while in a strange land. It is quite another thing to be falsely accused by friends in a place that is supposed to be home.



The Jerome Japanese internment camp opened on October 6, 1942 in southeastern Arkansas, were the land can barely sustain agriculture and the surrounding swamps infested by four most lethal snakes in America make high fences superfluous.



Photograph by Lydia Walker

The Japanese came to America for the freedoms and the opportunities to escape oppression. They were legally in the United States, many of them actual citizens. How could America repay this betrayal, these years of infamy?

The Truth

The truth is that these wrongs can never be repaid. No one can go back and give the Irish a proper job or return the land to the Indians or close down the internment camps. None of the racial problems in the world's history can be reimbursed. No one can make up for the persecution of the Christians in Rome or the Muslims after 9/11 or the slaughter of ethnic groups in the Soviet Union or the Jews during World War II.

But one truth connects all these horrible realities that can give hope: they are all in the past. They are done. They are finished. The world can learn and move on. The world progresses.

In this month, when black history is honored and America's first black president will begin to write his legacy, the world needs to reflect on the progress of race relations. Yet, in this month, and truly in this age, when black racism arguments should be looking to their future potential, they seem stuck in the past. Moreover, it seems that while America has been able to move on from other "dark chapters" of prejudice, she cannot overcome the evil chapter of black racism because it is unnecessarily forced back into the spotlight.

What gives this chapter the right to be reread over and over again instead of trying to look at the present and the future?

It is a competition. This chapter is judged to be the darkest, and that is why it keeps coming back to haunt us.

The world cannot work this way. Suffering and wrongs cannot be weighed on a scale or counted by days or deaths. It must be accepted that any of these periods of racism are all terrible but temporal. They are not eternal issues, and the longer we treat them this way, the more these issues become a burden and hindrance to real progress.

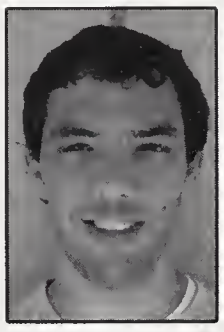
"Because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united," President Obama said in his inaugural address, "we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass."

I agree with President Obama, and I too hope that the old hatreds will pass. But there is another truth that will either divide us further or inspire our nation to a new future.

Man will hate his neighbor. Anyone can love as much as they hate, and as long as there is greed and pride and jealousy in the world there will be hate. We cannot avoid these truths for they mark every day of the past. The question for our nation is whether or not we will chose to come together as a people of hate or of love. As a nation, we have proven that we can put aside the hatred of some individuals; we elected a black president when there are still those in America who are racist.

Why bring a tainted past into today? All it can do is stain all of the progress made these past few years. A heinous past has already passed by us. Why would we run after it? **CR**

MAKING DEMANDS



by BRYAN WEYNAND
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Civil rights movement evolves from seeking equality to self-interest

Last fall I had the opportunity for the first time to visit the beaming new facility on South Campus, the Student Academic Services Building, in particular the spacious new location of the Upendo lounge, the official meeting place of the Black Student Movement.

It is an impressive and inspiring room, expansive, fully technologically equipped, with a back wall graced by blowup prints of newspaper clips chronicling the historical lounge, including its days in Chase Hall, and up to the present in SASB. When I arrived, a member of the BSM stood in front of the display, apparently explaining to a new member the story of their fight through the civil rights movement that culminated in the acquisition of this room.

In all sincerity, it was an awe-inspiring scene, the kind of which great movies are made. The thought that immediately occurred to me, however, was that there was no objective reason why such a lounge should exist, especially at a public university. The problematic conclusion which follows, of course, is that only through blatant subjectivity can one arrive at the justification of the Upendo lounge.

I have written before that the modern civil rights movement breaks with that led by Martin Luther King, Jr. in that it sets no end goal, but rather perpetuates itself into eternity; if the fight was really about equality, then civil rights would one day cease to be a political issue, at least in the sense in which we conceive of it today.

The fight is not about equality, however, and that is evidenced by the fact that equality is in practicality no longer what blacks seek. Equality of opportunity was reached, and instead of pursuing approaches that seized that opportunity to achieve total equality, the movement pushed headlong past their goal into an entirely different motive: in the words of the BSM itself, they sought to be "distinct."

It is a nearly humorous paradox that after a century spent defeating all remnants of legal segregation the blacks of BSM advocate to have it given back. Such a peculiar turn of events could only arise after solving all of those legal inequalities, and after discovering that there were no more battles to wage against oppression, refusing to declare the movement complete, and thus refusing to now move toward a color-blind society.

That is what the Upendo lounge represents, and that is what it means that the modern civil rights movement no longer seeks equality. The University of North Carolina built for its black students a separate meeting space where they could convene apart from the rest of the student body. The spirit behind the action was radically different, but the result is the same as it was when schools, trains, buses, and just about everything else were segregated through the middle of the 20th century.

Distinct in the context in which the BSM uses it essentially means segregated, except in this case it is a mindset they have embraced themselves rather then had imposed on them by others. They choose this because they claim it reflects reality, but contemplating our progress I cannot help but think that perhaps they choose it for some ulterior reason. It is incredible to suggest that such a choice is what Dr. King had in mind.

Perhaps the answer can be found in the principle established earlier, that blacks no longer fight for equality; if equality was still an object in need of securing, it is reasonable to assume it would still be the object of the civil rights movement. If equality, however, is achieved, then the movement then faces a choice: to end the movement, or to find something else for which to fight.

They chose the latter, and in consequence demonstrated that their movement has evolved from being about equality to being about the struggle itself. Without the struggle, there is no claim of victimization, and without that claim, there is no pride in having overcome it, and there is no beautiful, expansive Upendo lounge.

That at least is the logic the culture of the BSM presents. The scene in front of me was awe-inspiring because human nature loves the triumph of the victim over their struggle. The Upendo lounge was that triumph, and it was owed to the BSM as a trophy of that victory. The pride in the acquisition of that room was evident in the conversations around me.

That is what struck me as wrong. Not their pride, nor their triumph, which have merit; but that their pride had carried them past the victory of their struggle, equality, and one step further – into self-interest, and segregation.

The Black Student Movement is the only student organization on campus (excluding the Campus Y, a division of the university) that possesses its own permanent meeting facility, and a brand new one at that. Hundreds of other organizations are without adequate meeting space in the Student Union, which the BSM also is given.

If equality is still to be sought, then let us push for that end. But when all that is left to be given to the BSM is special interest treatment that is bestowed on no other group on campus, it is time to end the fight. Continuing to fight for the sake of fighting, when it comes at the expense of the black race self-segregating itself, is ironically anachronistic to the 21st century.

A triumphant victory for selfishness and distinctiveness is not triumphant. **CR**

On December 11, 1968, in the heart of the civil rights movement, the Black Student Movement submitted to Chancellor Sitterson its list of 22 demands, improvements that could be made to the university regarding the advancement of the black population on campus. 30 years later the BSM commemorated the event with the submission of 22 new demands to Chancellor Hooker. The university now well removed from the civil rights movement and legal inequalities between the races, these demands were nonetheless equally radical and arguably segregationist.

Today's Black Student Movement indentifies these demands as a tribute to their past, and concedes that they no longer actively advocate for such ridiculous measures. The *Carolina Review* recognizes this truth, and is grateful for it. However, as recently as 2006 these demands appeared in an edition of *The Black Ink*, the publication of the BSM, from which follows that the demands still hold an important place in the ideological foundation of the organization; they would not have been made, much less printed, if they were not.

All of this poses an intellectual problem for the *Carolina Review*, as we believe firmly that equality of the races and equal treatment thereof are bedrock principles of our society that has the potential for future color-blindness. For the skeptical liberal sure that the BSM is just another valuable part of the rich diversity on campus, we are printing 10 of the BSM's 22 demands made in 1998, and reprinted in 2006, for your perusal below. Alongside we have written 10 of our own; though they may wish that they were, the BSM is *not* the only special interest on campus, and the *Review* sees no reason why they should steal all the fun of making such far-reaching demands of so many sectors of the University.

Note: Our demands are not a tribute to our founders. They are a joke, and are note to be construed as actual demands. Should the BSM to decide to offer a similar claim, we will gladly listen.

BSM demands

1) Black Students be considered for admission on the basis of high school performance and recommendation and not by SAT scores, as they are based upon white middle-class standards.
2) A scholar-in-residence program be established to bring Black scholars into the University on a monthly basis.
3) A new office be created that would be responsive to the needs, aspirations, and academic social welfare of Black Students. The office should be entitled "Dean of Black Students" and should be filled by a Black person.
4) Due consideration be given to the appointment of a Black person to the office of director of admissions.
5) Black persons be placed on the Board of Admissions.
6) The Student Union director be fired and replaced by someone approved by the BSM because he misled the BSM on policies of the use of University facilities. The actions resulted in the loss of potential funds.
7) The Dean of Students be fired and replaced by someone approved by the BSM because he was responsible for the pigeon-holing of the Carolina Talent Search proposal of $65,000 from HEW. This amount would have been used for the recruitment of minority students.
8) The funds appropriated to the Student Legislature received from the student activity fees of Black students should be given to the BSM annually, based on the fact that the Student Legislature is not representing the interests of Black Students.
9) The Dental School set up a free clinic similar to the one set up by the medical school students.
10) The Law School set up a Legal Aid Clinic for the Black students in need of Legal assistance.

CR demands

1) Conservative students be considered for admission without regard to our thoughts on diversity and/or tolerance, for this naively assumes that we possess either.
2) The Biology Department be required to reserve one professorship for a Young Earth Creationist.
3) The Dean of Students office be renamed the "Dean of All Students Except Black Students" and be filled by a person selected by the Carolina Review.
4) Conservatives be hired into administrative positions. Any of them.
5) See Demand 8.
6) The Student Union director be fired and replaced by someone approved by the Carolina Review for placing us in that closet office with no window.
7) The Dean of All Students Except Black Students be fired and replaced by someone approved by the Carolina Review.
8) Finally a good one we can get on board with! All student activity fees be returned to the students who paid them to be dispersed according to the individual will of each student.
9) The Political Science Department fund two issues of the Carolina Review each year.
10) Same for the Women's Studies Department.

FORCING DIVERSITY

RHA advances radical social agenda in dorms



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As a freshman (now "first-year"), one may be surprised to be bombarded with a myriad of flyers about every conceivable issue. Some of the information is confusing and shocking. Seeing formal definitions for terms such as "pansexual" and "transgender" might make one wonder what one has been missing out on regarding one's gender and sex education. Welcome to Carolina. Students may think they know about diversity, and if this is their second, third or fourth year, they may be used to diversity. But Carolina goes to extreme heights to educate you even more about diversity.

This article seeks to inform students about diversity mandates imposed on Resident Advisers by their supervisors. Most readers are probably familiar with the famous "Who the HEEL are you?" This insightful question is posed by the Housing and Residential Education Diversity Committee, which is comprised of the Community Directors. Vital to their mission is "to introduce, teach, develop, and engage the students and staff of the Department of Housing and Residential Education (DHRE) at UNC-Chapel Hill, on topics related to diversity." Each housing community is required to hold a campus-wide program related to what the DHRE deems diversity once a year.

The Housing and Residential Education Diversity Committee clearly defines diversity and community: "We strive to create communities where all people care about, listen to and deem each other significant regardless of age, gender, race, color, national origin, religion, creed, ability, veteran's status, sexual orientation, political background or economic status." Surely the student body needs to be informed and educated in this politically correct society.

The DHRE also gives each RA "Diversity Stall Stories," which are placed on bathroom walls. These monthly stories are comprised of different sections, which engage the RA in a different topic in the area of diversity. At the end of each topical section, there are "thought provoking" questions regarding the area of diversity discussed in that particular section. It also includes questions that lead RAs to reflect on how that area of diversity affects them personally.

How engaging! This newsletter also contains many resources and information about future events and informational websites. There are also "fun activities," facts, jokes, ideas and games in the newsletters to help support diversity and multiculturalism on UNC's campus.

Some RAs gave responses as to how they felt about the Stall Stories and the Diversity Committee in general. Some had positive views on it, others not so positive. All information given by the RAs will remain anonymous at their request.

The community director of a Resident Advisor I interviewed would not allow him to send out an e-mail to the listserv about a speed-dating event. The reason was because of the policy to not send out listserv e-mails about such events unless they cater to all different sexual orientations.

The RA sought a compromise to make the event inclusive, but the community director said that would "out" people who did not want to be ousted. The following week, he received an e-mail via the community listserv about an event titled, "What's with all these straight people? The Straight Epidemic."

"I was a bit shocked," the RA said in regards to the discrepancy between his idea the community event. "An obviously heterophobic flier was way more offensive than a speed dating event that didn't include an option for homosexuals. I felt the event was one-sided because the goal of the event was to get heterosexual people to understand homosexual people."

The community director said the goal of "The Straight Epidemic" was to promote understanding between the heterosexual community and the homosexual community. After the event, the RA performed a survey, and none of the inquired heterosexual residents attended the event. A fellow RA shared a similar opinion. She was not fond of the Stall Stories either.

"I didn't want to be staring at an article when I'd rather not. I felt forced into the campus-wide program on diversity, but there were no noted consequences for not doing it. It was expected of me, and so it was done," she said.

"It just took a lot of time out of our schedules when I'd rather be doing something that is more important to me. I get so tired of Diversity! Diversity! Diversity! being everywhere," she said. "I think that the DHRE would be investing its time and money better if they reminded us of why diversity matters in the first place."

That is the question that should be asked and discussed by those among the DHRE. Instead of wasteful spending on Stall Stories, which some RAs do not even bother to look at anymore, go back to the basics.

Begin by asking why diversity matters and how it can be better addressed. Instead of having all RAs participate in the campus-wide diversity programs offered monthly, allow those RAs who are truly interested in those programs participate voluntarily.

Perhaps the DHRE should even recruit those who are passionate about a certain diversity topic. The DHRE should focus its money and resources on making the communities a safe and secure environment for its residents – which it does well – rather than making life more complicated with flyers and programs

and all these extra things that RAs have to do that most people overlook.

The issue at hand is not diversity awareness per se, but the fact that some RAs are uncomfortable handling it. Tolerance comes hand-in-hand with diversity because by informing students about diversity, they are taught to be more tolerant. There is nothing wrong with tolerance, and diversity should be addressed because this is, after all, a fairly diverse campus.

However, tolerance is often mistaken with acceptance. Acceptance means receiving something with approval or favor. It implies given consent and agreement, as well as being regarded as true and sound. Tolerance, on the other hand, means the capacity to endure something and hold it in a fair and objective attitude.

Students can tolerate, for example, education on LGBTIP or continual in-your-face pressure to vote for Obama, but they do not have to accept it. Likewise, students can tolerate pit preachers or enormous signs of aborted fetuses, but they do not have to accept it.

It is crucial that reasonably-minded students not get caught in the political correct process of viewing the world and that they hold onto their own beliefs and filter information they collect.

Those who preach tolerance tolerate almost everything and anything except what they view to be intolerant, which seems a little ironic. It is time that students *learn* to get along with others who are different from themselves, rather than being spoon-fed diversity education.

The RHA and DHRE, as part of a public institution, are supposed to hold an unbiased position regarding all matters. It is, therefore, a catastrophe that they so obviously and unashamedly support a pro-homosexual agenda.

While there is no official housing diversity mandate, it seems like it is one of those "unofficial officials," in which an RA is pressured to do something against their will in order to look good and fit in with the rest of the "sophisticated" and "tolerant" group. How many "pansexual" students attend this university? Ask fellow students how many "pansexual" people they know. It is preposterous to even address such a topic. Will the DHRE address bestiality next? **CR**

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Language

The word "Gay" is often used describe something or someone considered weak, lame or inferior (e.g., "That's so gay." or "Stop being so gay."). This use of the word grew out of the first--people who are homosexual (especially men) have historically been accused of being weak and inferior. For this reason, many people find this use of the word offensive. The word took on its connotation in the early 20th century in the United States.

How many times have you used the word *Gay* making a comment?

How many times have you heard the term *Gay* used inappropriately? Do you say anything? Why?

Housing & Residential Education

Diversity Committee Initiatives

The Massachusetts House of Representatives has given its initial approval to a bill that would require all future legislation be written in language that is gender neutral. The one-paragraph bill says legislation should contain non-gendered phrases such as "he/she" or "his/her," instead of following past practice and using the masculine pronoun by default.

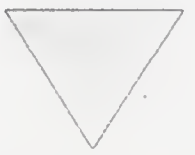
Does this proposed language solve the engendered language concern, or does the solution remain engendered?

Symbols

Like many other organizations and communities, members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community have adopted certain symbols by which they are identified and by which they demonstrate unity, pride, shared values, and allegiance to one another.



A rainbow, sometimes called 'the freedom flag', has been used as a symbol of LGBT pride. The different colors symbolize diversity of LGBT community.



The pink triangle was one of the Nazi concentration camp badges, used by the Nazis to identify male prisoners in concentration camps who were sent there because of their homosexuality.

Sexuality

It's not true that exposure to media sexuality will automatically make people behave irresponsibly. However, the research indicates that the material erodes behavioral barriers, shapes attitudes and expectations about sexual relationships, influences later behavior.

Sex is usually used for specifically commercial purposes on television, because it is an easy and cheap way to get the undivided attention of most viewers.

Several studies have linked increased exposure to the mass media with dissatisfaction with virginity among teenagers (Brown & Newcomer, 1991; Peterson, et al, 1991; Kunkel, et al, 1999)

The students who think television accurately portrays sex were more likely to be dissatisfied with their first experience with intercourse (Brown & Newcomer, 1991:80).

Teens that had been exposed to a highly sexual TV drama rated descriptions of casual sex encounters less negatively than teens that had received no sexual content exposure (Bryant & Rockwell, 1994:230).

Do you think that media has influenced your sexuality, your understanding of others' sexuality? If so, what did and how?

FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM

Radio-free Europe heads battle for liberty of press



by KEITH GORDON
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The reemergence of Cold War grade tensions between the Eastern and Western World necessitates a renewed demand for the reporting of free institutions such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL). This independent (though publicly funded) broadcast service has carried out a mission of bringing "uncensored news and information to countries where a free press is either banned by the government or not fully established" since its founding in 1949.

RFE/RL journalists have a reputation of incurring personal injury in order to provide unrestricted information to twenty one nations in the former Soviet bloc, Middle Eastern and Central Asian nations they represent.

In a Washington Post Op-Ed this past summer, RFE/RL president Jeffrey Gedmin mentioned a "colleague has lost two brothers who are widely believed to have been killed by the Kazakh equivalent of the KGB."

That colleague, Merkhat Sharipzhan, a Kazakhstan native, has covered the regime of Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev for the past 15 years for RFE/RL and recently assumed the position of headline editor. For being a thorn in the government's side, Sharipzhan and his family have suffered.

Askhat, Sharipzhan's younger brother, once worked for Radio Free Europe. Shortly after interviewing two members of the opposition party in Kazakhstan, he was found dead on the street on July 20, 2004. The official report deemed his death a result of a car fatality, despite the fact there were no injuries supporting the claim.

"You don't have to be an expert," Sharipzhan said. "We believe it was KGB."

Within a couple of years, the two members of the opposition party Askhat had interviewed before his demise, died in separate incidents. Zamanbek Nurkadilov's death, on Nov. 11, 2005, was ruled a suicide despite the fact that he had two bullets in his chest and one in his head. Altynbek Sarsenbaev was found bound and shot, in an execution manner, the following February.

Sharipzhan, though disturbed by his brother's death, did not lose his resolve. Granted, he has been working at the Prague headquarters since the service relocated there in 1994, but even away from Kazakhstan, the government's critics are still at risk. As the Wall Street Journal reported in July, President Nazarbayev hired "crisis-management consultants" who "tracked Mr. Nazarbayev's critics when they were in the U.S."—a sign that the Kazakh regime will do what it takes to silence its opponents, following the tactics of their Russian counterparts.

Sharipzhan grew up in a small village near the Chinese border of Kazakhstan in what was then the Soviet Union. He would secretly listen to Radio Free Europe with his father, Toktarkhan, a writer for a weekly satire publication called *Ara-Shmel* ("The Bee," in Kazakh). Though just listening to those broadcasts was of great personal risk, Sharipzhan's father knew that it was of utmost importance for his son's education to hear something other than state-sponsored propaganda.

When Sharipzhan was young, he was drafted in the Red Army and stationed at a missile silo aimed at China. It was there that Sharipzhan heard of the infamous downing of a civilian South Korean passenger plane, Korean Air Lines flight 007, by Soviet anti-aircraft fire in 1983.

The official Soviet military assessment asserted that the civilian craft was a spy plane. Sharipzhan was infuriated by the obvious deceit and demanded the truth. His superior officer reprimanded him for his lack of "political loyalty."

The collapse of the Soviet Union gave way to the establishment of a free Kazakhstani state in 1991. Nursultan Nazarbayev, a former chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers, ascended to the Presidency. Unfortunately, the devolution of Kazakhstan from the U.S.S.R. did not generate the liberties expected in a thriving democracy. Thus, the Kazakh Bureau at Radio Free Europe remained open, while Bureaus in more thriving democracies such as Poland and the Czech Republic were able to cease operations.

Graeme Robertson, Associate Professor of Political Science at University of North Carolina observes Kazakhstan as particularly oppressive. He categorizes the regime as authoritarian hegemony, with a single dominant party maintain control since the state's succession from the U.S.S.R.

Though not as notorious as Uzbekistan or Turkmenistan, the thuggish Kazakh regime has created an environment of "self-censorship" through intimidation both subtle and obvert.

While government corruption plagues plenty of nations, the lack of a robust free press in Kazakhstan gives free reign to corruption in Almaty. Sharipzhan relates a joke that he often tells to describe the Kazakh condition: "Under the Soviets it was a maximum security prison. Kazakhstan is

now a minimum security prison. But it is still a prison."

Sharipzhan came to RFE/RL after learning that the Kazakh Bureau was in need of native Kazakh speakers. Sharipzhan's ability to speak several languages including Kazakh, German, English, Russian and Turkish, among others, made him an easy candidate for the Kazakh Bureau, and he quickly rose to the position of bureau director.

Sharipzhan is a critical of the Nazarbayev regime, which has held power since the formation of the Kazakh state in 1991. Nazarbayev's government, composed largely of his family members and loyal cronies, has faced criticism for its numerous scandals.

Under Sharipzhan's direction, the Kazakh Bureau covered the so-called "Kazakhgate Scandal," an ongoing investigation, in which the regime has been accused of siphoning tens of millions of dollars with the help of an American money launderer. Beyond the accusations of fraud and money laundering, the regime has been accused of exiling and even murdering opponents including the opposition members Askhat fatefully interviewed.

Askhat's death meant Merkhat Sharipzhan was no longer reporting the story; he was now a part of it. The day after his brother's death, Sharipzhan was interviewed by RFE/RL in hopes that the truth of his brother's death would be made know to the public.

Unfortunately the search for the truth would, as it had before, bring tragedy to the Sharipzhan family.

In May 2005, Sharipzhan's other brother Kairat, was found dead of an apparent brain hemorrhage. Sharipzhan says his brother was 38 years old and very healthy.

The doctors produced no physical evidence to substantiate their claim and no autopsy was performed. Kairat's wife told Merkhat that shortly prior to her husband's death he had received information regarding the true nature Askhat's death.

Threats and direct attacks have not intimidated Sharipzhan who, despite incredible tragedy, remains a vision of optimism in the face of bitter circumstances. He loves to tell of the first time he met an America came to the United States, where it seemed to him that every house was a mansion.

He would rather marvel at the historic moments he covered with RFE/RL than capitulate under the hardships he endured under the regimes oppressing his native Kazakhstan.

Today, Sharipzhan believes that the task of bringing about reform to Kazakhstan is all the more critical. In 2010, Kazakhstan will take the chair position of the Organization for Securities and Co-Operation despite that fact human rights concerned have been raised to the Helsinki Commission (as recently as July 17th) concerning growing religious intolerance, suppressed journalism, and Nazarbayev's unwillingness to abdicate power.

Yet, Merkhat Sharipzhan goes into his new position ever hopeful of the future of not just Kazakhstan, but of all the nations receiving RFE/RL broadcasts. His faith in the power of the truth has carried him across decades covering tragedy and triumph.

It is the very sort of journalism that will be required to hold back the anti-democratic backslide persistent in the region. Russia's war with Georgia last August made it obvious that any instability within the post-Soviet states may heighten to a more volatile situation rather rapidly.

Thus it is imperative that independent media institutions continue to provide uncensored reporting in the interests of preserving liberty and human rights in the region **CR**



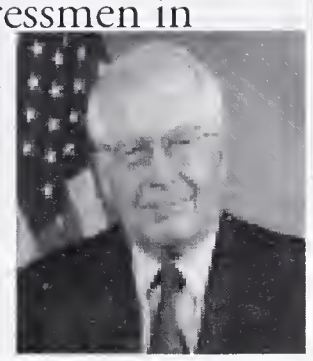
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The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

We've always believed that the purpose of studying history is to avoid making the same mistakes as those in the past.

History repeating

Well, the Rub has acquired, through some amazing investigative journalism, a document which, if not for federal public records laws, the Obama administration would have kept hidden.

DTH headline tomorrow: "Federal govt. in violation of federal law"

It's Obama's Five-Year Plan for his presidency.

Every good future authoritarian leader needs one

As listed in the document, the goals of the Five-Year Plan are clear, specific and inspiring: Hope, Change and Yes We Can!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Exclamation points compensate for a lack of real content

Obama expects his Five-Year Plan, to be completed three years from now, to lead his administration back into the 20th century.

Similar to UNC's Five-Year… no, five-*point* diversity plan

First, as is required by Five-Year Plans, Obama backdated it to September 31, 2007.

Have to give Bush credit where credit is due

Successes to date include, but are not limited to: running the economy into the ground, ravaging consumer and investor confidence, a successful surge in Iraq and preparing the way for the coming of the Obamessiah.

Which of these things is not like the others?

Since taking office, Obama has already eliminated the last U.S. stronghold in Cuba, finally completing the Cuban Revolution and giving Fidel Castro the complete control over his country he has wanted for 50 years.

Proof that Obama is a communist sympathizer

The Rub believes that we should turn the land into a money-sucking, capitalist-loving paradise resort instead.

Will single-handedly revitalize the Cuban economy

In the 100 days that follow, Obama will approve a "stimulus" plan that our children will be paying off until 2097.

Won't help the economy; should open a resort instead

In Year 3 (Year 1), Obama will single-handedly lead the American people to salvation by increasing taxes during a recession and eliminating the Bill of Rights.

Amen

Successes in Year 4 (Year 2) will include collectivizing everything in sight: health care, social security, private property, knowledge, Staples Easy buttons, your house, your children, your bed and everything else.

Hey, it worked for Stalin, didn't it? Oh, wait… no. My bad

Year 5 (Year 3) will mark the end of the Obamessiah's work here on earth. Fortunately, his term comes to an end as he completes the last task he was sent here to do.

Impeachment

The Rub is relieved to see that Obama has a clear and articulated vision of where our country is headed.

The Dark Ages

Obama harkens back to the days of old when charismatic and visionary leaders like Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong inspired their people to follow them to the death.

Willing or not

Ay, there's the rub

History repeating

Paradigms and Principles

New Year, New Governor

So far in her term as the first female governor of North Carolina, Beverly Perdue has demonstrated an extreme lack of fashion and focus. As of her swearing in on Saturday, January 6th, she took over a state with a $2.1 billion shortfall for the 2009 budget. In all her infinite wisdom, the governor decided to cut funding from schools, the health system and public safety, the three things that are most important to the citizens of North Carolina. She has also frozen all government hiring for the time being. At the same time, she also visited the North Carolina delegation in Washington, D.C. to ask for $18 billion for "shovel ready projects" in the next year. So why are we $2.1 billion short on the state level and yet asking for $18 billion from the national government who is pre-occupied with bailing out the economy and big business? For all the change that Gov. Perdue advocated in the campaign, the same old government resides in Raleigh. With ailing roads and clogged highways across the country and an enormous budget shortfall, Governor Perdue also went back to her friends in the East and authorized over $200 million to finish a lightly used outer-belt in Fayetteville. Sometimes you can take the politician out of the East, but you can't take the East out of the politician.

Equal Work, Equal Pay

In the recent Australian Open, the winners Serena Williams and Rafael Nadal were each awarded $2,000,000. In years past, this was not the case. Only recently did women begin to be awarded the same as men. In fact, Wimbledon gave different amounts up until the 2007 tournament. The All England Club endured criticism from all quarters for a decision in 2006 that awarded the men's champion $43,000 more then the women's. The WTA Tour Chief Executive weighted in against it; Billie Jean King, considered by many as the founder of modern women's tennis was "baffled" by the decision; and Maria Sharapova criticized the organization for maintaining the unequal payment structure.

That's completely understandable. Isn't it supposed to be "equal work, equal pay"? Darn right. But, ironically, that is the reason why men should still be paid more. In professional tennis, men play best three out of five sets, while women play best two out of three.



In this past Australian Open, the women's final was fifty-nine minutes long with Williams barreling past Dinara Safina for a 6-0, 6-3 win. Compare that to the men's final: four hours and twenty-three minutes, with Nadal beating Roger Federer 7-5, 3-6, 7-6(3), 3-6, 6-2 for the title.

Working within the "equal work, equal pay" framework, one would have to argue that a best two out of three for women *is* equal to the best three out of five for men. That, however, would undermine the entirety of the feminist movement for the past four decades which argued that men and women are completely equal in physical and mental abilities.

So, really, unless women begin to play best three out of five sets, the prize money is unfair for men. Is Nadal playing 4½ times longer than Williams really "equal work, equal pay"?

Carolina Review

Sex on Campus



Carolina's view of sex may be liberating, but it's not empowering

• PAGE 12 •

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FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

After the fallout from Duke Cheston's article in our annual civil rights-themed issue ("Hidden Consequences," February, 2009), there were some calls within the *Carolina Review* offices to give in and devote every future issue to civil rights. After all, Mr. Cheston's discussion of the flaws in affirmative action resulted in a Letter-to-the-Editor to the *Daily Tar Heel*, a set of responses to that Letter-to-the-Editor, a response to the responses to the Letter-to-the-Editor, and several media requests.

But cooler heads prevailed, and with this issue we turn our attention from race back to the campus in general. Alex Macey's article analyzes the seeming obsession that our campus has with sex. Not only do certain unavoidable aspects of the social format (proximity of members of the opposite sex, a lack of supervising authorities, etc.) promote promiscuity, numerous campus groups enable and encourage sexual experimentation.

We also have a column dealing with the Child Care Fee referendum. Proponents of the referendum defended the collective decision making of a public referendum as a supreme vehicle of choice. However, it seems that individuals deciding whether or not to contribute their own personal funds to child care is a far more legitimate choosing process.

Justin Crowder's column examines the way by which we dispense student fee funds. The student code calls for neutrality in the appropriation of monies. But, given our imperfect leadership, neutrality is a sheer impossibility. Mr. Crowder suggests that it would be far wiser to dole out student fees based on whether or not it could be reasonably argue that a group or event substantively contributes in some way to the campus discussion of an important issue.

We also have several articles dealing with local and national issues. Duke Cheston's newest article evaluates Chapel Hill's attempt to attract gay tourism. Using funds from a tax levied on each stay in a local hotel, the city paid $5,000 to become part of the International Gay and Lesbian Travel Association and place an ad on glcvb.org, the website of the Gay and Lesbian Convention Visitors Bureau website. It is debatable whether or not trying to attract tourism is one of the proper functions of municipal government; it is even more debatable whether or not specifically trying to attract gay tourists is appropriate.

Finally, Chelsea Walker's column criticizes the recent push among some on the Left to reinstitute the so-called "Fairness Doctrine." Drawing a historical allusion to the Sedition Act of 1798, she argues that the Doctrine is an outright threat to the freedom of speech. The Fairness Doctrine was initially proposed to ensure that both sides were heard when radio and television were far more limited than they are today. Given the explosion of the internet, cable television, digital radio, etc. this logic seems absolutely untenable.

Sincerely,
Nash Keune and Bryan Weynand, *Co-Editors*

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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CHEERS & JEERS

February 2008 **The February issue of the Carolina Review reinvigorated the debate centering on the civil rights movement with a fresh perspective exposing the flaws of the modern movement's motives and goals. It discussed the historical transformation of different oppressed groups, offered compelling evidence of the negative impact of affirmative action at UNC, and criticized the self-interest of the Black Student Movement.** As usual, you can read our old issues online at **unc.edu/cr/**

Comment on February articles at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com**.



Carolina Review is printed on 100 percent non-recyclable, non-biodegradable newsprint manufactured from virgin rainforest trees.

CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

* We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.

* We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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A BILLION HERE, A TRILLION THERE; WHATEVER

"Freedom is a need of the soul, and nothing else."
- Whittaker Chambers

"I have never wished to cater to the crowd; for what I know they do not approve, and what they approve I do not know."
- Epicurus

"A man does not know what he is saying until he knows what he is not saying."
- G.K. Chesterton

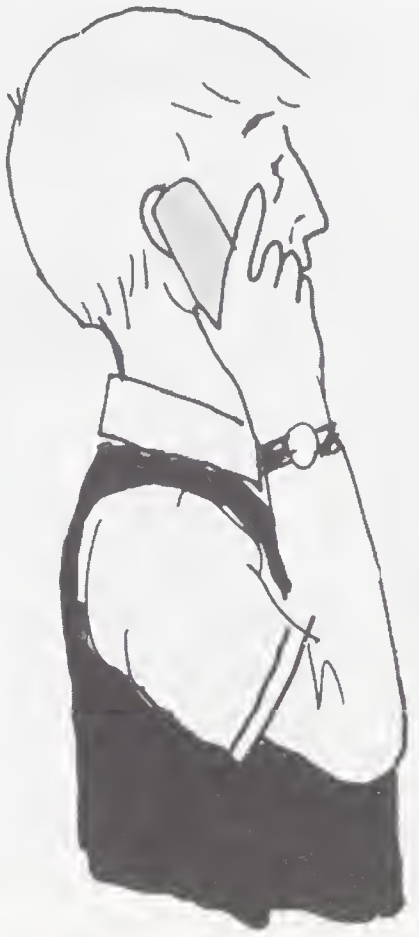


HOW CAN YOU BE PRO-LIFE AND ANTI-CHILDREN?

"Consensus is the negation of leadership."
- Margaret Thatcher

"There are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations."
- James Madison

"Bureaucracy, the rule of no one, has become the modern form of despotism."
- Mary McCarthy



ALERT CAROLINA: WE ARE CALLING TO LET YOU KNOW THAT YOU ARE DEAD
STUDENT: I GOTTA SAY, THAT IS A BIT DIST RBING

"I think when you spread the wealth around it's good for everybody."
- Barack Obama

"Great things happen in small places. Jesus was born in Bethlehem. Jesse Jackson was born in Greenville."
- Jesse Jackson

"Democracy is the road to socialism."
- Karl Marx

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

Jones Prepares for Office



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Promising year follows unlikely victory

The first words that popped into Jasmin Jones' mind when she found out she had won the runoff race for UNC-Chapel Hill student body president were: "It's a miracle."

She had overcome a 20 percentage point deficit in the general election, and the turnout for the runoff was even greater than the first election.

Now that the shock of her improbable victory has worn off, Jones is busy organizing her administration for what is sure to be a challenging year. The most pressing issue the effects of the economic downturn that will soon be felt here at UNC. Jones will have to grapple with budget cuts in addition to the usual challenges the president faces in tuition and other administrative policies.

Jones said her top priority is to keep the student body informed and involved.

"I want students to know the control they have over their own Carolina experience," she said.

Jones plans to implement an extensive student government email listserv system that will be tailored to different classes and groups. When something comes up in student government that might apply to seniors or off-campus students, for instance, the information can be targeted and distributed efficiently.

The administration will also make use of a public relations team that Jones hopes will promote efforts and events that students might not otherwise know about. Jones thinks programs like RaveGuardian and environmental campaigns could benefit from [illegible] publicity around campus.

[illegible] nomy and pending budget cuts to [illegible] university system are also at the forefront [illegible] Jones' plans. She said elimination of wasteful spending will be a top priority as the budget tightens.

"The challenge is how do we allocate the money we have left in the budget from what's been cut," she said. "We want to make sure that student groups have just what they need and not anything extra."

As for how the cuts will be allocated, Jones doesn't know any more than the rest of the student body at this point. She said cuts will depend on the amount the budget is actually reduced – the possibilities are 3, 5 and 7 percent cuts.

The student body president's role in this situation is an advocate and voice for students, Jones said. She doesn't actually have any say in how the cuts are made; it is ultimately up to the University administration.

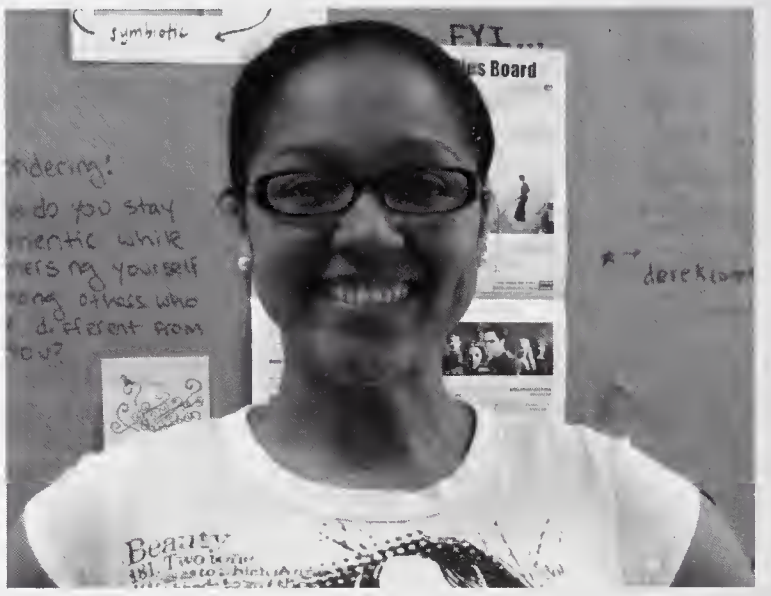
"But I am positive they will do it in the best interests of the students," she said, "because they can't lose us."

Jones plans to discuss the matter with Chancellor Holden Thorp, especially stressing how the changes will affect individual students.

"We want to know how this is going to impact the individual student," she said. "I know we are going to have a lot of concern from the students."

As for Jones' other platform points, she has already begun initial research into putting OneCard machines and ATMs on South Campus. She said it will depend on who provides the funding for the devices, but preliminary talks with administrators have been optimistic.

Jones also wants to "take a way bigger step this year" regarding safety. She is going to establish a safety committee so that her administration can receive constant updates.



Jones' campaign slogan was "Linking Carolina Together," and she hopes the idea will continue to represent the overarching theme of her administration.

"It's about bringing the University together," she said. "Not just students, faculty and staff, but also the community, resources on campus and business owners – everything that makes our life at Carolina possible."

Jones thinks there are gaps in communication among these groups, especially between students and administration.

"Administration is here for us," she said. "Students can't always see all the work they do for us, but they really do a lot."

The new student body president has a challenging year ahead, but her positive attitude and willingness to work hard on behalf of students are valuable traits that will help her make the best of a difficult situation. Jones said the one thing she wants students to know about her is that she will be diligent in trying to make what she promised in her campaign come to fruition.

"I really believe that most of it will get done," she said. "Where there's a will, there's a way. Just look at the runoff election." **CR**

AGGRAVATING ADVERTISING

Should Chapel Hill be paying thousands of dollars to attract gay tourists?



by DUKE CHESTON
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"Tired of the old cliché gay vacation spots? Grab your partner and visit beautiful Chapel Hill," quotesh an advertisement on the Gay and Lesbian Convention Visitors Bureau website,GLVCB.org.

The ad, targeted toward the gay community, boasts to potential tourists that the late "Senator Jesse Helms once suggested erecting a fence around the town instead of building a new zoo in Asheboro." Clearly, Chapel Hill is proud of its peculiar history.

The Chapel Hill and Orange County Visitors Bureau, which paid to fund the ad, is itself funded by an occupancy tax (a tax on local hotel visits). The Bureau allocates $5,000 annually to be a part of the International Gay and Lesbian Travel Association and place the aforementioned ad with GLVCB.

For their part in this Faustian bargain, the town and county hope to tap into a plentiful source of tourist dollars.

Laurie Paolicelli, Executive Director of the Chapel Hill/Orange County Visitors Bureau, said in an October 2008 press release, "The gay travel market is one of the fastest-growing segments and is a $55 billion industry. This represents a major opportunity for Chapel Hill and the Triangle."

From a strategic standpoint, it makes sense. Homosexuals travel more and spend more when they do travel. As the press release points out, the average gay man spends $800 per trip while the average heterosexual spends only $540. Furthermore, this strategy promises to help local businesses survive the economic downturn, since homosexuals do not have families to worry about and thus can continue to spend money on travel.



I WANT YOU. . .TO HAND OVER THE MONEY, BABY

Illustration by Justin Crowder

However, the most important question to ask is not how big of a return we can get for our advertisement investment. Rather, a much better question to ask would be "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

Selling drugs would similarly bring a high return on investment, but, needless to say, drug dealers have yet to be subsidized by the local community. Both homosexuality and drug dealing are morally wrong and socially destructive, and neither deserves a subsidy.

What's more, the homosexual "lifestyle" is subsidized not only by local hotel patrons but also UNC students. (you might want to research how much this subsidy is either per student or in total)

The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Center, established in 2006, is a department of the Division of Student Affairs, funded by UNC students. It provides such useful services as maintaining a glossary of "LGBTIQA Related Terms," such as Ze, hir, hirs, and hirself, several gender non-specific pronouns that would surely be useful if one were to encounter a member of the LGBTIQA.

The LGBT website claims that the Center will "work to create a climate of equality for students, faculty, staff and the broader community." Echoing George Orwell's famous quote from *Animal Farm* that "some animals are more equal than others," the gay community on campus is so equal that it deserves its own Center. **CR**

The Sedition Acts Revisited

The Fairness Doctrine is an unacceptable violation of free press



by CHELSEA WALKER
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As a demonstration of our failure to learn from history, the modern Fairness Doctrine returns to threaten our free speech rights as surely as did the Sedition Act of 1798. Proponents of a modern Fairness Doctrine, including Sen. Tom Harkin from Iowa and Bill Clinton, claim that regulation of the only media source not already dominated by liberal perspectives is an attempt at "balance." In fact, the Fairness Doctrine was never an attempt at media balance, but a tool for censorship of talk radio.

Although President Obama has stated that he will not pursue the reestablishment of the Doctrine, the fact is that he does not need to; all he has to do is appoint an FCC chairman who will do so. He could easily implement a modern Fairness Doctrine indirectly yet avoid accountability for doing so. Needless to say, he would have the support of many liberal Democrats. Recently, Sen. Debbie Stabenow, whose husband is (purely *coincidentally* of course) a liberal talk-radio executive, said "Whether it's called the Fairness Standard, whether it's called something else – I absolutely think it's time to be bringing accountability to the airwaves."

The Fairness Doctrine was a policy instituted in 1949 by the Federal Communications Commission which required that both sides of any controversial issue be presented during the course of any talk-radio discussion of matters of public importance. The Fairness Doctrine pertained only to radio and was applicable only to holders of broadcast licenses granted by the government. In *Red Lion Broadcasting Company v. FCC* in 1969, the Supreme Court described radio frequencies as a "scarce resource which is denied to others."

The Court cited "scarcity" as justification for its ruling that the Fairness Doctrine was necessary to ensure that listeners were able to receive all perspectives regarding matters relevant to the public, claiming that the comparatively few radio frequencies available at the time might lead to homogeneity of opinion among broadcasters that could possibly influence public opinion in a biased manner. The doctrine remained in effect until the FCC repealed parts of it in the 1980's under Reagan, who then vetoed Democratic legislation to reinstate the doctrine as a statute rather than a regulation.

The "scarcity" of radio station frequencies is surely no longer an issue since there are now local radio stations in almost every part of the country broadcasting a variety of local and national talk shows. If the listeners in an area want to hear liberal talk radio, their preferences will be expressed by the show's ratings, and it will continue.

"Scarcity" is a highly subjective term that can be applied to almost anything that is in some way limited. The number of broadcast television channels available has an upper limit; does that mean television news should also be regulated? For that matter, paper is a limited resource; should we allow regulation of newspapers also?

The argument for regulation of "scarce" resources is a thinly veiled attempt by Democrats in Congress at undercutting conservative opposition by promoting the unsuccessful liberal talk radio industry. The failure of liberal radio stations like Democracy Radio, Talk Radio 360 and Air America to attract large audiences is the impetus for all this talk of "scarcity" and "diversity of ownership" in radio: liberals want to level the playing field in the only form of mass media which they do not already monopolize.

Why did Democrats in Congress not jump behind Rep. Henry Waxman's ludicrous call to bring "balance" to the internet using the Fairness Doctrine? Because, in addition to presenting a virtually impossible task, it would regulate a medium of expression and indoctrination that tends to be overwhelmingly liberal.

The motivation for bringing back the Fairness Doctrine has nothing to do with fairness, but it has everything to do with censorship and establishing the current government's control over outlets for dissent against it. Liberal talk radio's lack of mass appeal should not be rectified by a law mandating that it be broadcast in a market where it cannot sustain itself. Under the Fairness Doctrine, who will decide which issues to broadcast and what represents balance – the government?

Also, with the proliferation of television and the internet, it cannot be argued that there is a lack of variety in the viewpoints available to the public. The enormous potential of cable and satellite television and the internet for disseminating information and expressing ideas from across the political spectrum renders obsolete the Supreme Court's argument that radio has a monopoly on mass

media and should therefore be regulated.

The United States policy most clearly analogous to a "progressive" reinstated Fairness Doctrine is the Sedition Act of 1798. Signed into law by John Adams when America was on the brink of war with France, the Sedition Acts made it illegal to "write, print, utter or publish … any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States … with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute." The Acts are regarded as some of the most heinous abridgements of the Constitution ever to be signed into law.

Like the Sedition Acts, a reinstated Fairness Doctrine would limit criticism of the government, albeit in a more indirect manner; rather than explicitly prohibiting speech against Congress and the Obama administration, the current Democratic Congress would censor its conservative critics in the talk-radio industry by requiring that their voices be "balanced" with liberal perspectives at all times, whether the listening audience wanted to have liberal points of view crammed down its collective throat or not.

Indeed, the very reason that liberals are clamoring for a new Fairness Doctrine is the success of conservative talk radio compared to the abject failure of its liberal counterpart, a failure suggesting a complete lack of interest in the liberal perspective on the part of the radio audience. In *Red Lion v. FCC*, the Court ruled that "it is the right of the viewing and listening public, and not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount." Allowing talk radio to function in response to public demand for certain types of shows is certainly a more tenable method of protecting the rights of the listening public than forcing audiences to listen to liberal points of view which do not interest them.

Attempts by Democrats in Congress to create a modern Fairness Doctrine, also known as a "Hush Rush Doctrine," are nothing more than an endeavor to silence their own critics, in particular Rush Limbaugh. Because they cannot reinstate the unconstitutional and overwhelmingly unpopular Sedition Acts, they instead hope to stifle critics by drowning them out with federally mandated liberal counterattacks that are presently not possible since demand for liberal talk radio is insufficient to fund programs on most radio stations.



Illustration by Justin Crowder

Sen. Jim DeMint of South Carolina recently attached an amendment titled the Broadcaster Freedom Act to a bill dedicated to giving Washington, DC a representative in the House. The amendment will prohibit implementation of a modern Fairness Doctrine if it makes it through Congress.

However, recent attempts by Sen. Dick Durbin of Illinois to attach another amendment which would force the FCC to promote "diversity in ownership" would have the same effect as a modern fairness doctrine. President Obama has come out in favor of such "diversity in ownership" (read: liberal takeover) measures in response to questions about the Fairness Doctrine.

Twenty states in the Union have introduced nullification acts that are modern versions of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions written by Jefferson and Madison in opposition to the Sedition Act. These measures, though purely symbolic, demonstrate that the desire for free expression of criticism of the government is alive and well in the United States.

Americans should oppose a modern Fairness Doctrine for the same reasons that Jefferson and Madison deemed the Sedition Act unconstitutional at the end of the 18th century – in addition to violating our First Amendment right to free speech, the Fairness Doctrine, like the Sedition Act before it, disregards the 10th Amendment by allowing the federal government to overstep its bounds in pursuit of censorship of its critics. **CR**

Fiscal Responsibility

Student Congress needs objective standards in appropriating funds



by JUSTIN CROWDER
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The university's Student Constitution's preamble reads as follows:

"With resolute determination to preserve the best in our tradition of responsible student self-government, we assert our goals to preserve order, make personal freedom secure, establish justice, and win a lasting opportunity for responsible individual and collective action … to these ends we ordain and establish this Constitution."

Order. Freedom. Justice. Responsibility. One would think that these purposes should drive Student Congress. Technically this is a student-governed university, and the elected student officers take an oath to "affirm that I will preserve, protect, and defend the general welfare of the Student Body of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and its Constitution and all laws enacted under its authority." If we are to avoid making a mockery of our tradition, the constitution ought to guide Congress' allocation of a nearly half million dollars worth of student fees. As a self-governed institution, a responsible student body will wrestle with the implications that logically follow the aforementioned realities.

According to Title V of the Student Code, Congress is to have "viewpoint neutrality" [illegible] the organizations or programs [illegible] dispends funds. This stipulation [illegible] 'living" interpretation of the [illegible] constitution because it neglects the [illegible] dictions inherent in such a requirement. If congress does not desire to be beholden to a viewpoint it needs to scrap the constitution because a constitution is nothing more than a series of absolute viewpoints.

Viewpoint neutrality is, in other words, impossible to achieve; one cannot escape his intuitive sentiments regarding reality. "Neutrality" and 'bias" are words often used in our culture, but what people usually mean by their usage is that they do not desire an unfair double standard to be levied on one point of view or another.

In other words, a neutral Congress would be one that treated the choice of expenditure to Republican events and Democratic events in the same manner. However, there is always a viewpoint present even if it is that viewpoint that desires "viewpoint neutrality."

But, according to Student Congress Representative Jason Sutton, "the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *The Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System v. Southworth* made it so that 'student organizations cannot be denied funding based on in viewpoint.'" That is utterly ridiculous and speaks to the state of society's ill repair; students should not look past the inherent contradictions in this ruling.

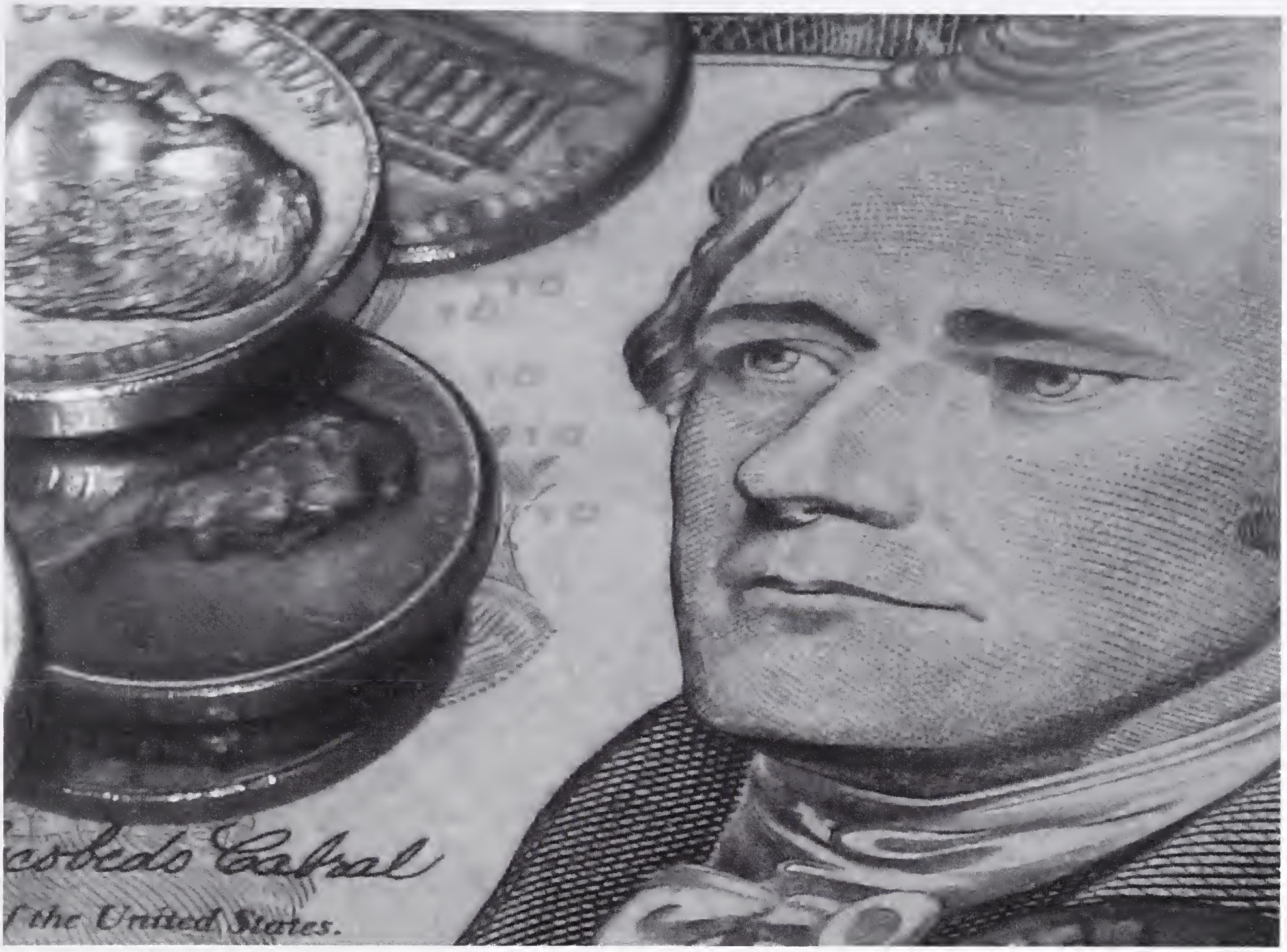
For example, imagine if a student organization petitions Congress for monies with the express purpose of funding an event that a congressman, when the matter is weighed upon his conscience, does not feel contributes to order, justice or responsible collective action. These responsibilities must be considered along with the university's commitment to freedom. For instance, a request for student funds for a pro-Nazi rally would surely not be met with neutrality, and it should not be. The proper task of legislative bodies is to maximize personal freedom in so far as it does not unnecessarily interfere with other obligations.

Consider, for example, two of the most controversial events funded by Student Congress: GBLST's yearly drag show and Carolina Students for Life's recent pro-life display in Polk Place. The general reactions to both events were strikingly opposite.

The Daily Tar Heel reflected this reality. Its article on this year's perverted fashion show performance was entitled "Performers transcending labels." According to the DTH, "not everyone's gender identities match societal norms of male or female" and the GLBTSA was merely trying to express that for the sake of diversity. Taylor Brown, co-chairman of the GLBTSA explains in the article that they wanted "people to have fun but leave thinking about the bigger picture with a broader political message."

The pro-life group, conversely, was treated with animosity and given very different coverage. The DTH roared, "Display was not the best way to start constructive dialogue." The newspaper offered nothing but criticism for Carolina Students for Life. For example, in one of many articles written on the subject, the staff writer gleefully mentions that "Instead of the detours that Carolina Students for Life promised in its proposal to Congress, there were only a few signs at the entrance to Polk Place to warn students." But, the DTH reassures its readers, "Despite the exhibit's largely negative reception, at least *one* student still praised the group." Add your "emphasis" line here.

Perhaps, however, the DTH was taking into consideration that the university does not link to one anti-abortion organization on



its Campus Health Services website. Maybe that is what the "non-biased" reporters meant by throwing Students for Life a bone and complementing their courage. The anti-abortionists were offering a "broader political message" with which the DTH does not agree, which does take courage.

The media bias on campus is obvious and self-evident. While it is true, as the DTH often criticized, that Students for Life received 10 percent of the semester's supplemental expenditure fund, it is equally true that last year they were granted $7,000 in total funds as opposed to the GBLST's $21,000. Considering that the mean request from all student organizations was $6,568.01, one would think that the DTH would pay at least as much attention on the latter organization as it has the former when it decides to report on fiscal responsibility.

Furthermore, these examples do not have to be seen in light of "liberal" or "conservative." The fact is that Students for Life contributed to some sort of intellectual conversation over an issue about which the university suppresses dialogue whereas the drag show was an inconsequential program produced by an overfunded interest group. Not only that, but the drag show also did not contribute to the promulgation of the university mission in the least. The money spent for the drag show is an example of waste that Congress is there to safeguard against. The Congress has many tools at its disposal with which to use when it comes to enacting their responsibilities. For one, the congress has the ability to pass bills and resolutions or enact laws that would benefit the general welfare of the university. Fiscal responsibility should build these bills' foundation.

Thankfully, an example to illustrate these points. A recent bill that Congress has discussed (but voted down) meant to "change budget appropriations." In this legislation, the Congress would call for the creation of a Legislative Audit Board whose responsibility it would be "to review all budget requests and appropriations of Congress." This is an example of how fiscal conservatism can be achieved without total disregard for the diversity of our student body.

Congress should not be rendered impotent because of one out of twenty-two enumerated powers. Rather, Congress should stop pretense at "viewpoint neutrality" and provide more stringent guidelines for handing out student fee money.

Congress should not be overly politically partisan in nature. It does not have to be. A practical solution (or at least a first step) would be to require reports from organizations that prove that their events and programs contribute meaningfully to the university mission and are in line with the traditions of the university.

To put things in perspective and to use hard facts and numbers, if Student Congress were to cut out expenditures to printing and publicity they could cut out about $73,000 or 20 percent of their annual budget.

Congress should not allow itself to be tied down by a vague, unenforceable rule of "viewpoint neutrality," but should be innovative in its approach to solving wasteful spending. **CR**

SEX ON CAMPUS



by ALEX MACEY
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Carolina's view of sex is liberating but not empowering

There comes a time when Carolina students find themselves unperturbed by the Pit Preacher's trademark insults. His accusations, which consistently center on matters of sexuality, include such original lines as "This campus is full of fornicators," or "you are all a bunch of lusty hussies" – presumptions whose overarching simplicity and derogatory manner elicit little more than ridicule.

Regardless, Carolina lies among the myriad of campuses nationwide that have fallen subject to an utter fascination with sexuality. Mark Driscoll, a national speaker who visited the UNC campus in February, addressed what he deemed an epidemic that plagues today's universities. "Sex is God," he told a student-packed Great Hall. Though terse, his statement veiled an undeniable truth, one that the many students who deify sexuality simply will not be able to evade.

There is no doubt that sex has long been, and remains, an enormously prominent feature of Carolina life. After all, this is the campus that warmly hosted Sue Johansen, whose image graced The Daily Tar Heel along with a caption vividly describing one of her ribald demonstrations. Here, the "I Love Female Orgasm" event attracted a line that snaked through the Student Union, but a speaker promoting the benefits of abstinence hardly filled the Great Hall. It is this campus, also, that so proudly touts the "Vagina Monologues," a crude attempt to encourage openness in matters of personal sexual identity.

The immediate question remains, why the fascination? Undeniably, the college scene is in every way conducive to sex. For one, various student organizations promote sexual confidence as both positive and empowering. Though The Daily Tar Heel framed the 'Vagina Monologues" as "an international effort to end violence against women," the production was also an attempt to reduce all reservations and encourage people to be more open about their sexuality. Similarly, the "I Love Female Orgasm" event posed as an effort to help students achieve fulfillment through intensifying their sexual experiences.

Yet the student-led initiatives are not solely responsible for cultivating this sexually liberating environment; in fact, the University itself is complicit in making sex more attainable for the entire student population. An advertisement in the student union said

> "Young people, especially in college, long for structure and guidance, but they lack it in one of the largest aspects of their lives: romantic relationships."

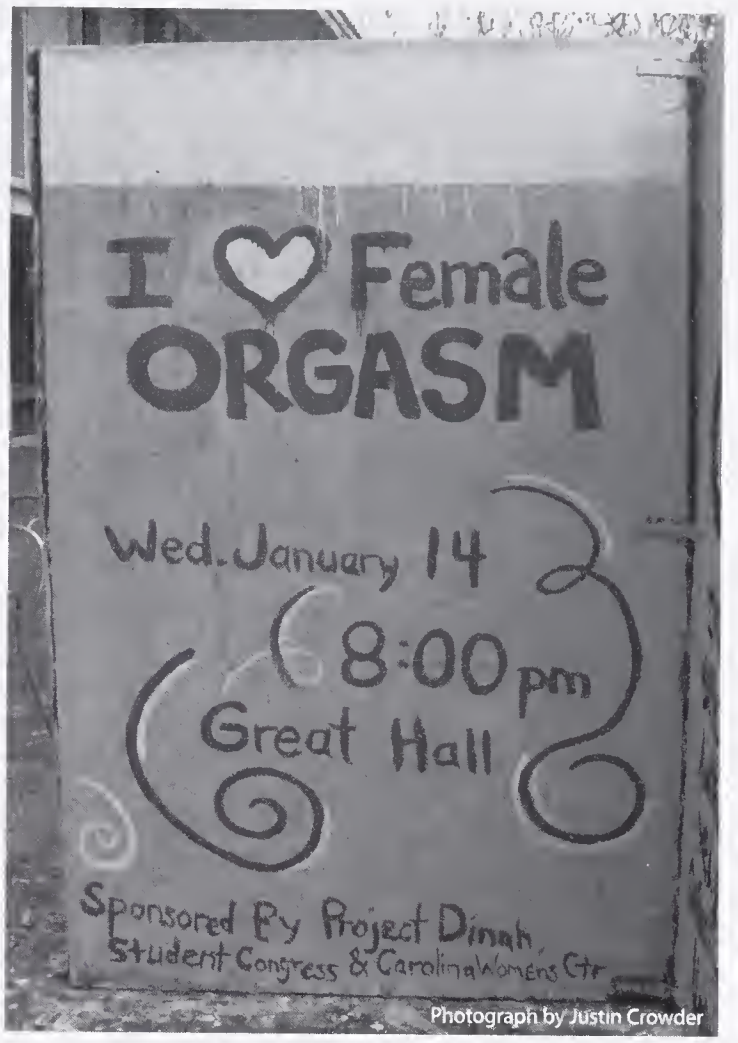
it all: "Hooking up? Hook up with us first! Carolina Health Educators and Counselors on Sexuality can provide you with safer-sex tips, contraception, and answer all your sex questions." While this appears an honorable endeavor on the part of Campus Health Services, their message simply condones increasingly libertine views of sexuality. The constant fixation on making birth control available has the same effect; while it gives students the illusion that they are being responsible, keeping vending machines stocked with condoms will do nothing to tame the reckless sex mania on campus.

Moreover, sex is a dominant part of the college social scene, on the Carolina campus as well as others. Michael Lewis, a senior in the Gillings School of Public Health, offered his perspective. "I feel like there's a large population of students who feel as if, because they aren't into hooking-up or sleeping around, there is no space for them in the social scene at UNC," he said. This is the impression incoming students face when entering the University. Though there is an increasing emphasis on a "hook-up" over the quest for meaningful relationships, students, not wishing to "miss out," partake in that culture whether or not they truly embrace it.

Sexual openness is also exhilarating, particularly when students first discover the overwhelming liberties and opportunities a large campus offers. Sex can provide an outlet for control and security. For instance, students who struggle to assimilate can draw confidence from engaging in the hook-up culture, creating an illusion that they fit in. Moreover, these behaviors are often a way for students to disengage from who they were in high school, inflating them with a sense of bravado and a thrill of being more daring.

Unfortunately, sex is not always conducive to empowerment, security, or bravado. When a casual "hook-up" becomes the only means by which people can relate, even students with strong convictions can fall subject to the trends. A recent Wall Street Journal article entitled "Sex Education" evaluated the social struggles college students face, aptly remarking: "It would take an 18-year-old of superhuman strength to stand up to the pressures of most college environments." The disappointing reality is that very few students will demonstrate the courage to resist the trends. As a result, many will find themselves compromising what they truly believe to be right.

Furthermore, students frequently neglect the physical damages that can arise from irresponsible sex. The risks exceed the current STD outbreak on campus and the inevitable increased risk of unplanned pregnancy: the proliferation of loose sexuality has blazed an open trail for its further abuse through rape. Jessica Edens, co-chair of Project Dinah, a women's safety and empowerment group on campus, enumerated the extent to which this abuse occurs. Apparently, one in four women will be raped or sexually assaulted during their college careers. "We believe that women need to be comfortable with themselves so that they can communicate properly with their partners," she said. Yet she also broached an equally important, but less obvious concern: "Men must also be educated in order to respect women and learn to see [them] as unique individuals—not as homogenous sexual objects." Clearly, then, female empowerment does not ride solely on sexual confidence. In fact, true self-respect stems from restraint and an acknowledgement of one's limits.



Photograph by Justin Crowder

Sexual looseness also has appreciable emotional ramifications. In the social culture, women are generally condemned for sleeping around while men are applauded for it – a condition that inevitably leads to bitterness and resentment. Yet there are more fundamental differences between men and women that suggest that sex is perhaps a larger deal than most people make it.

Sexual activity releases oxytocin, a bonding hormone which is very strong in women. As a result, after physical intimacy, a woman is more likely than a man to develop deep emotional attachments. In a culture that treats sex so casually, many women wind up feeling used, unappreciated, and crushed.

Again, this should lead students to question whether loose sexuality is really conducive to a woman's empowerment. After all, the regret and pain that inevitably follow an irresponsible hookup leave people feeling anything but empowered. "People want their sex lives to have emotional meaning and be based on love, but with a culture that promotes sex as a fun game, it's hard to have that transformation occur," Lewis said when asked to share his perceptions about general attitudes toward sexuality. "But the desire for a constructive and healthy culture that encourages some sense of morality and attributes some higher emotions and connotations to sexual relationships is there."

This, indeed, is the crux of the issue. There are people who recognize the weightiness of engaging in sexual activity, but many are simply afraid to speak up. To resist the strong tides of the popular culture, after all, is extremely difficult.

There are some campus organizations that strive to restore a more wholesome view of sexuality on campus, either by example or action – for instance, Campus Crusade sponsored Driscoll, a national speaker who addresses college students and enumerates the physical and emotional benefits of refraining from loose and irresponsible sex. Other organizations, like the Newman Catholic Student Center, simply strive to set the tone by their attitudes. While not as outspoken on campus issues, students at Newman set the tone by refraining from engagement in the hook-up culture and prizing more meaningful relationships.

Sexuality is a deeply personal issue, and how people regard it is their own business. The issue leaves the private, individual realm, however, when the general campus atmosphere deems sex necessary for self-affirmation and fulfillment. Young people, especially in college, long for structure and guidance, but they lack it in one of the largest aspects of their lives: romantic relationships. When even the University promotes a reckless and meaningless view of sexuality, they simply cannot find it. As one of the most prestigious universities in the nation, UNC is not only capable, but obligated to lead its students toward that structure, that true comfort and security which comes only with the development of authentic self-respect. **CR**

Despotic Democracy



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The Child Care Fee Referendum reveals a flaw in our logic of self-government

The recent one-sidedness of the debate over the Child Care Services fee increase offers a timely chance for a civics lesson on constitutional democracy and the implications of a referendum.

To the dismay of many in student government and the Carolina Women's Center, Student Congress voted against placing the $10 increase on the ballot of the February student government election. As those involved proceeded to collect a sufficient number of signatures to have it on the February 17th runoff ballot, a firestorm of debate ensued, and those in favor unleashed a barrage of rhetoric against Congress for depriving students of the right to choose whether they want the increase.

An often ignored aspect of the proposal was that it represented a 500 percent increase from the original fee designed to add three times as many participants to the program, which offers child care to students demonstrating financial need; even more damaging is that the increase of participation would still leave the program's size at a number under 100 students, minutely insignificant considering over 20,000 students would be paying over $12.

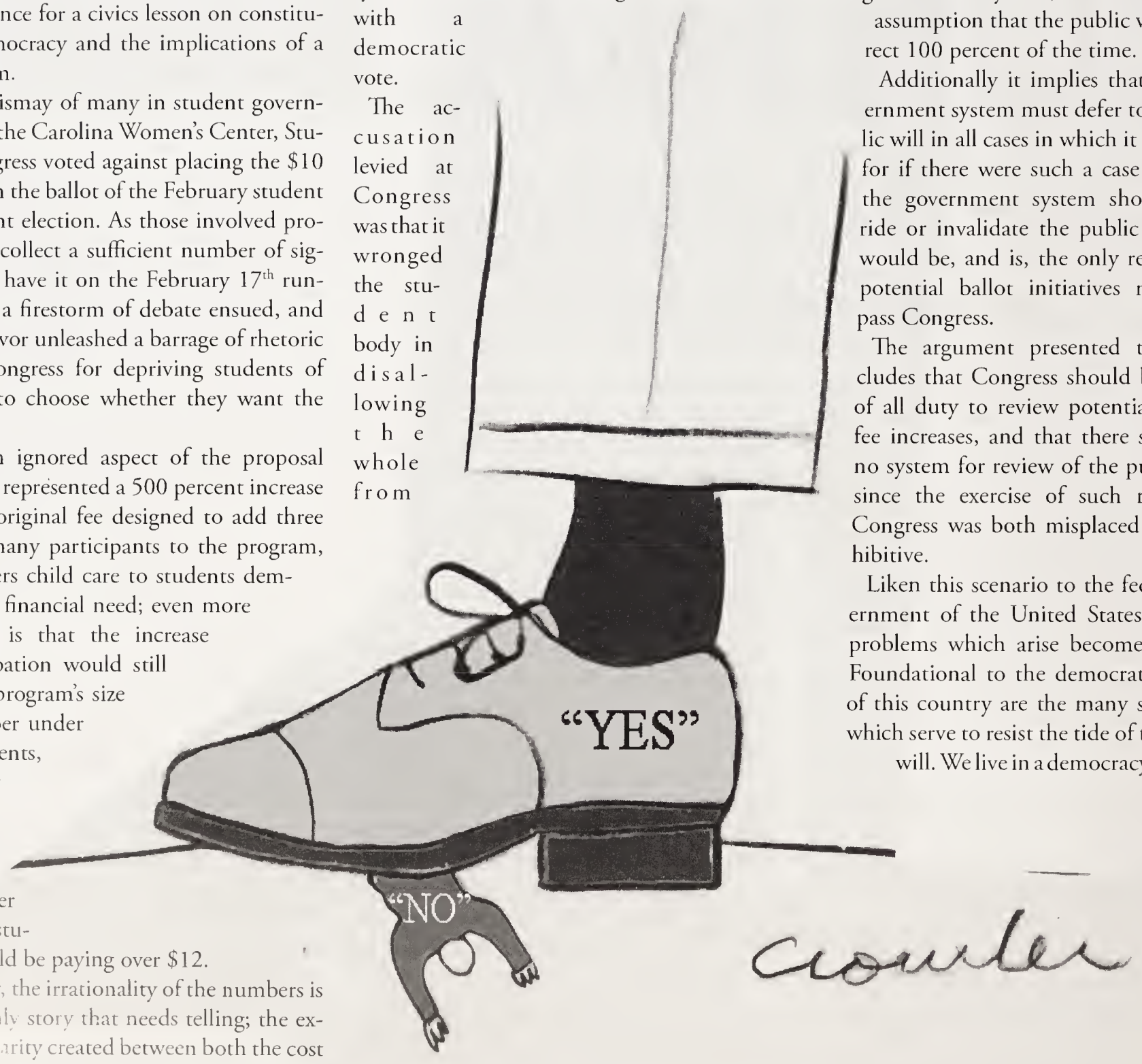
However, the irrationality of the numbers is not the only story that needs telling; the extreme disparity created between both the cost per student and the size of the student body and the size of the program makes this case a perfect one to comment on broader philosophical questions regarding the student fee system and deciding such matters with a democratic vote.

The accusation levied at Congress was that it wronged the student body in disallowing the whole from deciding on whether it wanted to spend money on the Child Care program. Such a simplistic argument fails to properly understand and explore the role of the public will in a government system, for it implies the assumption that the public will is correct 100 percent of the time.

Additionally it implies that the government system must defer to the public will in all cases in which it is known, for if there were such a case in which the government system should override or invalidate the public will, this would be, and is, the only reason that potential ballot initiatives must first pass Congress.

The argument presented thus concludes that Congress should be voided of all duty to review potential student fee increases, and that there should be no system for review of the public will, since the exercise of such review by Congress was both misplaced and prohibitive.

Liken this scenario to the federal government of the United States, and the problems which arise become obvious. Foundational to the democratic system of this country are the many safeguards which serve to resist the tide of the public will. We live in a democracy in which the people rule the government – in an ideal sense the public will and the government can be treated as synonymous because the former speaks through the latter.



Even that will is not supremely authoritative, however, and the gross misconception that it is has fostered a political culture which disregards the truly supreme authority: the rights of the individual. The will of the public is subservient to the inviolable rights of the people, and this is evidenced simply by the existence of our Constitution. Perhaps even the concept of a Constitution suggests that there are bounds within which the public will acts through the governing system, and that these bounds, defined by the constitution, cannot be broken, even by the people acting a majority.

Had our political principles dictated that the general will of the people be the supreme authority of our government, our Constitution would provide for the mechanics of the system by which this authority would be exercised; the document was in fact much more extensive and had an additional primary purpose: to safeguard the rights of the states and of the individuals against the general will of the public. The Framers foresaw that even when spread across a mass public, power has a predictable trend of expansion.

They therefore introduced the doctrine of separation of powers to complement that of democracy; it is worth noting that the former is not granted proper appreciation for its role in the American governmental system. The two have been blurred into the abstract conception of what that governmental system is, and this has voided separation of powers of the distinctiveness of what it particularly offers.

The federal government was designed to have two branches that exercised the authority of the public will: the executive and the legislative. The third, the judiciary, is independent from the public will and thus acts as a limitation of it. Alexander Hamilton stated this lucidly in Federalist Paper 78, arguing for the independent judiciary. After explicitly referencing the Court as a limit upon the legislature, he wrote, "In a republic it is a no less excellent barrier to the encroachments and oppressions of the representative body."

In penning these words Hamilton resolved the question of whether the general will could expand its authority beyond established limits, and set forth that there were higher principles to which the general will was subservient. Such limits were designed to protect individual rights over a potentially encroaching majority, and they were not to be crossed under the disguise of democracy.

I return now to the question of Child Care Services fee and the implication a referendum legitimately authorizes the university to collect such a fee if the general will agrees through a majority. The assumption that the public will is always deferred to has been adequately dispelled – clearly United States constitution makes no assumption and in fact expected for there to be circumstances in which the public will needed overturning. This exposes that the primary argument of those in favor of the fee increase is intellectually shallow and completely without foundational precedent.

Though the university does not have an enumeration of rights, and the system established here is radically different in form to that of a governing body, these principles remain relevant because of the philosophical perspective offered by the majority view. That perspective is one of choice – that a referendum preserves the choice of the student body to decide how it should spend its money.

Such backward thinking is precisely what limits on the general will serve to prevent; choice is a right of the individual, not of a collective body, and it is violated, not preserved, when a referendum passes forcing all of those in the minority to cede their property to a cause the general will thought justified.

There are certain basic functions which the general will must perform to serve the public needs of a whole society: a military, public roads, etc. Individuals yield a little of their property to accomplish those needs which impact the whole, and outside of that the general will only preserves rights through negative action – that is, restricting violations of rights such as murder and thievery.

When the general will acts positively, granting material gain to some at the expense of taking it from others, it has violated the right of the individual it seeks to protect, and it has expanded its power beyond its limits. In other words, positive government, through referendum or not, has nothing to do with choice. In depends instead deprivation of choice, spending private property as a falsely collective voice.

Ultimately this debate rests on precisely where one draws the line between when it is justified for the public to spend money collectively and when it is not. I have offered one proposal here; the Child Care Services fee offers another. To vote for or against the increase is therefore a judgment of political values, and that judgment will be treated in a future column.

Perhaps that is the question those in favor of the fee increase should answer; it is a question for which their nonsensical faith in the majority is not an adequate answer, nor is their deprave understanding of choice. **CR**

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North Carolina's Collegiate Journal

Vision of Progress



by ZACH DEXTER
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A shift in philosophy needs to start at the federal level

Recently, UNC Student Body President J.J. Raynor collected enough signatures to place the Child Care Services fee increase on the student election ballot. Students tussled over whether the student body as a whole should subsidize childcare costs for a few dozen students.

Fighting redistribution on such a small scale is futile. The University of North Carolina system is already a system of socialized education. Students with children are presumably pursuing education in order to sustain their families, and a $10-per-student welfare collection now could mean less welfare later should childcare costs force some students to drop out. If students want to pay for other peoples' childcare, then they can vote to force other people to join in on the fun.

The real trouble lies on the federal level. Congress and the President are currently stealing the keys to the economy and turning them over to unelected bureaucrats. These bureaucrats send "mexed missages," as former President Bush once said, on what the private sector can expect the next major government action to be.

These mixed messages send private capital into hiding. Private capital can read the market to a certain extent. But it cannot predict the whims of senators and representatives who often ignore basic macroeconomics when formulating policies.

Each hour, the federal government forces many workers to pay the IRS the dollar equivalent of between 10 and 25 minutes' worth of productivity. Much of the revenue collected from these taxes is lost in bureaucracy, and a lot of the money that is actually spent goes towards creating economic inefficiencies via increased government interference in price signals. Subsidies for inefficient technology, price floors, de-facto excise taxes on domestic automobiles (via CAFE standards), and socialized health insurance for people who already have good insurance (via the recent expansion of SCHIP) – these are all products of left-leaning politicians' insatiable desire to get the government involved in everything.

Each hour, the federal government forces many workers to pay the IRS the dollar equivalent of between 10 and 25 minutes' worth of productivity. Much of the revenue collected from these taxes is lost in bureaucracy, and a lot of the money that is actually spent goes towards creating economic inefficiencies via increased government interference in price signals.

Each of these inefficiencies has a special-interest group lobbying senators and congressmen to give them special treatment and to shut out the competition. Protectionists often push for tariffs that help their workers at enormous cost to society as a whole. But special interest groups get their way in Washington, and they will as long the federal government has the broad authority that it has created for itself over the years.

I envision lightweight government-funded welfare programs that rely on tax-deductible vouchers for most and time-capped subsidies for those who really need help. These programs retain some redistribution but largely replace government control with individual choice. These choices create competition, improving the quality of the services taxpayers are funding.

One area in which choices will improve the quality of service is healthcare. Congress should create a universal health insurance tax

credit instead of subsidizing all care. When buyers can choose where to put their health-care dollars, providers will compete for their money, reducing cost. This competition also ensures quality of care; if one doctor provides poor care, buyers will switch to another doctor. A single-payer system does not allow for competition.

The health insurance tax credit should be part of a comprehensive health care reform package that eliminates government pricing of any health care goods or services and reduces the screening burdens imposed by the FDA on new, lifesaving drugs. These reforms can mark the starting point on our road to a prosperous, capitalistic future.

The real trouble lies on the federal level. Congress and the President are currently stealing the keys to the economy and turning them over to unelected bureaucrats.

The road to a capitalistic society should also include the elements of the European model that have been most successful, such as school vouchers and privatized airports. Along the way, we should eliminate deadbeat federal agencies like FEMA (the ineffective bureaucracy that bought thousands of trailers with toxic formaldehyde) and trust emergency management to our already-effective state National Guard commands.

Our leaders must eliminate barriers to progress. For example, they must push against special interests like teachers' unions who often seek to deny school choice to poor, inner-city kids in order to promote teachers' interests.

For example, the successful Washington, D.C. school choice program has provided thousands of poor kids, most barely living above the poverty line, with an opportunity to select the schools that are best for them. The program is highly effective from a financial standpoint. The Cato institute reports that while average spending per student per year in the D.C. public school system is $24,000, voucher schools cost under $6,000 per student, and voucher students perform equally well on examinations.

The D.C. voucher program helps contain costs and give poor students more opportunities to excel, but Congressional Democrats inserted language in the 2009 omnibus spending bill which limits funding of the program. This February, the D.C. Examiner reported that "the American Federation of Teachers ... shelled out $2.8 million in the last cycle – with nearly every AFT dime going to Democrats."

Barriers to progress such as this will exist as long as special interests have an enormous stake in the activities of the government. But when government is limited, special interests have no need to vigorously compete for special advantages over more-efficient alternatives.

Both parties succumb to special interests. And when Republicans hold the majority, they overspend. When Democrats reign, they overspend and create foolhardy protectionist trade policies. Both parties (though mostly Democrats) implement policies that badly distort price signals, decreasing economic efficiency. Both parties will do this until the end of time - it's the nature of politics. So, here's the key: reduce the power and influence of the federal government.

In a limited government, do-gooders are restricted from doing harm. They are unable to accidentally destroy the economy or implement policies that accidentally kill jobs, punish productivity or hurt workers.

To further reduce the influence of do-gooders and special interests, federal legislators should phase out all laws that don't have everything to do with keeping commerce regular between the states. Almost all inefficiency-creating bills are justified under the interstate commerce clause. And almost all recent bills create inefficiencies.

As we begin phasing out burdensome and ineffective legislation, we must remember that private charity and individual initiative will not immediately address the needs of those who were cast aside by dependence on the government or the opportunity costs of government interventions in the economy.

States and municipalities can run the competition-based welfare programs that will accompany us on our transition to a society where large-scale welfare will not be as necessary because we will all be more prosperous. I like keeping things local. Just don't ask me to buy from your local farmer – I'd rather support the much-poorer workers in Mexico. That's more efficient.

America needs leaders who will initiate a shift toward economic freedom and efficiency. These leaders must be masters of communication, able to feel the public mood and use their knowledge of that mood to create mental connections with voters. They must put into layman's terms the rigorous quantitative economic analysis that proves market-based solutions are better for the people than government-run programs.

Instead of fighting against small-scale redistribution, let's focus our energy on developing the leaders that will move society forward. Once the capitalistic model is implemented, change for the better for people of all means will flow from the federal level down to the state level – and eventually, to our beloved University. **CR**



Presidents Bush and Obama both have the United States on a track toward increasing the size and influence of the federal government.

Defining "FACISM"



by CHRISTOPHER JONES
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Misapplying extreme term discredits political discourse

In the 2004 election season, an email and internet meme began circulating which posited fourteen characteristics of fascist governments. Although purporting to be the work of a political scientist, the list was taken from a 2003 article in *Free Inquiry* magazine, authored by Laurence Britt, a novelist whose book *June 2004* chronicles a takeover of America by radical fascists. The article listed various purported characteristics of a fascist state, such as powerful nationalism, militarism, blending of religion and government, corporate power and fraudulent elections. The purpose of the article was to cast suspicion on the Bush administration and its supporters as a potential fascist regime in waiting.

Indeed, rivulets of such paranoia abounded amongst members of the American left throughout the early 2000s. The 2005 Hollywood film *V for Vendetta* portrayed a terrorist as a hero fighting against a totalitarian English government which stages a "false flag" bioterrorist attack on its own people in order to justify its seizure of power, and then colludes with the Church of England to persecute Muslims, homosexuals and atheists.

The 2006 mock documentary *Death of a President* portrays the assassination of George W. Bush, followed by repressive measures taken inside the United States. It was common, especially on college campuses, to [illegible] George W. Bush labeled a "fascist" or [illegible] to Hitler.

[illegible] Republican Party, religious conservatives [illegible] big business interests were viewed by many as a threat to America's future and this fear was expressed by historical analogy to the rise of various regimes considered fascist. At the core of this idea is the concept that fascism is an extreme form of conservativism and we must guard against slipping towards it.

This line of thinking makes sense only when history is viewed through a selective lens. For example, using Nazi Germany as an example of a regime generally considered to be fascist (more on this later), a close examination will reveal that many policies of the Nazis were not particularly conservative.

The word "Nazi" was short for *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*, or National Socialist German Worker's Party. The party's platform, the 25-point National Socialist Program, called for a number of socialist programs. Point 14 called for "profit-sharing in large industries." Point 12 demanded the confliscation of large profits made by military contractors, while Point 16 called for "the immediate communalization of large stores which will be rented cheaply to small tradespeople." Point 15 stated that "we demand a generous increase in old-age pensions." Point 17 called for the government to have the power to confiscate privately owned land without compensation to the owners.

The ideology of the Nazis is summed up by the concluding principle of the 25-point program: "Common Good before Individual Good." Nazi Germany was a collectivist state which put the needs of the state above all else. Individuals could be deprived of property, life or liberty if it was in line with the 'common good' of building a strong German state. This is the exact opposite of American conservative ideals of individual liberty and minimal government interference in everyday life.

The second problem with the idea that fascism is an extreme form of conservativism is that there is no universal working definition of what constitutes fascism. Among the regimes which have been characterized as fascist are Adolf Hitler's Germany, Benito Mussolini's Italy, Francisco Franco's Spain, Antonio Salazar's Portugal, Hideki Tojo's Japan, Augusto Pinochet's Chile, and Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

These governments have nothing in common in terms of ideology, and pursued vastly different policies. Mussolini and Saddam pursued state controlled economies, while Franco and Pinochet pursued free market policies. Hitler, Tojo, Saddam and Mussolini pursued militaristic expansion of their territory, while Franco, Salazar and Pinochet fought to hold on to their existing territory but did not seek to expand their borders.

In terms of ideology, Hitler preached the superiority of the Germanic race and its destiny to rule lesser races through the process of natural selection. Mussolini had little affinity for theories of racial superiority but still pursued the expansion of Italian power and influence in the world. Franco and Salazar pursued anti-communist and pro-colonial policies but lacked a strong ideological commitment. Pinochet had a similar style of governing, coupled with a strong belief in free markets. Tojo and many other Japanese leaders of his time advocated Japanese racial superiority and a divine mission to expand their borders. Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party believed in pan-Arab socialism and anti-colonialism.

All that the governments of these leaders had in common was that they were all dictatorships, they all had repressive security services to enforce their rule, and they all pursued anti-communist policies.

What this really means is that any non-communist nation with authoritarian rule (or that is perceived to be such) can be labeled as 'fascist', making the term almost meaningless as a working political definition.

Hardly any of these ideologies can described as conservative, at least not in the American sense. In fact, it's impossible to assign points on the American political spectrum to the aforementioned regimes. Each one combined policies considered liberal with policies considered conservative, along with a large dose of policies foreign to American politics altogether. Our political spectrum does not accurately accommodate political ideologies from different countries and time periods.

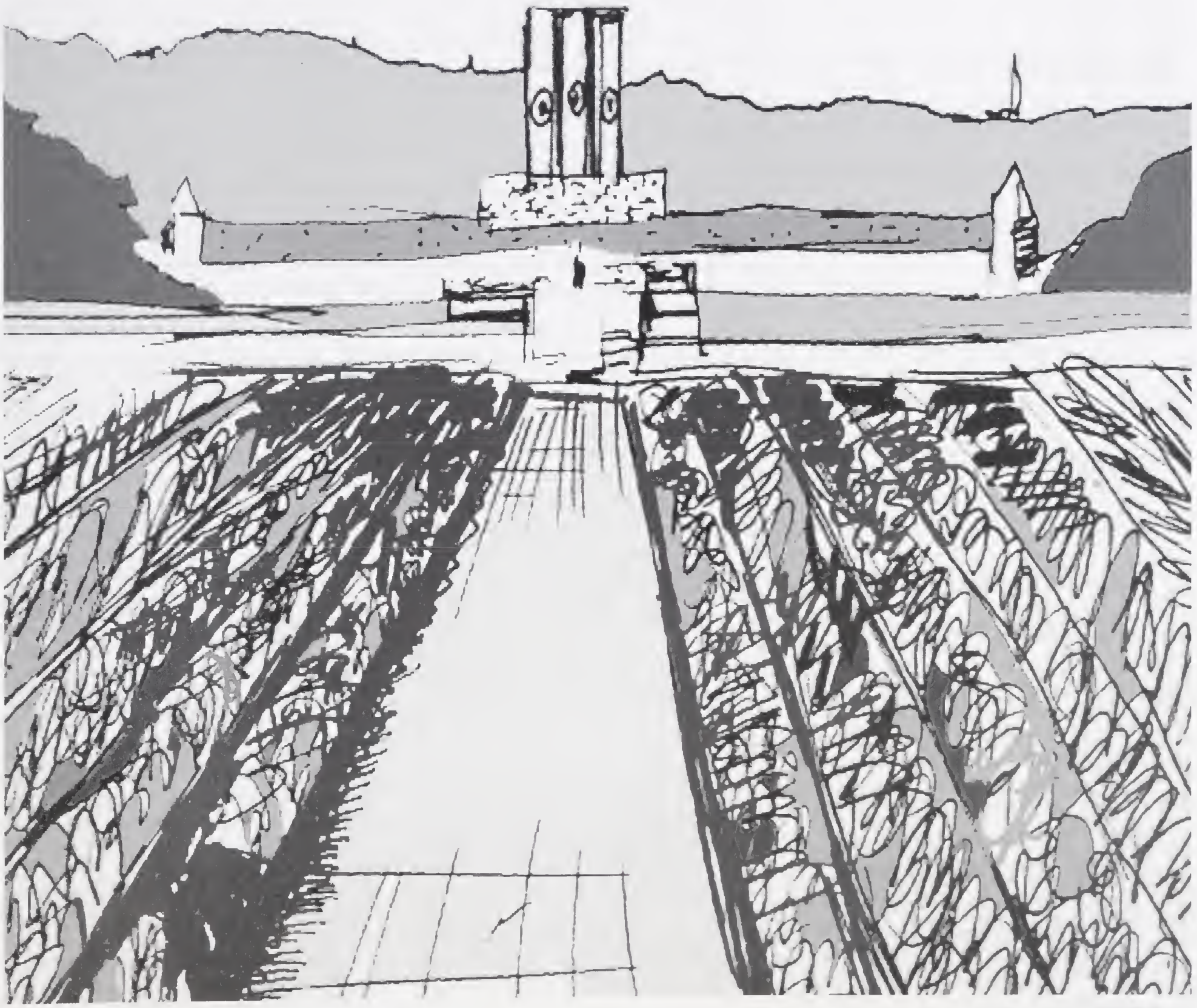
Instead, 'fascist' has become a pejorative term for any government which is disliked by the left wing of American politics. The use of such language is a simple attempt to link the target of the invective to the unsavory regimes mentioned above, regardless of whether or not this comparison makes sense.

Conservatives are too often prone to similar hysterics. It is not uncommon to hear Americans from the liberal side of the political spectrum labeled as 'communists' or other, more derogatory versions of the same term. Once again, left-wing American politicians such as Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton and Nancy Pelosi are far removed from communism.

While they advocate greater government regulation of the economy, redistributive tax policy and socialization of certain industries such as health care, none of the above politicians advocate a revolution against the bourgeoisie, the mass redistribution of property, the nationalization of all major industry, the collectivization of agriculture or the creation of a single-party authoritarian state ruled by a Politburo. Without advocating these core tenets of communism, Obama, Pelosi and company cannot seriously be considered communist.

The use of 'fascist' and 'communist' as slurs by various sides of the political spectrum are just one example of unnecessarily inflammatory political language which is all too common. George W. Bush, Donald Rumsfeld and Dick Cheney are far removed from Hitler, Mussolini or Franco. Likewise, Nancy Pelosi and Barack Obama are far removed from Mao Zedong, Karl Marx and Josef Stalin.

Rather than promoting intellectual discourse and the competition of ideas that are vital for the survival of a democratic society, such rhetoric serves to demonize political opponents by comparing them to some of history's worst regimes. It is an appeal to emotional moral revulsion rather than an appeal to logic and reason. And logic and reason are something which are sorely lacking in America's political landscape these days. **CR**



Confounding Keynes



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An interview with Professor John McCallie

> In contrast to the Keynesians, the Classicals argue that the drop in spending is not the cause but the effect of some kind of inadvertent destruction of capital. To the Classicals, destroyed capital cannot merely be replaced by printing more money or by deficit spending on public works.

In the current environment of stimulus packages, tax rebates, and bailouts, there seems to be a resurgence of belief in the ability of government to restore the struggling economy. Everyone in the media and academia is calling for Keynesian remedies. But there are some who dissent. One such group is the Austrian School of Economics.

The Austrian School was founded in 1871 with the publication of Carl Menger's *Principles of Economics*. It has included such luminaries as Ludwig von Mises, Israel Kirzner, and Nobel Laureate Friedrich Hayek. However, Austrian thought is relatively obscure. An economics major could easily graduate from UNC without ever being exposed to the Austrians.

In times like these, where mainstream thought has failed and mainstream solutions are so onerous, it's more important than ever to search for answers outside of the monolithic economic orthodoxy. We have spoken to Professor John McCallie of the UNC Department of Economics. He received his undergraduate degree from UNC in chemistry. He went on to Auburn University with a fellowship at the Ludwig von Mises Institute where he graduated with a doctorate in economics concentrated on monetary theory and international economics.

AD: Many of our readers are unfamiliar with von Mises or Hayek or the Austrian School in general. Could you give us a quick outline of the Austrian School in its theories and possible applications?

JM: The Austrian School is a distinctive body of thought just as is the Chicago School of Economics or the London School of Economics where the name signifies the country of origin. Austrian Economics is known for its particular methodology that was for the most part modeled by its founder, Carl Menger, who lived in Austria. The methodology focuses on the sovereignty of the individual to pursue their own interest as the most fundamental unit of study—that, barring force and fraud, the individual is the best arbiter of his or her wants and needs. A strict application of this methodology has led to the understanding that personal ends are the "final cause" so to speak in dictating the allocation of resources. This and other strict applications of theory and experience have made the Austrian School, along with the Chicago School, some of the most forceful advocates of capitalism for economic growth and general prosperity.

The School is commonly criticized for not adopting a "physics" model of science, but it recognizes that there are no mathematical constancies in market relationships or that cause and effect in human decisions are not derived from mathematics. The Austrians do not reject the notion of general equilibrium models, but I would say they reject the notion that the models are a depiction of the market at any given time. I think that it would be better to say that general equilibrium is the *best explanation of the tendencies* in the market, other things equal. Hence the Austrian focus in on market *processes* and *causal* relationships. Even given the difficulties here, it is understood that reality is the final arbiter of any theory.

If you will, economics can be instructively divided into two very distinct worldviews, or mindsets: the *Classical* view and the *Keynesian* view. It is common to observe the coexistence of wealth and spending in the world. Keynesians conclude that spending

causes wealth, while the Classicals conclude that wealth causes spending—that spending is the effect. Hence, for Keynesians, recessions reflect insufficient spending—the likely culprit being too much savings; whereas, the Classicals regard savings as necessary for economic growth and reject the notion that recessions reflect too much savings. From their point of view, a recession or unexpected drop in income reflects some kind of inadvertent consumption of capital (probably resulting from policy).

The Classical view is often misunderstood or misrepresented in this case. In rejecting the possibility of too much savings or too little money for that matter, the Classicals were assuming a competitive issuance of currency in a free banking environment. Under such conditions, the banking system is in a position to issue a sufficient amount of money to meet all the demands of the economy without being inflationary and the possibility of too much savings is indeed ruled out. In any case, it is mistaken to think that the flow of money stops when people save. In my opinion, the Austrian School would come closest to the classical way of thinking today, especially with respect to monetary theory.

AD: How does Austrian Theory relate to, say, the current economic crisis?

JM: Actually, the economic crisis illuminates a key difference between the Classicals and Keynesians. Again, the Keynesian mindset is that the current crisis is precipitated by a sharp drop in private spending for whatever reasons, hence the call for government deficit spending presumably on public works to take up the slack. Given that consumption spending reflects about 70% of total spending (GDP), the Keynesians conclude that the economy is largely driven by consumption spending, which is why they are intent on getting money in the hands that will spend it and not save it, even though a few months ago their chief concern was excessive spending and too little savings.

In contrast to the Keynesians, the Classicals argue that the drop in spending is not the cause but the effect of some kind of inadvertent destruction of capital. Rather than being a danger, money saved is loaned out by banks or used by security issuers to invest in wealth- and job-creating ventures. However, it is alarming that an enormous amount of savings is currently being parked in government securities—not that there is any concern that the government will spend it—it just does not bode well for economic growth. These views are irreconcilable in terms of solutions. To the Classicals, destroyed capital cannot merely be replaced by printing more money or by deficit spending on public works.

Austrian business cycle theory provides a credible explanation as to what could have caused an inadvertent consumption of capital in our current situation. In short, the theory recognizes that an "easy money" policy can create an unsustainable investment boom (e.g., a housing bubble) that necessarily results in a bust or recession. In this case, the recession is the cure or the correction (the curtailment and liquidation of the mal-investments created by the easy money policy).

AD: What role did Greenspan play in all this?

JM: As chairman of the Fed, he kept interest rates too low for too long on several occasions. This is more of a consensus than an Austrian view. Easy money initially fueled the dot-com bubble in the 1990s, and when that popped, he cut rates and held them too low for too long again. Interest rates were held at 2% or below for two years, beginning around 2002. They were at 1% for a year!

We had other factors that fanned the flames as well. The government-sponsored enterprises, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, of course, were key in providing liquidity for the mortgage mess, and legislation was also used to strong-arm banks into providing mortgages to low-income households which couldn't afford them. Banks such as Countrywide were heeding the call with very creative-type loans—some called "liar loans." Instead of legislators and regulators questioning policies and practices, they were cheering the process on, which is not unusual when you are in a bubble.

I realize that there are those who want to blame the crisis on the deregulation in the last years of the Clinton administration. Here the wall between commercial and investment banks was removed. However, if this was a problem, Germany and others would have suffered long ago as a result, plus banks like J.P. Morgan and Wells Fargo weathered the crisis better. In this case you would have to say that deregulation was beneficial, other things equal.

AD: You've touched on this a little already, but what do you think the Fed should have done or should do now?

JM: First, the Fed is the lender of last resort and must provide adequate liquidity in times of financial crisis. It is understood that liquidity should be supplied at higher rates—not lower rates. Solvent banks can hence meet liquidity needs and maintain adequate capital. The main goal of the institution should be maintaining a sound monetary system and a non-inflationary currency.

Second, bailouts create a moral hazard problem (encouraging excessive risk by protecting someone from the downside of their decision-making) and "zombie banks" (operating insolvent banks) that were problematic during the S&L Crisis of the 1980s. The Fed and the government should resist solutions primarily based on bailouts.

Third, there is plenty of private capital sitting around and the banks themselves could promptly take care of the bad mortgages even if they have to do it on an individual basis. We could get this behind us except that the market is paralyzed, waiting for the next bailout or government scheme. When it is understood that bailouts are not in the cards, people immediately take responsibility rather than waiting.

Fourth, the "mark-to-market" legislation has had a devastating effect on the financial industry. The law requires a fairly artificial mark down of asset values during down cycles, and this results in artificially depleting bank capital at a time that capital is most needed. Thousands of good jobs have been eliminated as a result of this one policy.

AD: Just as a final question, from what I understand, the Austrian School is mostly about discipline or preventing economic crises. Does the Austrian School have any recommendations for emergency situations?

JM: I think it would be safe to say that the Austrians would suggest that the cure should not be worse than the cause. So, bailout mania would not be the way to go. It badly distorts the incentive mechanism that makes the market work properly and causes greater problems down the road. Obviously, the government should refrain from intrusive policies that further burden the economy already weakened.

Second, in an emergency, the remedy is not a matter of more excessive spending, which squanders even more badly needed capital, but a policy of living within your means and a more productive use of capital and scarce resources.

Next, I would recommend substantial cuts in business taxes and regulations—the U.S. has the second highest corporate taxes in the industrialized world. This would immediately free up a lot of capital. It would also make U.S. manufacturing and businesses more competitive internationally. This is especially true for the auto industry. Right now, we have companies sitting on a lot of cash that is being reserved for tax day. This would be invested immediately if tax rates were cut or eliminated.

Finally, we need to rescind the mark-to-market rules and replace them with rules that do not artificially worsen the crisis but still provide reliable information on the assets of banks and firms. **CR**

CLASSIFIEDS



Gay & Lesbian Travel in the Triangle

Chapel Hill

Tired of the old cliché gay vacation spots? Grab your partner and visit beautiful Chapel Hill. With a liberal arts college at its heart, Chapel Hill is truly a "college town". Full of professors, students, and professionals from the nearby Research Triangle Park, it is also considered one of the most liberal towns in North Carolina and a great destination for the gay traveler. U.S. Senator Jesse Helms once suggested erecting a fence around the town instead of building a new zoo in Asheboro.

Chapel Hill is home to the oldest state university in the country, yet the area is also home to other unique "firsts."

- Chapel Hill was the first municipality in the state to include sexual orientation as a category under North Carolina hate crimes law.
- The Chapel Hill town council was the first in the state to support the repeal of the North Carolina Defense of Marriage Act.
- Chapel Hill was the first municipality in the state to elect an openly gay council member.
- Orange County was the first county in North Carolina to elect an openly gay county commissioner.
- Carrboro, was first community in the state to elect openly gay mayor
- A Chapel Hill Presbyterian church was the first in the state to become More Light congregation.

Because of the abundant cultural attractions of Chapel Hill, the bucolic college town is the preferred place to stay for NC Pride, in Durham in late Sept, and the NC Gay and Lesbian Film Festival, in late August. More information can be found at: http://glcvb.org/lap_rdu.php

Editor's Note: This is a real ad. See *Aggravating Advertising*, page 7

Review Recommendations

In light of the economic troubles our country and state are facing, the University is facing large budget cuts and is considering doing away some classes. We at *The Carolina Review* recommend several classes that should be on the ax list:

Environmental Justice – Since when did polar bears have rights?

Intro to Gay and Lesbian Literature - William Davie created the University so that you could take this course.

Bioethics – Because trying to brainwash your students is not cool.

Two Nations: The Growing Divide in American Society - We already have the esteemed former senator John Edwards to tell us all about this subject.

The entire Women's Studies department, specifically:

Feminism and Political Theory - Well, it can't be based in fact, so it has to be based on theory, I mean it can't just be the random mutterings of women... Wait...

Gender and Imperialism – All you have to do is observe the current reign of Nancy Pelosi.

Women in German Cinema – Seriously, do we even have to make an argument for this one?

The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

With the coming of the Obamessiah, the Rub has full confidence that all of our country's economic woes are now gone.

Panacea

However, we found one thing that thus far Obama has forgotten to either tax or spend.

Or both

It's something that, in our research, we found would have a massive impact on every single person in the country.

Much like exponentially increasing the national debt

President Obama: We need to put a tariff on the sun.

Yes, that's right

Now, unfortunately we can't levy this tax directly on the producer.

90 million miles away, plus it's an inanimate object

That just means we'll have to go after the consumers of this luxury. We must create a new law requiring all people to keep their shutters, blinds and curtains closed at all times.

Will need wiretapping and hidden cameras to enforce

Violators will be fined.

By UNC's Board of Elections

This tariff will have wide-reaching effects, like all good protectionist policies.

That was an oxymoron

Without sunlight, demand for artificial light sources such as lamps will skyrocket. Lamp producers will have to buy more light bulbs. Light bulb producers will buy more wire and glass. Wire and glass producers will have to make more wire and glass.

How's that for trickle-down effects?

We estimate that a policy of this magnitude would create precisely 1,252,869.5 new jobs.

Give or take 1,252,869.5

To limit the usage of this dangerous product outside of the home, we must cap vehicle and factory emissions standards so that folks are forced to emit as many as possible, creating a darkening smog that will protect the planet from damaging rays of light.

Much like Beijing

This will have the dual effect of preventing sunburn and making life more equitable for those who are for whatever reason unable to get a tan.

People shouldn't have free will

Our calculations show that this policy will generate approximately $3,600 in revenue for the government.

That's 0.0000001% of Obama's total budget – almost there!

The key to passing this provision would be to lump it in a bill with a number of other stimulus measures and get it through Congress unnoticed.

Should be a familiar tactic (see: "Buy American")

Also, don't tell a soul about how economists, liberal and conservative alike, unequivocally agree on the benefits of free trade.

Not even sarcastic this time

Ay, there's the rub

Panacea

Paradigms and Principles

Letter to the Editor Validates Need for Continued Discussion

The *Carolina Review* relished its three days of glory when *The Daily Tar Heel* printed a letter to the editor labeling our discrediting of affirmative action as racist, and then following it up with three separate letters from *Review* staff in response. We are still not sure precisely what point it was attempting to advance, as the general structure of the letter was mockery of verifiably true statistics, followed by an indignant claim of the writer's own personal resume, and then a deduced conclusion that the article was, in fact, racist. As logically unsound as the initial letter was (the tirade proved, of course, that the writer was evidently an exception to said statistics), we are confident that some productive dialogue did ensue, and for that we are thankful. The episode validated the motivation for publishing an issue examining civil rights, and the letter exposed a reality regarding the typical state of discussion. A frequently treated subject such as race relations needs refreshing perspectives and thought, and unfounded labels of racism will only confine us to the same old and overstated points. We welcome an actual rebuttal to our arguments, and thank those who contribute to an ongoing campus discussion.

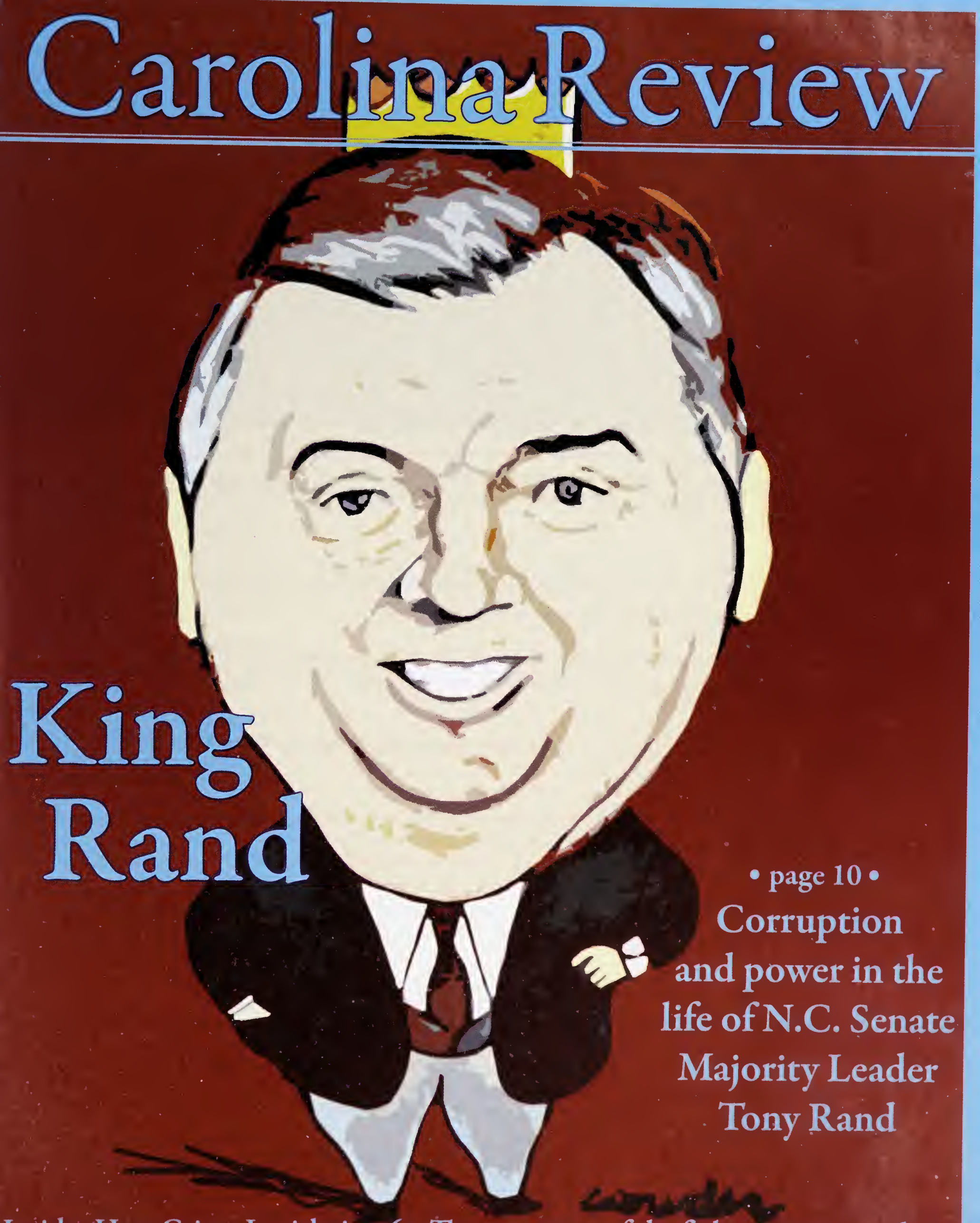
SDS returns with less force

Remember the Students for a Democratic Society and UNC Coalition Against the War protest last spring? Do you still see the stickers advertising it plastered in restrooms and on newspaper boxes all over campus? Last year's protests against five years of the Iraq War, complete with chanting and burning specially printed draft cards, only served to show the campus that we have a small number of sixties radical wannabes in residence at Chapel Hill.

Given that we like to watch historical anachronisms like the SDS make fools of themselves, we were hoping for a new protest to mark the sixth year of the war in Iraq. However, no new protests seem to be forthcoming. What happened? The SDS had a small protest against both the war and the economic bailouts. This strange new alliance of the SDS and conservative economic policy notwithstanding, the lack of any large-scale protest from the dozen or so student organization which make up the UNC Coalition Against the War is surprising. Apparently with the election of Barack Obama and his promises to "end the war in Iraq", protesting is no long necessary because the war is coming to an end.

But wait! Barack Obama recently promised us that not only will we still have troops in Iraq when the seventh anniversary of the start of the war rolls around, but a significant force of up to 50,000 troops will be in Iraq for the eighth anniversary as well. We're just wondering when the members of UNC Coalition Against the War will catch on and realize that their dream president is pursuing the same policies as their most hated president. Maybe we'll see another protest in March 2012, on the ninth anniversary of the beginning of the war?

Carolina Review



King Rand

• page 10 •

Corruption and power in the life of N.C. Senate Majority Leader Tony Rand

Inside: Hate Crime Legislation 6 • The true story of the fight against a student fee increase 12• Obama's attack on charity 14

FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

Twenty years from now few on this campus will identify April 2009 as anything but the month which began with a national championship for our beloved Tar Heel basketball team. It would thus be pretentious at best and perhaps even blasphemous at worst to begin an issue of the *Carolina Review* on any other subject.

Though it may not be the focus of our journalism as it is that other campus publication people seem to love so much, such a prominent cultural event necessitates acknowledgment as the culmination of a four year journey as memorable as the one we witnessed this month.

It was here in the *Review* last year that you read of the self-declared demise of our Yankee friends down the road, cemented by their pitiful thrashing at the hands of Villanova. There could therefore be no better time to be a Tar Heel after our subsequent thrashing of the Wildcats in route to the event Carolina students so fervently seek upon arrival at this university.

This season we saw Hansbrough, Green, and Frasor win their fourth out of four at Cameron Indoor, ending any hope that the seniors of our rival peers will ever witness anything special on their home floor. They chose the wrong school for that. We saw them win on senior night to complete a season sweep. We saw Duke bow out before the Elite Eight for the fifth straight season.

Finally, we stormed the court of the Dean Dome as time expired, sang the alma mater as if they could hear us in Detroit, and then rushed Franklin Street to declare to the world the joy of Tar Heel Nation. The experience ought to keep you smiling until next year.

No state in the Union boasts of their college sports team like North Carolina boasts of the Heels, and the reaction of our state made clear that the basketball might of the south's most storied university still rests second to none.

Congratulations to the 2009 National Champions, and be proud, North Carolina, those Yankees will be jealous.

This month's issue of *Carolina Review*, nonetheless, does not have basketball as its theme. Try as we might, it just doesn't match our mission statement, and there is still conservatism to espouse, especially in North Carolina's increasingly authoritarian General Assembly. The cover article by Anthony Dent seeks to expose N.C. Senate Majority Leader Tony Rand as the true ruler of the North Carolina, and its most corrupt and manipulative politician. His special interest projects and closed-door deals are so obvious it is embarrassing he is still popular.

Justin Crowder examines the proposed public space smoking ban in the General Assembly and demonstrates the lack of necessity and violation of private will that define such an expansion of government power.

Lastly, Zach Dexter argues that hate crimes legislation being studied at the state level is not only a dangerous regulation of speech and thought, but it logically fails since it prohibits acts that are already obviously criminal.

[illegible] and Go Heels!

Sincerely,
Nash Keune and Bryan Weynand, *Co-Editors*

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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NEW BLOG DESIGN

Carolina Review's Blog is now new and improved. Featuring the same design as our Web site, the blog is now even easier to navigate. Check it out online at **unc.edu/cr/.**

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Want more reading? Explore the Review's book reviews at **unc.edu/cr/features/.**

IMPROVED ARCHIVE

Now it is even easier to explore Carolina Review's back issues. Every issue from 1999 to 2006 is online and available for download at **unc.edu/cr/archive/.**

CHEERS & JEERS

March 2009 The March 2009 issue of the Carolina Review examines the view of sex espoused by our campus culture and showed that it offers false liberation at the expense of preserving genuine meaning. It also analyzed the problems with referenda allowing tyranny of the majority, and it criticized the Fairness Doctrine for what it is, a violation of free press. As usual, you can read our old issues online at **unc.edu/cr/**

Comment on March articles at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com**.



Carolina Review is printed on 100 percent non-recyclable, non-biodegradable newsprint manufactured from virgin rainforest trees.

CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

* We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.

* We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

Contact Carolina Review

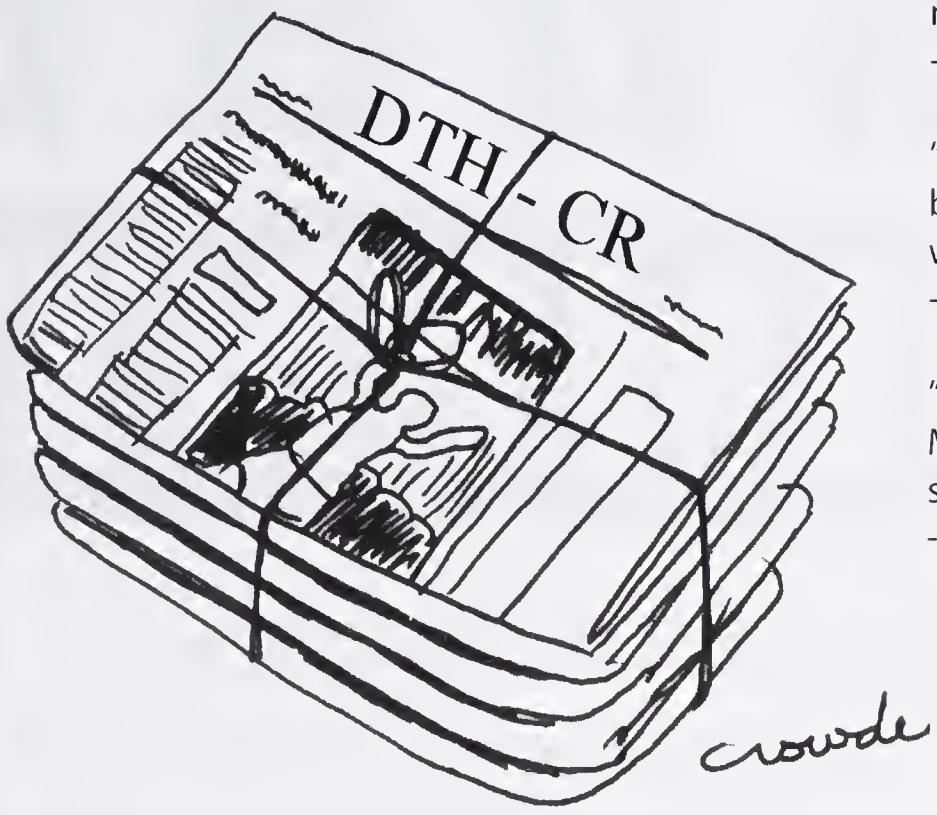
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Online
The Carolina Review Web site includes staff information, our complete mission statement, and search tools. In addition, you can access our archives, special features, and blog. Just point your browser to www.unc.edu/cr/.

VIEWPOINTS



"I'm so overexposed, I'm making Paris Hilton look like a recluse."
- Barack Obama

"None of us got where we are solely by pulling ourselves up by our bootstraps."
- Thurgood Marshall

"Just talk to me as a father - not what the Constitution says. What do you feel?"
- Joe Biden



"Capitalism is the foundation of civilisation and is the only means by which the population can be supplied with the necessities of life."
- Winston Churchill

"To me, consensus seems to be the process of abandoning all beliefs, principles, values and policies. So it is something in which no one believes and to which no one objects."
- Margaret Thatcher

"How do you tell a communist? Well, it's someone who reads Marx and Lenin. And how do you tell an anti-Communist? It's someone who understands Marx and Lenin."
- Ronald Reagan



LA, LA, LA! I GUESS WHAT I'M TRYING TO SAY IS, BLASPHEMY IS COOL. LA, LA, LA!

"The absolute good is not a matter of opinion but of nature."
- Cicero

"There is no maxim, in my opinion, which is more liable to be misapplied, and which, therefore, more needs elucidation, than the current one, that the interest of the majority is the political standard of right and wrong."
- James Madison

"Bigotry consists in a man being completely convinced that another man must be wrong in everything, because he is wrong in a particular belief; that he must be wrong, even in thinking that he honestly believes he is right."
- G.K. Chesterton

CARTOONS AND COVER BY JUSTIN CROWDER

Unusual PUNISHMENT



by ZACH DEXTER
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Actions, not motivations, should determine punishment

"In the world outside of UNC, students will not enjoy the false luxury of freedom from offense."

Last fall, several NC State students spray-painted racially charged threats to harm Barack Obama on the N.C. State Free Expression Tunnel. UNC system president Erskine Bowles felt compelled to take action.

President Bowles created the UNC Study Commission to Review Student Codes of Conduct as they Relate to Hate Crimes and put Dr. Harold Martin, UNC Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs, in charge. The Commission delivered its final recommendations on so-called "hate crime" policy this March.

The Commission failed to recommend concrete policies, instead passing the task to a Presidential Task Force because "issues surrounding the effective delivery of diversity-related programming and education requires greater study than this Commission can accomplish." However, the Commission did recommend that Bowles implement uniform hate-crimes standards, saying that "We believe strongly that the [anti-bias] programs overall could benefit from consideration of uniform objectives and, perhaps, standards for the campuses."

Although the specifics of the policy have yet to be finalized, two things are clear. First, a new system-wide policy to help eliminate "student code violations motivated by hate against others" will replace the policies of individual campuses. Second, actions that cause the victim to feel a real or imagined bias in one of several protected categories will be punished.

If a crime is committed outside of a protected category, it logically follows that the law should consider that crime a love crime. But this is a non sequitur; all crimes are motivated by contempt for the victim.

While the punishment for UNC students who upset others will likely be diversity training (that's what happened in the Free Expression Tunnel case), trends toward hate crime legislation at the state and federal level will have more severe consequences.

Under hate-crimes laws, if someone commits assault against a victim whose religion differs from the attacker's religion, the state or federal government could prosecute the assaulter for a hate crime and give him a longer sentence – even if his motivation for the assault was not religion. Only if the victim and the attacker have the same characteristics in each of the protected categories would the attacker be ineligible for the longer sentence.

In order to prove that religion was the motivation for the crime, prosecutors would have to dig into the attacker's thoughts. Statements made to friends about religion, purchases of literature about other religions, and examinations of the attacker's worship habits would all be fair for prosecutors seeking to win a longer sentence based on the private mental thoughts of the accused.

Policing thought is a slippery slope. Our government should not begin to regulate thought at any level. Thomas Jefferson explained that "The legitimate powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions."

The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education warns that "teaching students to reflexively rely on official censorship when dealing with deeply offensive speech is infantilizing and misleading. In the world outside of UNC, students will not enjoy the false luxury of freedom from offense."

Therefore, instead of punishing real or perceived bias, we should punish crime to the fullest extent of the law. The statements on the Free Expression Tunnel arguably amounted to threats to physically harm Obama. That is already illegal. In fact, most would-be "hate crimes" are already illegal.

Even the Commission knows that hate crimes laws are redundant. Their report calls for "A specific prohibition against the infliction or threat of bodily harm that meets the legal definition." But as this quote indicates, inflection or threat of bodily harm is currently illegal. So the solution cannot possibly be to enact more laws. Instead, we should enforce the current laws.

In the past, groups like the NAACP have cited high-profile murders in their efforts to effect hate crime legislation. One such example was the murder of James Byrd, a black man from Texas who was killed by white supremacists. The three perpetrators were prosecuted for murder, and two received the death penalty.

The murderers knew that murder was against Texas state law, yet they still killed their victim. Tacking on an additional federal or state penalty could not have stopped the murder. Thus, the solution to violent crimes is not to analyze possible reasons that offenders holds victims in contempt. Rather, the solution is to severely punish the offender for the actual crime and not the motivations.

For nonviolent incidences of alleged discrimination, it is often unclear what the motivation of the accused actually is. At UNC, the administration should follow up on allegations of misdemeanor or criminal activity with charges of misdemeanor or criminal activity. Analyzing physical differences or differences in opinion between the offender and the victim will just tear at the fabric of our community.

For example, students in favor of California's Proposition 8 could be charged with having a bias against people of a certain gender orientation (a protected category under the proposed rules). There is no need to accuse these students of hate crimes for speaking their minds. Such a bias is nonthreatening, and certainly does not compare to the bias that detractors of Proposition 8 have displayed on a regular basis.

Protestors against Proposition 8 spat racial epithets at blacks, a group that overwhelmingly voted in favor of defining marriage as between a man and a woman. They attacked Christians and surrounded a Mormon church, shouting "Mormon scum!" These protestors vandalized property and left some pro-Position 8 workers unemployed. Yet few calling for hate crime laws would recommend that these protestors be charged with hate crimes.

Hate crime laws will result in serious government invasion of private thought that will cause our society to reflect too deeply on our physical differences. Hate crime laws will also be absolutely useless against actual crime, because crimes are already illegal. **CR**



Second-class Smokers



by JUSTIN CROWDER
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N.C. bans violate rights of individuals and private businesses

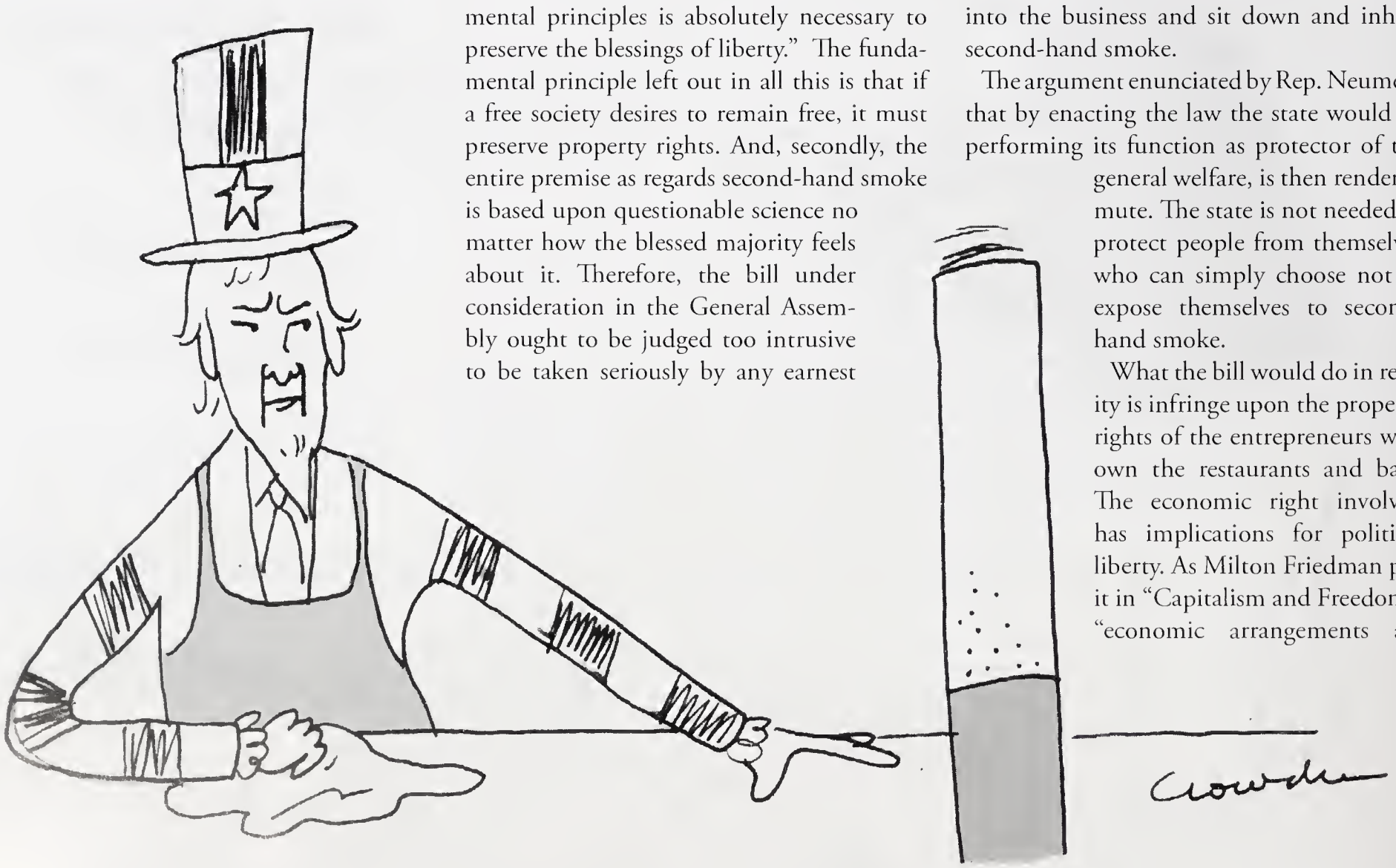
Legislation that would ban smoking in private restaurants and other "public areas" passed in committee in the North Carolina General Assembly last month. Republican Rep. Wil Neumen is quoted as saying that if they do not pass the regulation amidst a growing consensus among locals regarding the harm of second-hand smoke, the General Assembly "would be going against our oath to protect the health, welfare and safety of the people of North Carolina."

Mr. Neuman ought to re-read a principle found in the North Carolina Constitution that states: "A frequent recurrence to fundamental principles is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty." The fundamental principle left out in all this is that if a free society desires to remain free, it must preserve property rights. And, secondly, the entire premise as regards second-hand smoke is based upon questionable science no matter how the blessed majority feels about it. Therefore, the bill under consideration in the General Assembly ought to be judged too intrusive to be taken seriously by any earnest statesman.

To the first point, the General Assembly is literally debating whether it has the right to tell restaurants whether they can or cannot allow patrons to smoke on their premises. To state the obvious, the people in bars and restaurants were not in any way coerced to walk into the business and sit down and inhale second-hand smoke.

The argument enunciated by Rep. Neumen, that by enacting the law the state would be performing its function as protector of the general welfare, is then rendered mute. The state is not needed to protect people from themselves who can simply choose not to expose themselves to second-hand smoke.

What the bill would do in reality is infringe upon the property rights of the entrepreneurs who own the restaurants and bars. The economic right involved has implications for political liberty. As Milton Friedman put it in "Capitalism and Freedom," "economic arrangements are



WE DON'T SERVE YOUR KIND HERE, MR.

important because of their effect on the concentration or dispersion of power."

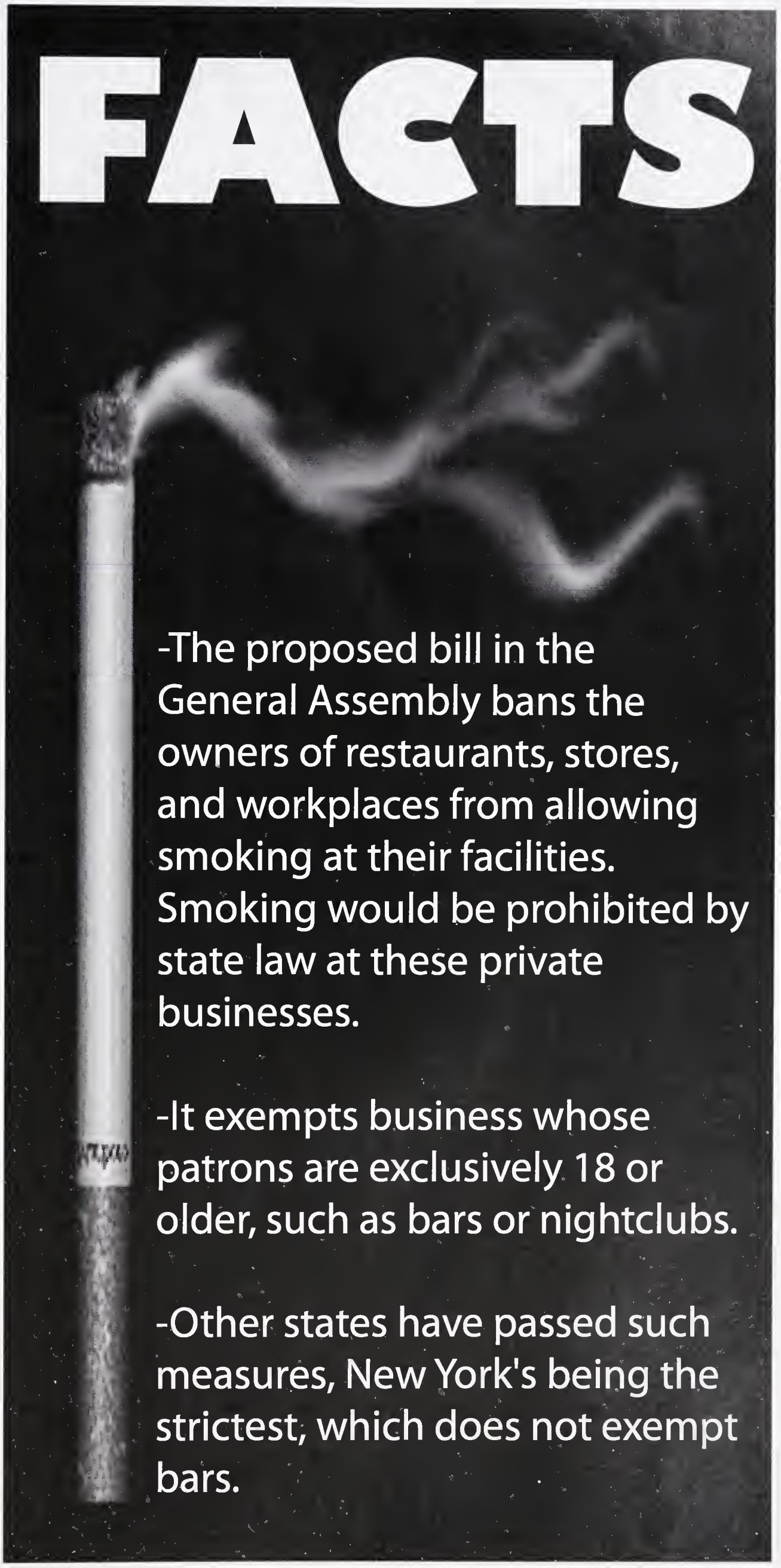
Economic liberty is intertwined with political liberty and cannot be ignored because the relation seems abstract. Friedman goes on to explain that "every act of government intervention limits the area of individual freedom directly and threatens the preservation of freedom indirectly." A bill that allows regulation of a legal activity (smoking) in private businesses is, if it is anything, a threat to freedom: the freedom to smoke, the freedom to peaceably assemble and the freedom to manage one's property.

If the government can regulate smoking, then it will soon learn that it can regulate speech just as well. Understanding the slippery slope involved, the point of contention involved when the government aspires to intervene in its citizens lives should be founded upon a rock, not shifting sand, so to speak. If you do not want the tan stuff in your shoes, don't go walking on the smoking-Nazi's case for their fascism.

The entire argument for the regulation hinges upon the science behind the health risks of second-hand smoke. The science, however, is controversial. A study released in 2003 in the British Medical Journal that compared the lung cancer and heart disease rates in spouses of smokers against spouses of non-smokers found that there is essentially no difference.

Here a parallel can be drawn with the phenomenon of the environmental movement. While the science for global warming, for example, is not universally accepted among scientists, the belief that global warming exists is popular among American citizens. Thus, politicians, much like Rep. Neuman, leverage populist gimmicks to gain power over people's lives all under the pretence of protecting the "general welfare." What, one wonders, would be Neumen's response if a majority of locals held a consensus concerning the usefulness of our Republican representatives? Perhaps a bill to ban the Republican's proverbial second-hand smoke (namely idiotic bills opposed to liberty) is in order.

Many things are potentially harmful. For example, this author is currently leaning back precariously in his chair. If he were to fall back he could potentially die. The second-hand harm done would be the emotional and possible physical damage to family and friends. Nevertheless, the government has no place regulating what people do with their chairs. They are their chairs. **CR**



KING RAND



by ANTHONY DENT
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Senate Majority leader rules with corruption and self-interest

Anthony E. Rand, popularly known as Tony, is currently the number two Democrat in the North Carolina General Assembly. However, he is considered by many to be the *de jure* ruler of the state Senate and even the state, deserving the title of "king-maker" of North Carolina as an anonymous source referred to him.

Rand began his career in 1981 when he was appointed to the N.C. Senate. He won the following election, and continued to serve until 1988. Then his ambitions shifted towards the governor's office, so he ran against Republican Jim Gardner for N.C. Lieutenant Governor in 1988.

After a bruising election cycle, Rand was defeated. Sources who wished to remain anonymous look at this as the event that drove Rand to power in the state senate.

"If Rand had won the 1988 election, I suspect he would have run for governor in 1992," Paul Woolverton of the Fayetteville Observer said in an email. "I have to wonder if Rand had won the lieutenant governor slot in 1988, would [Senate President Pro Tempore] Marc Basnight have risen in the 1990s to the power he has now? And would Rand have been governor from 2001 to 2009?"

The campaign is chiefly remembered for the vicious attacks against Rand made by Gardner involving drug dealers whom Rand was representing. After the election, Rand disappeared from the political landscape for seven years. In 1995, he ran again for the N.C. Senate representing Cumberland County and won. He has continued to serve in that capacity ever since and was elected Majority Leader in 2001.

Rand was born in 1939 to a family that was very active in the local community, his father serving as mayor of Garner and his mother, a local piano teacher for close to fifty years. He went on to attend the University of North Carolina, where he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1961, and a JD three years later. He began working with the law firm of Charlie Rose of Fayetteville who was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1973.

The connections he developed in these early years in Cumberland County built the foundations that led him to high office in Raleigh. The political power that Rand holds is acknowledged by many observers of state politics.

"If he is strongly against a piece of legislation there is no chance of it going somewhere," Don Carrington of the Carolina Journal said. Conversely, "if he is strongly for something, it has a good chance of going somewhere."

His colleague, Sen. David Weinstein, the number three Democrat in the Senate, remarked, "Tony is tough, he is abrasive, he borders on being rude, but he is politically astute, and he knows how to use the system to get what he wants done."

There are many examples of his "abrasive" approach to politics. In 2007, Rand introduced legislation to strip Insurance Commissioner Jim Long of his power to rule on the rates established by insurance companies. This left many people scratching their heads, including the News & Observer who began an editorial saying, "Perhaps Jim Long, North Carolina's insurance commissioner, kicked state Sen. Tony Rand's dog, or scratched the majority leader's shiny new car. Why else would Rand introduce legislation to strip Long of his power to rule on auto, home and workers' comp insurance rates?"

While that explanation was in jest, Dale

Gibson of the Triangle Business Journal asked in a column published on April 6, "Could this be 'get-back legislation'?" He explained that Long obstructed Rand's attempts to allow Blue Cross Blue Shield of North Carolina to convert to a for-profit status. This bill may be retaliation for the trouble Long caused Rand.

In another example of how Rand can implement his agenda, in 2003, more projects were added to the state Highway Trust Fund for the first time in fourteen years. Began in 1989, the legislature designated seven projects to be funded. These projects have not been completed, (the project in Charlotte being the closest to completion with about 70 percent of the work finished) although the new funding requests were seen as being made at the expense of Charlotte's I-485 outer-beltway.

The newly added projects included one described by the Carolina Journal as "the largest addition" which was a "$350 million, 28-mile portion of the Fayetteville loop." This additional funding request was made by Rand.

The Journal further reports that "while portions of the Fayetteville loop were all scheduled to be built with non-trust fund money, the shift is favorable to Cumberland County. Trust fund spending counts against how much money a region receives through regular DOT programs. By shifting the road to the trust fund, Fayetteville will effectively receive more state road money."

A key role that Rand plays in the Democratic Party is his prowess at fundraising. Financial reports indicate that while running unopposed in the last election cycle, Rand was able to raise $505,449 from big name donors across the state including AT&T, Blue Cross Blue Shield of North Carolina, North Carolina Farm Bureau, Bank of America, Wachovia Bank and the North Carolina Academy of Trial Lawyers. Between the past two election cycles, Rand has donated funds from his candidate committee totaling $535,578, including a $400,000 one-time donation to the state Democratic Party. Over the past four election cycles, Rand has personally donated $48,525 to Democratic candidates across the state, including Gov. Easley, Sen. Ellie Kinnard, Gov. Perdue and Judge Linda Stephens.

While some political observers believe Rand actively "squashes" pieces of legislation introduced by Republicans, the leader of senate Republicans, Senator Phil Berger, disagrees: "I don't think it's a fair statement to say he 'squashes' our legislation. It's a matter of philosophical differences." Berger continued, "We believe things that Rand disagrees with and Rand believes things that we disagree with. Tony just uses the authority he has to derail legislation that he disagrees with." Weinstein generally agreed with Berger's assessment: "That's just the way he operates. In the end, he fairly often hits the nail on the head politically."

A possible explanation of Rand's ability to implement his agenda is his relationship with former Democratic Gov. Mike Easley. Carrington remarked that, "There's a general understanding that Rand is close to Basnight who is close to Easley." This relationship manifested itself in various ways, including one where Mary Easley, Gov. Easley's wife, was being audited by the State Auditor, Les Merritt. Easley hired Rand to represent her. This raised a few eyebrows. The News & Observer reported that "Rand's entrance into the story was an unusual twist."

"I think someone could look at that arrangement and draw a conclusion that the hiring of Sen. Rand ... could be meant to influence the auditor and the exercise of his independent judgment," Senate Minority Leader Phil Berger told the News & Observer. Carrington added that, as Rand was a member of the legislature, this arrangement was "odd" and must be a product of the Rand-Easley political relationship.

With a new governor, changes have come to Raleigh. The close relationship that Rand and Easley developed has given way to a Rand-Perdue relationship, the nature of which is still unknown. Opinions vary as to the influence Rand will have in the Governor's Mansion: "My perception is that Perdue is going to be more independent," Carrington said. "For example, [Senate Leader Marc] Basnight recently came out to be in favor of Lanny Wilson for DOT head, which is unusual for a member of the legislature. But Perdue went ahead and chose [Eugene] Conti."

"They have worked together in the Senate, and I'm sure they have their agreements and disagreements," Weinstein observed. "Tony will try to be forceful and get his way, but Perdue is a tough cookie. In the end, I think she'll have her way."

In the end, politicians in Raleigh must heed the advice of former Sen. Robert Pittenger: "If you're going into battle with him, you have to be prepared. He's a smart man. He's a master tactician; he controls the agenda; he knows where he stands." Rand has shown himself to be adept at maneuvering through the shadowy halls of Raleigh, being able to achieve much of his agenda during his many years in the General Assembly. His close relationship with Easley allowed him to hold significant sway over the Raleigh political machinery. While he may not have the same relationship with Perdue, he nonetheless retains his power in the N.C. Senate as majority leader and holding key positions in important committees. He is still a large donor to Democratic causes.

Everything considered, his position is safe. He will still be able to implement his agenda, and obtain the funding for special projects in the Cumberland County region. More importantly, he remains the master puppeteer controlling the marionettes serving in the General Assembly. And that is why Tony



Photograph courtesy of ncleg.net

Voting NO

How students were deprived of a fair and honest debate on child care services fee



by CHRISTOPHER JONES
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This spring, students had the opportunity to vote on an increase in student fees. What looked like a minor addendum on a student election ballot became the center of controversy which swirled for weeks. What happened during this campaign raises serious questions about the ability of students to engage in responsible self-government. The full story of what happened during this campaign has never been made public. Hopefully, this article will at the very least explain to the student body about what happened.

The proposal in question was to increase the student child care services fee from $2.44 by $10.37, to $12.81. The fee would raise around $290,000 for day-care services for students with children. This seems like a worthy cause at first, but the fee would only cover 34 people. In effect, this fee was forcing 24,000 students to give 34 people $8,500 each.

Many students thought that this proposal was fiscally irresponsible at any time, doubly [illegible] a time when the university is facing [illegible]udget cuts. As Chelsea Walker [illegible] in the February 2009 issue of the [illegible] ("Socialized Child Care", p. [illegible] already a half-dozen programs [illegible] to meet this very need. Student fees have been increasing at a rate twice as fast as tuition, and rising student fees are a prime factor behind rising college costs. The best way to keep college affordable for all people is to make it cost less.

After Student Congress failed to pass a resolution putting the student fee increase to referendum, Student Body President J. J. Raynor collected enough signatures to bypass congress and put the fee on the ballot. The fee would be up for vote on February 17th.

That weekend, the first signs of what was ahead appeared. Friday night, two of the vote no campaign's four A-frame signs were stolen. This was reported to the Board of Elections, who made note of the complaints but were largely unreceptive. Their decision, released on February 24th, merely noted that a complaint had been made and that "alleged theft/removal A-frames... has the potential of having an impact on the election and ultimately the potential to change its outcome."

Board Chairman Ryan Morgan was quoted in the *Daily Tar Heel* on February 17th as saying "we are not a police force" and that the BOE would do nothing to try and find out who stole the signs and would not pursue these allegations further. Ryan Morgan did not respond to an interview request for this article.

Board Vice Chair Valery Tenyotkin said that there was little that BOE could do without allegations against a specific individual and stated that BOE does not have access to security camera footage which could be used to identify the offenders.

The A-frames were replaced with two new signs, and the campaign moved forward. Later, two more signs were stolen from the pit, leaving the vote no campaign with a scant two A-frames for any continued campaigning.

On the night of Sunday, February 15th and the morning of Monday the 16th, campaign fliers were hung around campus. These fliers were hung on lamp posts, bollards, newspaper boxes, and the windows of buildings. None of these locations are prohibited by Title VI, Article IV, Section 402-J of the Student Code, which governs the placement of campaign materials. However, many of these fliers were removed within minutes of being placed.

Thirty-one of these fliers had been removed by Tenyotkin from areas on South Campus. However, he reports that "no other offending fliers were brought to BOE's attention."

What happened to the other 118 fliers that were placed around campus has never been ascertained. The BOE report never mentions them. Flier removal began around 9 AM, while Tenyotkin did not begin removing fliers until around noon. The person or persons who removed these earlier fliers are unknown, and the BOE again refused to investigate the matter.

Title VI, Article IV, Section 402-H of the Student Code states that the removal of campaign materials is prohibited, except by the BOE or the campaign that placed them there. Removal by any other persons constitutes the theft of campaign materials, even if the materials were in a prohibited area.

When contacted about these fliers, Tenyotkin stated that they were in violation of BOE administrative decisions. This regulation supposedly prohibits the placement of fliers anywhere but public bulletin boards. Tenyotkin directed me to the BOE website,

where he said the document was published. There was no document dealing with this issue on the BOE website.

When pressed on this, Tenyotkin responded that the decision was contained in the "Title VI for Dummies" guide to election law, which he wrote. However, "Title VI for Dummies" is not a legal document and has no standing as such. When informed of this, Tenyotkin stopped trying to defend his position and instead threatened to take the author to Honor Court for conspiring to violate election law.

The day before the election, the campaign in favor of the fee increase used the student government offices at SU 2501 in order to make, store and distribute campaign materials in favor of the referendum. This was in clear violation of the Student Code, Article IV, Section 405-A which prohibits the use of student government offices to store or display campaign materials. The BOE was made aware of this and took no action except to issue a warning after the election.

The night before the election, Raynor sent an email to the entire student body reminding students to vote on the fee increase. The email listed the text of the referendum and directed students to the student government website to learn more about it. For several hours, the website only featured pro-referendum materials, although this was changed later that night, after many students had undoubtedly already checked their email and perused whatever materials were contained therein. Raynor did not respond to requests to be interviewed for this article.

In response to this, the author sent a somewhat infamous mass email detailing four reasons to vote against the fee increase. In haste, the listserv's 'reply all' function was inadvertently left enabled. The resulting email ring resulted in a regrettable and unintentional mass of unwanted email in the inboxes of most students.

Meanwhile, the referendum was on hold. Student congress speaker Tim Nichols had filed a case in student Supreme Court alleging that Raynor's email violated Title VI, Article IV, Section 402-L(2) of the Student Code, which forbids the use of student government email lists to advocate the passage or failure of a referendum. The court granted an injunction halting the release of the results while they heard the case.

The next Monday, February 23rd, the student Supreme Court issued their decision in Nichols vs. Raynor. While declining to rule on the legality of the email itself, they ruled in a split 3-2 vote that Nichols could not prove that a campus-wide email had influenced any voters. However, Chief Justice Emma Hodson (who voted to find for Raynor) later stated that "it is the opinion of this court that the emails may have compromised the integrity of the election." Somehow, then, Raynor's email managed to compromise the integrity of the election without having influenced any voters.



This is a good time to note that the members of the student Supreme Court are all appointed by the Student Body President at the start of the school year.

The next day, the BOE met in order to certify the election results. They ruled that Raynor's email was not in violation of the student code. However, they also ruled that the 31 campaign fliers removed by Val Tenyotkin were a serious violation which compromised the integrity of the election. In a 4-3 split decision, the BOE ordered that a new election be held the next week, on March 3rd. They also ordered that the results of the first referendum be sealed until after the second referendum was completed.

It would later be revealed that the referendum had failed, making this ruling by the BOE even more perplexing. First of all, as has already been mentioned, the fliers were not in violation of Title VI of the Student Code, nor were they in violation of any published BOE regulation. The BOE disqualified an entire election based on an unpublished rule regarding campaign fliers that were clearly permitted under the Student Code.

This sort of erratic behavior is not out of character for this year's Board of Elections, and especially for Tenyotkin, who wrote on the BOE website that the BOE's primary purpose is the "brutal, ruthless suppression of one of the fundamental rights: the right to free expression." What makes this case especially suspicious is the reaching done by the BOE in order to find a campaign violation – any campaign violation – with which to overturn the results of the first referendum which were unfavorable to the student body president's cause.

This is a good time to note that the chair and vice-chair of the Board of Elections are appointed by the student body president at the start of the school year. The rest of the BOE is appointed by the Chair and Vice Chair.

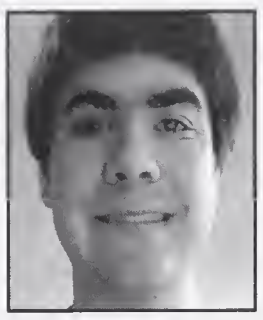
In addition, a source close to Raynor reports that she learned of the results of the first referendum before the second referendum took place, despite the fact that only the Board of Elections knew the true results at that time. Word was leaked to her somehow, in a manner which is not clear.

After overturning the results, the BOE issued guidelines for campaigning in the new referendum election. Title VI, Article IV, Section 402-L(2) of the Student Code gives the BOE the authority to prohibit mass email as they see fit, and they exercised this authority to prohibit any email which contained anything more than the text of the referendum as it appeared on the ballot and instructions on when and where to vote. These regulations were emailed to student government officials with instructions to "Forward this email to everyone, who will be working for/against the passage of the referendum."

On Election Day, the vote no campaign abided by the BOE's directives regarding

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Moving Past Charity



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Obama prefers taking your money to seeing you give to those in need

The Obama Administration has opened a new front in the war on prosperity, and it is coming to a charity near you. Obama's proposed budget is reprehensible on several accounts. However, his policies regarding charitable contributions are economically misguided and morally bankrupt.

In the proposed budget, Obama increases the top tax bracket rate from 35 percent to 39.6 percent. This tax increase applies to anyone making more than $250,000 a year. Under the current tax code, the rate at which a person can deduct charitable contributions is directly tied to that person's tax rate. For example, Joe Six-pack made $250,000 last year and gave $100,000 to charity. The government taxes him at a rate of 35 percent, but he can also deduct 35 percent of his $100,000 donation (which is $35,000) from his taxes. All else being equal, he will pay $52,500 in taxes.

Under the Obama plan, Mr. Six-pack will see his taxes increase to 39.6 percent, while the amount that he can deduct from his donation will fall to 28 percent. He will be able to deduct $7,000 less from his contribution (since he can now deduct $28,000) if his charitable contributions remain constant. He will also lose more of his income to taxes. So, under the Obama plan, Mr. Six-pack will pay $71,000 in taxes. This represents a 35.2 percent increase in Joe Six-pack's tax payments. This policy represents a significant change in the tax code and causes one to wonder [illegible]. The administration claims that it will help pay for the "down payment" on universal health care coverage. The numbers from the White House claim that reducing this deduction will "save" (perhaps a better word here is "collect") $179.8 billion over 10 years.

Now consider the present situation. The economy is in free fall. Unemployment is approaching levels not seen since the 1980s. Moreover, people are financially insecure and uncertain. Ignoring the fact that increasing the tax burden by 35 percent on the nation's most affluent is probably not the best thing to do in the middle of a recession (just ask President Hoover how that worked), raising the cost of donating to charity is neither economically sound nor morally acceptable.

Now is the time that charities are most needed to help victims of the recession deal with unemployment and homelessness. As the recession has intensified, most charities are experiencing severe contractions in the amount of donations they are receiving. The Center on Philanthropy reports that 93 percent of professional fundraisers say the economy is having a "noticeable, negative impact" on their collections. The Center also reported that 47 percent of affluent households (i.e. those with incomes greater than $250,000) say they would give less if their tax deductions were reduced.

A study by the Indiana University Center on Philanthropy found that had Obama's tax plan been implemented in 2006 (the last year for which tax data is available), giving from top earners would have decreased by 4.6 percent totaling nearly $4 billion. The study also found that for every 100-point drop in the stock market, there is a $1.85 billion decrease in annual giving. Considering the collapse of the market in the past 12 months, this results in a very significant decline in giving.

Now how is the Obama Administration attempting to justify this policy? On his blog, Peter Orszag, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, provides some very enlightening comments. According to Mr. Orszag, "reforming health care is essential to the long-term fiscal health of the country," and that this is "a question of fairness" because those who make less money are able to deduct less from their taxes than those who make more. But let us look at this.

A study commissioned by Bank of America on the trends of high-income households found that "a very small number of households have an enormously disproportionate impact on charitable giving." This income group alone is responsible for over 2/3 of all household charity, with 98 percent of these affluent households making some kind of contribution. The study also found that the yearly average donation for households with incomes greater than $250,000 was $120,651, nearly 50 percent of their gross income.

Just as an aside, Obama's average giving for the last seven years comes out to $21,000. However, if you discount 2005-06 (after he starting running for President), his average yearly giving was $2,154 a year, which comes out to less than 1 percent of his income. Joe Biden's average giving comes out to $369 a year, less than 0.143 percent of his income. Both of these gentlemen have incomes well

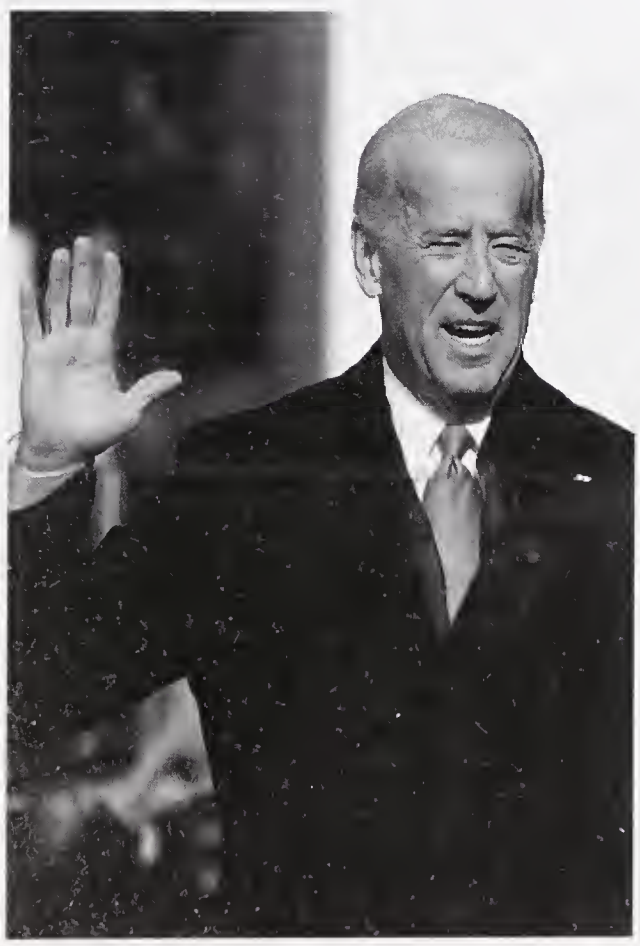
above $250,000.

But back to the question of fairness. These statistics show that those with more money donate more money and a greater percentage of their income to charity than those who make less. These people are also paying higher taxes than those with smaller incomes. What is not fair is to increase their tax rate and reduce the size of the deductions they can take.

Obama and his people also attempt to justify the policy by comparing it to past changes in the tax code. Geithner claims that this new policy will restore the same deductions that were in place when President Reagan left office. Orszag points to the period from 2002-03 as a period where the top deduction was reduced from 38.6 percent to 35 percent.

However, in both of these cases, the reason the deductions fell was because they were tied to the income tax rate. In the case of Reagan, he slashed taxes across all income levels. The period from 2002-03 is the first year that the Bush tax cuts went into effect, lowering the top income tax rate to 35 percent. These were not arbitrary reductions in the deductions rate. Taxes were cut and so were deductions. This is a classic example of a false analogy. What Obama is proposing is to raise taxes and reduce deductions. In the other two cases, both taxes and deductions went down.

But what are the charities we are talking about? Where is all the money from these rich fat cats going? The Bank of America study found that only 22 percent of deductions from affluent households go to religious charities. The study found that there is a wide dispersal in ways that the wealthy donate their money. Many give to the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, or ACORN.



Vice President Joe Biden is sworn into office. During the campaign Biden, whose own charitable record is rather pathetic, criticized advocates for low taxes as unpatriotic.



President Obama speaks on the campaign trail last October. Obama plans to reduce the income tax charitable deduction.

Others contribute to institutions of higher learning (i.e. UNC). Approximately 20 percent of UNC's annual budget comes from private donations. These donations touch every aspect of campus life, from merit and need-based scholarships, to research and teaching grants, to support for the school's athletic teams. So, when Obama, in his rage against the rich raises their taxes, reduces the deductions they can take and increases the cost of donating, he launches an all-out assault on private charity.

This situation hits directly home, as we are all beneficiaries of private charity in some way or another. Not only is he stealing food from the mouths of starving babies and dooming cancer-stricken children to slow and painful deaths with no hope of recovery, he is also stealing your scholarship money, depriving your professors of grants and fellowships, robbing other students of the opportunity to attend college, and stripping the Men's basketball team of the opportunity to compete in the NCAA Tournament.

He is denying health care, food, and education to millions across the country. Obama is stifling innovation by cutting off access to research grants, fellowships and internships. He is denying an entire generation the opportunity to use their talents, skills and abilities, to advance societal and cultural understandings, expand the frontiers of knowledge and improve the world in which they live. The moral dimension of this issue cannot be understated. By cutting of the major lines of funding to this nation's charities, Obama is willfully and deliberately crippling this nation and its ability to lift itself out of this recession. But to what end?

Included in the budget proposal is a provision in which the government will provide financial assistance to the nation's charities. Total aid comes out to $100 million, which is a mere drop in the bucket when Obama is planning to take an additional $18 billion out of the economy every year. But there is more than just that. What is happening here is a process in which government aid will supplant private aid.

By crippling the country and destroying the current system of charitable aid, Obama has created a strategy whereby everyone becomes dependent on him for their health and livelihood. He is orchestrating a financial crisis for the charities to either destroy or co-opt them so that he may come sweeping in with more government aid and programs, appearing to all the world as the savior of the American people.

In actuality, he is enslaving the people in their dependence on the government and destroying their capacity to improve their own lives. Eventually, we are left with a scene from "1984," with the people holding their arms crossed over their heads chanting "Big Brother!"

In short, Obama's plan to tax the rich and reduce their deductions is misguided and immoral. In raising the costs of donation for the nation's biggest and most affluent donors, he is placing additional financial strain on the charities. In attacking the charities, he is destroying the capacity of the people to help themselves and making them dependent on the government for their happiness. We are told that of faith, hope, and charity, the greatest of these is charity. However, in Obama's America, the audacity of hope is launching an all-out war on charity. **CR**

TURNING UP THE HEAT

Professors pressured to teach global warming propaganda



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That special time of year in late April is fast approaching once again, and this year many UNC students and professors are looking forward to celebrating with some interesting new customs.

No, I am not talking about Easter. I am talking about Earth Day. The environmentalist group Focus the Nation strongly encourages teachers to devote their lessons on April 22 (that most sacred of days) to discussions about climate change. It is clear that they expect the many transgressions of its indisputable source – the vast conspiracy amongst Republican politicians and businessmen to fry the world using carbon dioxide emissions – to be the main topic of consideration.

However, this project presupposes that all professors believe that global warming is being caused by human activity. It also assumes that they have no concept of the ravages that policies like the cap-and-trade system would perpetrate on the increasingly-fragile U.S. economy if they were adopted. As UNC economics professor John McCallie has stated, "Not only is cap and trade unnecessary, it will ruin the economy as well as destroy our way of life."

Attempts by environmental extremists to [illegible] professors to disseminate propaganda [illegible] the evils of the free market accomplish [illegible] the alienation of students and [illegible] who feel that it is not in the [illegible] states' best interest to further jeopar[illegible] economy by implementing a policy which is not even based on sound and confirmed science.

Environmentalists feel that the debate about global warming and its origins has been closed for discussion, but that is not the case. Many scientists and free-thinkers have refused to enter the fold and decry the actions of industrialized nations as the cause of the Earth's slight warming trend.

"It is not a matter of whether the earth is warming a bit or that the level of carbon dioxide has increased – that could be," said McCallie. "The theory claims that it is human-caused, and that is the scam."

"Unstoppable Global Warming: Every 1,500 Years" is a study of the substantial evidence that global warming is the result of a natural temperature cycle driven by the sun rather than a product of carbon dioxide emissions generated by the externalities of industry. What is most striking about the evidence collected by Dennis T. Avery and S. Fred Singer in this book is the sheer amount and variety of data which they have managed to accumulate. They have amalgamated the results of experiments done on all kinds of environmental indicators across the globe, from ice cores to fossilized pollen, to confirm their thesis of a relatively regular cycle of global warming and cooling which has been in place for hundreds of thousands of years, if not longer. The longevity of this regular pattern of climate change suggests that it cannot possibly be a consequence of human industrial activity.

The pattern of warming and cooling was first discovered by Willie Dansgaard and Hans Oeshger when they examined the ratio of oxygen-18 to oxygen-16 isotopes in ice cores in Greenland which go back 250,000 years. The isotope ratio demonstrates the temperature at the time of a snowfall in a given period in history. They found a moderate cycle of temperature change which repeats itself roughly every 1,500 years, plus or minus 500 years. The pattern was even imposed throughout the 90,000 year Ice Ages and interglacial warming periods, which were the only climate changes that scientists had previously been able to discern.

The findings of the Dansgaard expedition were corroborated by an ice core all the way across the world in Vostok, Antarctica. The same 1,500-year cycle was found to stretch back for an even longer period of 400,000 years by French and Russian expedition teams led by Claude Lorius.

As Singer and Avery assert in their book, scientists have long theorized that there is a relationship between the cycles of the sun and the Earth's climate. There is no 1,500-year solar cycle, but Holger Braun of the Potsdam Institute and his colleagues believe that the DeVries-Suess and Gleissberg cycles of 210 and 87 years, respectively, superimpose on each other to create the 1,500-year cycle of warming and cooling.

This suggests that the warming and cool-

ing pattern is driven almost solely by solar activity, meaning that human activity should not be considered a direct influence on the cycle, contrary to the propaganda put forth by environmentalist groups such as Focus The Nation.

Deep-sea sediment cores provide further evidence of the 1,500-year warming and cooling cycle. Glaciers carrying debris went further south during cold periods before melting; they also carried larger amounts of debris during that time, which further indicates that temperatures were colder. These higher levels of debris and further travel distance to the south coincide with the 1,500-year pattern, demonstrating that cycles of cooling were interspersed with warm periods.

Two deep-seabed cores from opposing ends of the Atlantic Ocean were examined, and both matched the findings of the Greenland ice cores.

Stalagmite cores from caves all over the world demonstrate the 1,500-year cycle of change as well. Temperatures at various periods throughout history can be determined by the ratio of carbon and oxygen isotopes within the stalagmites. The evidence found in stalagmite cores goes back thousands of years, making them an extremely reliable source for learning about patterns of climate variation; one stalagmite in Germany dates back to 17,000 years ago.

Cores from Europe, the Middle East, and Africa all display evidence of the known major periods of climate change in history from tens of thousands of years ago forward.

The retreat and advance of glaciers also speaks to the variability of the Earth's climate in times long past. As the authors point out, "many researchers say the glaciers are losing *less* mass per year as time goes by" (p. 71). According to the authors, glacier movement throughout geologic history can be tracked by carbon dating the outermost growth rings of trees which were killed by advancing glaciers.

As expected, glaciers have grown as the temperature has fallen and have decreased as the temperature has risen. However, glaciers in Russia, Scandinavia, and Sweden actually seem to be growing or maintaining equilibrium despite the warming trend which began in 1850 and continues today.

If all of this evidence disproving human influences on recent global warming exists, why do some seemingly rational people (and many irrational people) take Al Gore and his power-points seriously?

S. Fred Singer and Dennis T. Avery have devoted an entire chapter of their book to detailing instances where scientists were refused all press coverage and grants if they spoke against the theory of human culpability. For example, David Deming, a professor at the University of Oklahoma, was offered an interview by National Public Radio after publishing a study of borehole temperatures that concluded that North America has warmed about one degree Celsius in the last century; however, when he refused to conclude that the warming was based on human activity, the offer from NPR was promptly rescinded.

He also received an email from one of his colleagues in the field of climate change research encouraging him to deny that a major past cycle of warming had ever occurred. Deming later testified before the Senate about these incidents.

Many scientists have literally been asked to "do away with" parts of their findings that do not square with theories which draw a straight line of correlation from the planet warming about 0.6 degrees Celsius in the past century to the activities of American "corporate fascist pigs."

Never mind the fact that the Earth was 3.5 degrees warmer during medieval times than it is now, according to measurements determined by tree types and locations.

The entire premise behind scientific experimentation is that a theory must be falsifiable in order to be considered potentially true. How can the theory of man-made global warming be considered unequivocally factual if its proponents will not allow dissidents to present falsifying evidence? From the International Panel on Climate Change all the way down to the university level, whenever challenging views are expressed and subsequently dismissed without consideration, those who claim that a consensus has already been reached do science and the people of all industrialized nations a great disservice.

Jeopardizing our economy and our way of life by refusing to allow those who disagree about the cause of global warming to be heard is a dangerous form of censorship at all levels, and here at Carolina it is insulting to professors who have taken the time to examine the issue for themselves rather than thoughtlessly joining the flock of Al Gore genuflectors. **CR**



AND NOW WE INTERRUPT OUR REGULAR PROGRAMING FOR A MESSAGE FROM OUR SPECIAL INTEREST GROUP

WITNESS

The testimony of a former Communist



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For all those who ever wondered what all the fuss is about communism and socialism and what the problem is with trying to spread a little equality, there is a book that you should take a look at.

For all those conservatives who think it is a perfectly fine line of reasoning to call liberal policies "socialism" or associate them with Marxist theory and expect that the label alone will carry the day, I implore you to check out this book.

For all those who have recognized the inherent evil in communism and struggled to articulate it, it is imperative that you read "Witness" by Whittaker Chambers.

Sixty years ago, as the Cold War was heating up, a high-ranking State Department official, Alger Hiss (notably, one of the main architects of the UN), stood accused of spying for the Soviets. He was eventually convicted on two counts of perjury (the statute of limitations on an espionage charge had run out) and served 44 months in prison.

"Witness" is the story of the man who gave the most crucial testimony against Hiss, the former Communist Whittaker Chambers. It is a compelling and deeply moving account not only of the Hiss case but of Chambers' life and the spiritual journey from despair to communism to anti-communism.

However, the great value of the book does not lie in the historical significance of the trial (the facts of which are now largely forgotten) or the moving autobiography. Nationally syndicated columnist George Will called it "one of the dozen or so indispensable books of the century," not merely because it gives an insightful account of one side of a famous trial.

In "Witness," Chambers lays out the case for freedom over communism with the penetrating sensibilities of a former poet. In the [illegible] section of the book titled "Letter to [illegible]," he explains what communism [illegible] what makes it so appealing, both to the working class and the rich.

Communism "is not just the writings of Marx and Lenin, dialectical materialism, the Politburo, the labor theory of value, the theory of the general strike, the Red Army, secret police, labor camps, underground conspiracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the technique of the coup d'état... These are expressions of communism, but they are not what communism is about."

Chambers, the ex-Communist, authoritatively spells out the underlying philosophical differences between communism and capitalism. Communism is, according to Chambers, the political expression of one answer to the "most revolutionary question in history: God or Man?" At its basic level, "the Communist vision is the vision of Man without God."

The source of communism's appeal to the working man, who can scarcely afford any great vision, is the crisis. Marx and Lenin offer an explanation for and a solution to the crisis of war and the crisis of the economy, he says.

To the intellectual, the Communist vision provides "the two certainties for which the mind of man tirelessly seeks: a reason to live and a reason to die." It is not merely a route to power, as some suppose, but a faith of intense practicality that promises an end to the crisis of history.

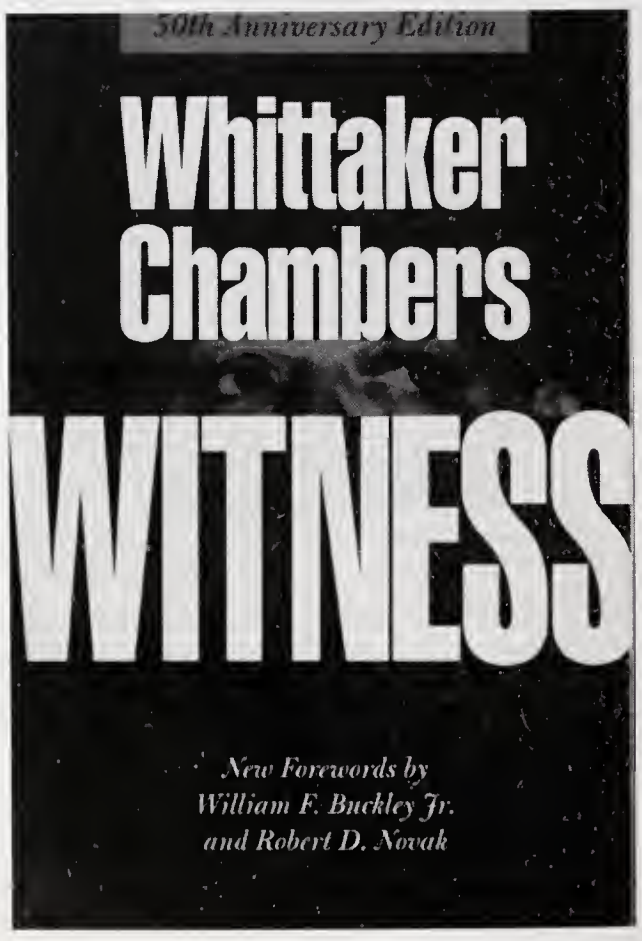
Nearly sixty years after its initial publication, "Witness" stands as a powerful reminder of the special challenges faced by America, "that nation on which the fate of all else hinged." Communism's largest sponsor, the Soviet Union, has fallen. However, nearly twenty years after the collapse of the USSR, a generation that has never known the threat of communism begins to take the wheel of civilization, while the belief in the need for change and Man's ability to remake the world certainly persists.

As Chambers put it so eloquently, "Communists are bound together by no secret oath. The tie that binds them across the frontiers of nations, across barriers of language and differences of class and education, in defiance of religion, morality, truth, law, honor, the weaknesses of the body and the irresolutions of the mind, even unto death, is a simple conviction: It is necessary to change the world."

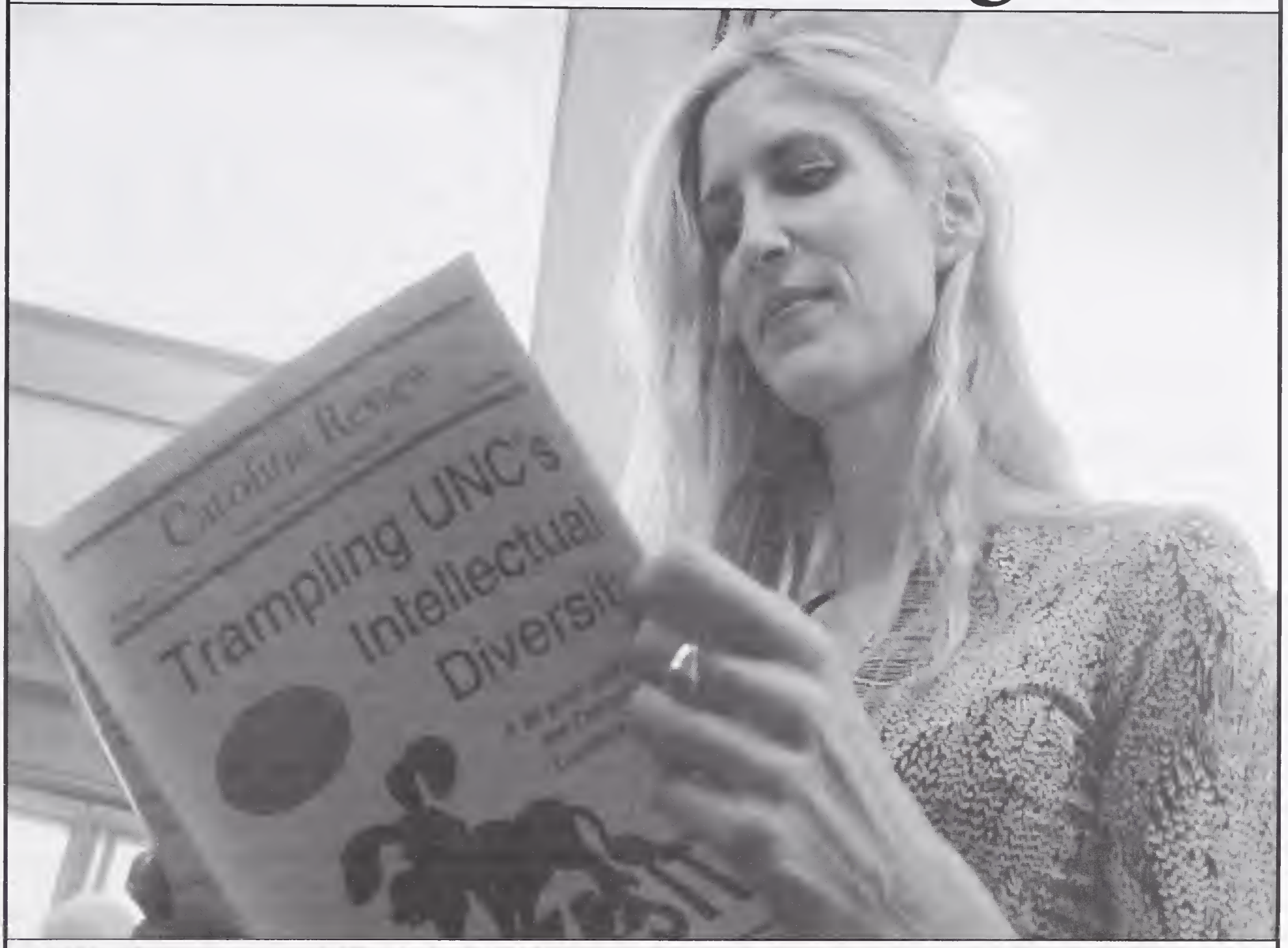
For those who doubt the legacy of communism, recall the slogan plastered all over UNC, car bumpers, and television last fall: change we can believe in.

This is not to suggest that our president is a Communist, but rather a call to heed the immutable warning that echoes from the abyss of history: beware of those who promise change.

America, Chambers said, is "the wonder of history and the hope of mankind." Nearly everyone recognizes that what we have in America is great, but some nevertheless seek to change it in pursuit of an ideal system, failing to understand that the good is often the enemy of the best. They should take a moment to reflect on the hundreds of millions slaughtered in the pursuit of that ideal system in the last century, and they should certainly read "Witness." **CR**



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Voting, continued from page 12

mass email; however, the opposition did not. Later that day, student congresswoman Emily Joy Rothchild sent out an email to the entire student body using a Gmail group. This email clearly argued for the student fee increase, thereby violating the BOE's guidelines about mass email. Rothchild did not respond to an interview request for this article.

Tenyotkin promised to review the email's legality at the certification meeting. Yet, the BOE's official decisions certifying the results make no mention of it ever being considered. Tenyotkin states that the BOE never reviewed it because "Rothchild brought this email to the board's attention prior to sending it" and that it was "essentially pre-approved by the BOE."

Rothchild stated in an email to Justin Crowder that she had the email approved by Tenyotkin before it was sent. The Vice-Chairman of the BOE therefore privately approved an email which was in clear-cut violation of distributed BOE regulations.

The results came in that night. The referendum passed by 500 votes. The results were quickly certified despite Tenyotkin's promise to consider the effects of Rothchild's email. Campus life moved on, oblivious to the outrages against justice which had just been perpetrated.

This pattern of behavior clearly shows a slanted Board of Elections which favored one side over the other, and worked to ensure that this side won. In addition, the proponents of the fee increase engaged in a series of illegal campaign tactics, including the theft of campaign materials, misuse of student government offices and violations of BOE regulations concerning mass email.

This sort of behavior is an embarrassment to the University, and seriously calls into question the ability of students to be trusted with the responsibilities of self-government. In order to prevent such a situation from happening in the future, reforms are urgently needed. Student congress has begun this process by passing an elections reform bill curtailing the powers of the BOE. Two crucial sections of the bill – that the BOE cannot prohibit anything not explicitly prohibited in the Student Code, and that overturning an election requires a 2/3 majority vote by the BOE – would have ended this entire contest after the first referendum.

Tenyotkin's well-publicized hysterics, stating in the DTH in response to the new law that "we will have mayhem…we will be strangled" only underscore how badly this reform was needed. For it is Tenyotkin himself who has been at the center of most of the controversy surrounding the BOE this year, and he bears the responsibility for much of it.

Raynor has been an excellent student body president, and her role in the campaign must be distinguished from individuals such as Tenyotkin and Rothchild. There is no hard evidence of wrongdoing on Raynor's part, but there are unanswered questions about how she discovered the results of the referendum before they were released. She also bears some of this responsibility for appointing Tenyotkin to his position on the BOE, enabling him to engage in numerous abuses of power (see Zach Dexter's article "Tyrannical Rule" in the February 2009 issue of *Carolina Review*).

This means that in addition to reforms of election law, reforms are needed in order to make the BOE more transparent. Disqualifying a candidate or overturning a referendum vote should be done at a public meeting whose time and place are announced several days in advance, not in secret meetings with vague and incomplete minutes that are published weeks after the meeting takes place. This would eliminate the secrecy which has allowed so much questionable behavior by the BOE this year.

Another issue highlighted by this mess is the concentration of power in the Student Body President's office. The Student Body President appoints both the student Supreme Court and the Chair and Vice-Chair of the BOE. This presents a clear conflict of interest when either of these bodies must hear a case involving the student body president. The authority to make these appointments should be taken away from the student executive branch and given to the legislative branch.

This investigation has uncovered no solid evidence of improper collusion between the Student Body President and the BOE. However, unanswered questions still remain. It is not known how Raynor managed to find out the results of the referendum before they were released publically. The BOE engaged in a pattern of questionable behavior in support of a referendum which was strongly supported by the student body president. Student government officials should all come clean about what actually happened during the campaign. The lack of cooperation exhibited by student government officials when asked for input on the preparation of this article shows that they do not seem to plan on doing this anytime soon.

A final word of caution concerns the coming administration. Student Body President-elect Jasmin Jones should endeavor to appoint responsible members to the BOE, who will apply the law as written, not create bizarre interpretations which are not founded in the student code.

What this university needs are greater efforts at responsible, fair and open student government, and that is not what it has been getting this year. **CR**

Anthony Dent contributed to this report.



Chapel Hill HOOLIGANS strike again



by BRYAN WEYNAND
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Protesters' selective view of free speech embarrassing to university

Tonight, on the night before this issue of the *Carolina Review* went to press one of the more embarrassing and childish episodes I have seen at UNC took place, and I felt the need to address it given the opportunity, though it will be hastily and without detail. A further exploration of the underlying bias and prejudice demonstrated by those who amount to nothing but radical hippies will be featured in the summer issue.

The first story I ever wrote for the *Review* was a commentary on the pathetic demonstration by protestors at the John Ashcroft speech my freshman year. Now a junior, I have come to expect such things out of the Students for a Democratic Society, hooligans disguised (though not well) as mature human college students.

Tonight was special. Tonight former U.S. Rep. Tom Tancredo, the object of their toddler-like furor, was not even able to give the speech he flew in to give. Ashcroft was interrupted. Tancredo had to leave the room with a police escort after a window was broken by a protestor outside. Tancredo had to attempt a speech having a banner held in front of his face and being drowned out by the yelling outside and inside the room.

The aforementioned hippies are probably grinning with pride reading this right about now. One of you will probably write a letter to the editor to the *DTH* tomorrow decrying the useless prattle from that conservative magazine no one actually reads.

The theme of the night was that Tancredo is racist. As the argument goes, because he is a racist, he has no business being allowed to speak, and the police have no obligation to defend him from physical danger (said the loudest hippie over the megaphone outside). The radical hippies have no reason to behave their age and allow others to listen, and the First Amendment, the principles of free expression and simple human decency just do not apply here.

Even the most simple-minded of the SDS members ought to see the blatant inconsistencies at their attempt at logical argumentation. At no time was any explanation of the charge of racism offered. Even after students from the Carolina Hispanics Association stood up and asked to listen because they were unfamiliar with Tancredo and wanted to hear, the radical and mostly *white* protestors continued to deny them this opportunity without cause.

Essentially, words were put into Tancredo's mouth, and he never got the chance to rebut. There were students in the audience maturely waiting to hear the words from Tancredo himself, in order they could make a judgment on whether or not he was in fact a racist. Such would have been in keeping with the principles of a university in this country.

It was John Stuart Mill who argued so eloquently in *On Liberty* that even if opinions are completely offensive and without merit it is good to hear them expressed every once in a while; it offers us a chance to reexamine our own views and values and more clearly develop and understand them. That is one of the commonly neglected virtues of the First Amendment, and tonight it was desecrated by students at a public university. As Mill points out, it is actually benefit which comes from wrong speech, not harm.

Of all the reasons to be ashamed of what went on at Bingham tonight, perhaps the most disappointing is the demonization of the police force working to protect students, and Mr. Tancredo, evil as he may allegedly be.

It was argued by the protesting students that *they* were the victims of First Amendment violation, that *their* speech had been prevented by the police. Though it can be sufficiently held that no SDS member cares to know a shred about constitutional law, it still applies that none of them have a right to disrupt physical order and put others in danger. Police attempting to maintain order not only have the right, but the obligation to restrain them. It is then an amusing irony that they made free speech claims while disrupting that of another because his speech was inferior, before they even knew what his speech was going to be.

Logical inconsistencies aside, it is the sheer immaturity displayed by protesting students that is most bothersome to the university culture. Not expecting rational thought to understand the principles discussed above, I would only ask the SDS two questions: what was the point? And why not let him talk instead of embarrassing yourselves?

Mr. Tancredo, I applaud you for enduring the hooligans of Chapel Hill. You are not a racist, and you understand freedom better than most of the people who were in the room tonight. **CR**

CLASSIFIEDS

JOB OPENINGS

The esteemed *Carolina Review* magazine is opening up a new Department for Writing Letters-to-the-Editor of the *Daily Tar Heel*. Filling the *DTH* with letters-to-the-editors is putting a strain on our staff, so we're looking for anyone who's willing and able to write snarky, inflammatory, and irreverent letters and responses to the inevitable letters in response to those previous letters. Pay: no monetary payment, but you receive all of the vitriolic scorn you could ever want!

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Looking for Housing: R. Nader. My Mother is throwing me out of the basement. Will sleep on a couch or futon. Do not have money, but can pay in rage, boring rage. Call 301-555-555 (Note: It's a telephone booth, so I may not answer first.)

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Prop 8 The Musical: The Musical. Looking for actors, actresses and any thespians who don't fit into society's rigid actor/actress binary-ism to act in an exciting new musical about Prop 8: The Musical. Tryouts are May 1st, Callbacks on May 2nd.



EMPLOYMENT

Greg Paulus' completely unnecessary shooting sleeve. Underemployed by former employer, still in mint condition. Call at 919-555-555.



MISCELLANEOUS

Barack Obama: Because, if you really wanted change, you would have voted for Ron Paul



The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

This month, the Rub is presenting something it's never done before.

Touché

We're reviewing the hottest new book on the market: *How to Fix the Financial System in Three Short Months (Version for Dummies!)* by The Rub.

No shameless self-promotion here!

Now, the "dummies" version is for those of us who seem to be unable to figure out how to complete this inordinately simple task within the suggested time frame.

*cough*Barack*cough*Hussein*cough*Oba ma*cough*

We'll break it down into three quick, easy to learn steps: Action, Independence and Growth.

Or AIG, for short… Coincidence? I think not

For Action, the government must first take action.

They don't know what kind

Instead of easing the mark-to-market rules so banks don't have to write down their mortgage assets as much, the government should just buy all of banks' assets at book value so they don't lose money.

Total cost: $547,812,906,483,628.35 $^{9}/_{10}$
Payoff to taxpayers: $2.37, a used gum wrapper and some lint

For Independence, the government must next make the current bank executives and directors independent – by firing them all and setting them free.

Too kind. No, really. They're going to Aruba, Jamaica…

Since these banks can't function without top management, the government will just have to replace them itself.

As easy as filling high-level Treasury jobs

In the Growth stage, economic growth magically follows from the previous two stages.

Just like in Obama's budget projections

There! Problem solved!

Staples: That was easy

Best of all, this plan is available for just 300 million easy payments of $1,826,043.02 each.

Or, if you prefer, we can break it into 18,290,915,074,578 easy payments of just $29.95 each, payable by the time your great-great-grandchildren are old enough to pay taxes

But, just to make this deal even FINEr…

Pun intended, by the way

…we are offering a financing plan!

It's called taxpayers/AIG employees

All the money you want for as long as you want! It's like a loan you never have to pay back!

If people make you angry, just charge them extra

(Disclaimer: This credit plan is secured by mortgage-backed securities. The Rub is not liable for any unforeseen losses that might or might not occur.)

Or foreseen ones, for that matter

We guarantee that all this can be done in three months, or your money back.

The 10 percent we have left after taxes, anyway

Ay, there's the rub.

Touché

Paradigms and Principles

NCAA forces N.C. State to push First Amendment boundary

One could potentially misconstrue this Paradigm as the victorious students of the 2009 National Champions extending a helping hand to the soon-to-hit-rock bottom basketball program over in Raleigh, and that would be entirely incorrect. But interpret it as you so choose.

This is primarily about First Amendment rights and the out of control monstrosity of an organization that is the power grabbing NCAA.

An N.C. State student was instructed by the compliance director at State to change a Facebook group titled "John Wall PLEASE Come to NC STATE!!!!" One can sense the despair.

That universities have to create a position titled compliance director to ensure compliance with the tangled web of rules offered by the NCAA is hint enough that there might be an issue. The maxim that fairness is not fairness if it comes at the expense of personal freedom still holds in basketball. The NCAA charged that the group was an attempt to persuade Wall, the #1 recruit in the class of 2009, to choose State over other competing schools such as Kentucky, Duke, and allegedly UNC.

The obvious implication is that such attempt at persuasion is the problem, yet Roy Williams presumably is allowed to show incoming recruits our soon to be six National Title banners without being accused of persuasion.

Universities are going to use their respective advantages to woo recruits to their school, and the NCAA should not attempt a pretense that it makes matters "fair" by regulating schools at the expense of their freedom to do so. This simply creates double standards, inequality of enforcement, and violation of freedom.

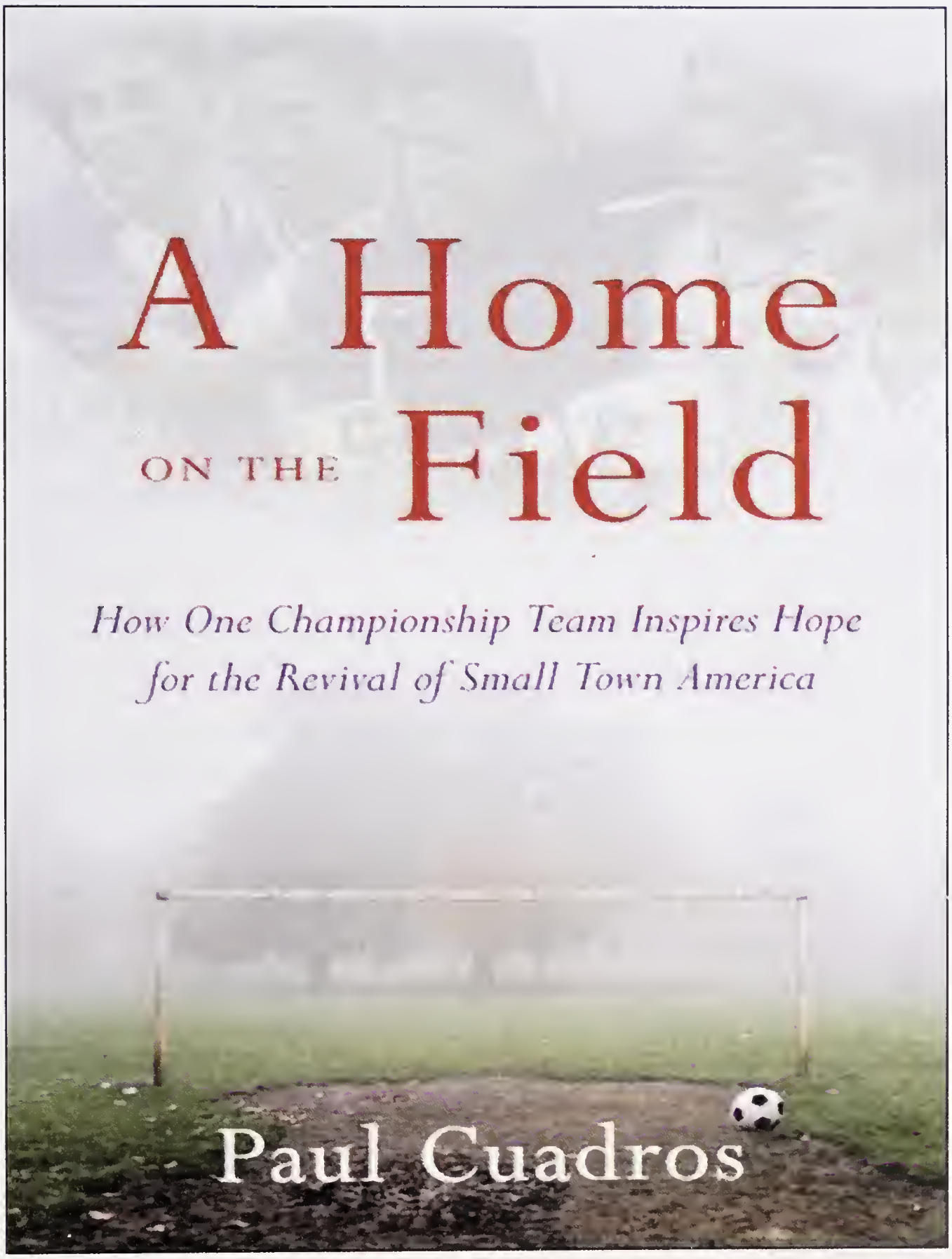
Moreover, this instance is not even about the university, but a student enrolled at it using his Facebook page. The Foundation for Individual Rights in Education correctly observed that there is a constitutional problem with a university censoring a student in his speech, especially when it is conducted outside the realm of the school.

The NCAA *can* set conditions for membership that restrict member schools, though we would argue they should not. But neither the NCAA nor any university has such authority to restrict the speech of a private student.

Having said that, let us add this (loudly enough for the NCAA to hear no doubt): We're going to be better than State with or without you, so John Wall, please sign with Carolina, the defending NCAA National Champions!

Go Heels! Congratulations on a memorable 2009 season and championship. We will leave Carolina proud to have been a part of your legacy.

Carolina Review



• page 10 •

A Review of UNC's Summer Reading

Inside: Freshman Orientation Guide 12 • Charter School Caps 14 • Western Values 18

FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

We at the *Carolina Review* would like to formally welcome you to Chapel Hill. As you begin your first semester of college, you will quickly come to recognize that some of the things you have been led to believe about college are exaggeration or pure myth. The liberal bias, though, is no myth. Unless you avoid all human interaction here at Carolina, you will see that the overwhelming majority of you the faculty, administration, and undergraduate population leans decidedly to the left.

The *Carolina Review* is designed as a counterbalance to the casually ubiquitous liberalism at UNC. We cover local and campus issues, sometimes ranging to state or national matters, from an unapologetically conservative standpoint.

To that end, Chelsea Walker has written a critical review of the freshman summer reading selection, skewering the book for its thoroughly flawed logic, many contradictions, and misattributed blame. Be sure to read it before you attend your book discussion (or do not attend at all- those discussions are a complete waste of time).

Andrea Ludtke has written an article about the effect of college life on one's religious life. Far too many college freshmen arrive at college as firm believers but leave with their faith shattered. For those of you who have a religious faith, she has some good suggestions for ways to ward off this tendency.

Duke Cheston's article defends Western civilization. You will mostly be taught, whether explicitly or not, multiculturalism- the idea that all cultures are essentially equal, so no one culture's beliefs or practices are superior to those of another culture. Cheston argues, on the other hand, that Western civilization is something to be especially revered and that its values and traditions should be taught and preserved.

Marc Seelinger's article looks at the misuse of certain hyperbolic political terms, using the Obama administration's use of the phrase "right-wing extremists" as an example of a poisonous habit. Labeling anyone on the other side of the political spectrum as an "extremist" precludes any sort of rational debate.

We hope that this issue provides a refreshing alternative to the monolithic leftism you will inevitably face during your first weeks on campus. We also hope that you will continue reading each month and that you check out our blog at CRDaily.com. Finally, we are always looking for new writers, designers, photographers, artists, etc., so we would like to welcome you to come to one our meetings to see if you might be interested in joining the staff. We are very flexible with the commitment we ask of our staff members, so you would be able to contribute as much or as little as you want.

Sincerely,
Nash Keune and Bryan Weynand, *Co-Editors*

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Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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CHEERS & JEERS

May 2009 The May 2009 issue of the Carolina Review examined the corrupt tenure of North Carolina Senate Majority Leader Tony Rand. It also criticized over-bearing legislation against smoking and so-called "hate speech," and it questioned Obama's repression of private charity. As usual, you can read our old issues online at unc.edu/cr/

Comment on May articles at **carolinareviewblog.blogspot.com**.



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CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

* We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.

* We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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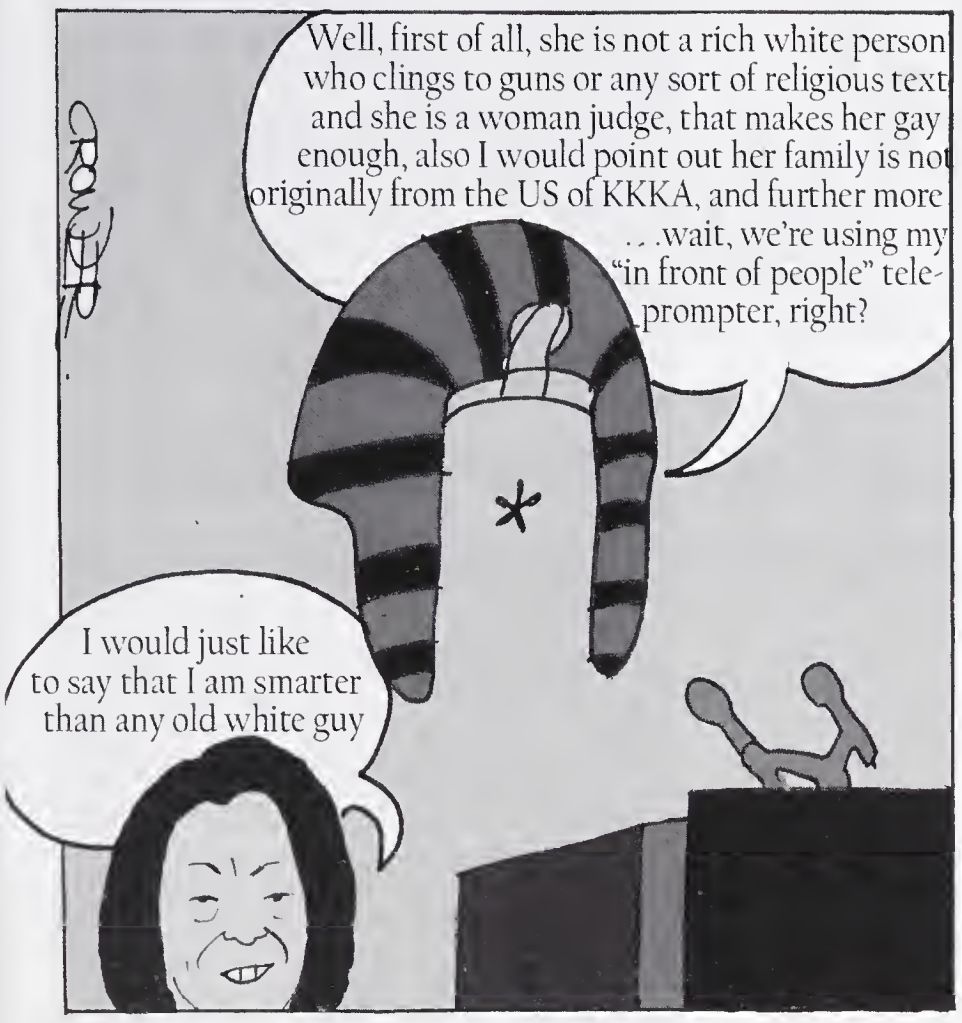
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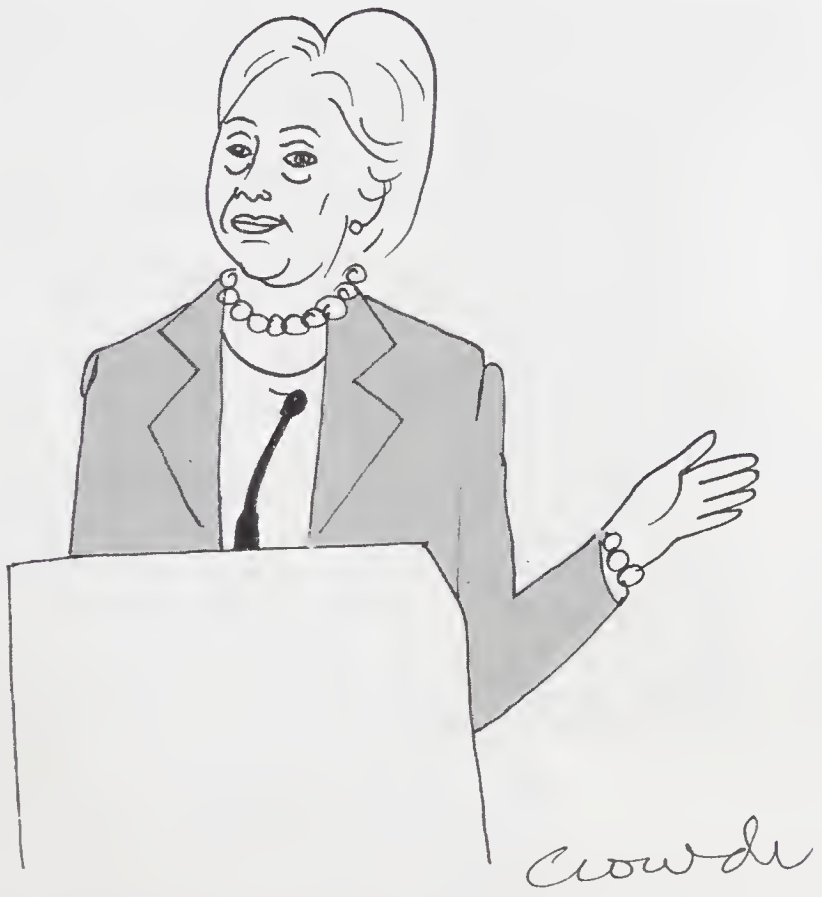
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"The facts of life are conservative."
– Margaret Thatcher

"Some of you may remember that in my early days, I was sort of a bleeding heart liberal. Then I became a man and put away childish ways."
- Ronald Reagan

"All great peoples are conservative."
- Thomas Carlyle



The issue I want to focus on are LBGTQ rights excepting of course all of Hussein's relatives and their home countries. . .

"The only measure of my success as president when people look back five years from now or nine years from now is going to be did I get this economy fixed. I'm going to be judged on did we pull ourselves out of recession."
- Barack Obama

"No one realized how bad the economy was. The projections, in fact, turned out to be worse. But we took the mainstream model as to what we thought -- and everyone else thought -- the unemployment rate would be."
- Joe Biden



Meeting Chavez again in the future, Obama offers him not another book, but a real-life-size GM Green-Mobile

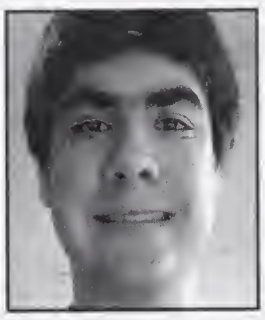
"A fanatic is one who can't change his mind and won't change the subject."
–Winston Churchill

"Ancient Rome declined because it had a Senate; now what's going to happen to us with both a Senate and a House?"
- Will Rogers

"A society that thinks the choice between ways of living is just a choice between equally eligible "lifestyles" turns universities into academic cafeterias offering junk food for the mind."
- George Will

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

Extremely Hyperbolic



by MARC SEELINGER
Sophomore
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Misuse of political terms hinders the political discourse

In the era of Hope and Change it is easy to forget the meaning of words and the things that they represent. We throw such words as fascist, racist and bigot around without any regard to their actual meanings. Consider the case of extremism. This particular word is often bandied about in political discussions. Its introduction into a conversation often intensifies emotions and alienates the so-called "extreme" party. However, its meaning is often poorly understood, vague, or unclear.

Extremism has its origins in Latin, derived from the word *extremus*, which is the superlative form of *exter*, which refers to something on the outside. So then, the Romans would describe extremism as referring to something at the outer-most edges or something farthest from the origin. This definition implies the existence of a standard or norm from which to gauge the extreme. Part of defining the extreme requires defining the norm.

Jump forward 2000 years and the basic meaning of extremism has remained unchanged. Merriam-Webster defines it as "the quality or state of existing in a very high degree, going to great or exaggerated lengths, or exceeding the ordinary, usual, or expected."

So, over the course of 2000 years, the definition of extremism has not changed. However, the popular understanding of the word has.

Consider for example the report recently released by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), "Rightwing Extremism: Current Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment." Within this document, the Obama Administration reveals a very broad understanding of extremism (in this case, "rightwing extremism").

"Rightwing extremism in the United States can be broadly divided into those groups, movements, and adherents that are primarily hate-oriented (based on hatred of particular religious, racial, or ethnic groups), and those that are mainly anti-government, rejecting federal authority in favor of state or local authority, or rejecting government authority entirely. It may also include groups and individuals that are dedicated to a single issue, such as opposition to abortion or immigration," the report states.



Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano

This document and this definition reveal a flawed understanding of extremism as well as a generally hostile attitude toward criticism of the government.

From the classical definitions of extremism above, the administration fails to identify the norm or standard by which they are judging so-called "rightwing extremists." The reader is left wondering what differentiates a "normal" conservative from a rightwing extremist. For example, if someone abhors government intrusion into the private sector, does this qualify as anti-government, and by extension rightwing extremism or is it protected free speech?

Most people do not like paying taxes and especially do not like seeing their tax rates increase. One could argue that these thoughts are, in fact, thoughtcrime. They represent anti-government sentiments. According to the Obama Administration, such thoughts are symptoms of extremism and ought to be suppressed. Joe Biden says that we should be happy to pay taxes and should not resent having to pay higher taxes. It is, after all, our "patriotic duty."

The last part of the definition from the DHS report reveals one of the more sinister consequences of such a broad understanding of extremism. Within the report, it calls out by name those who oppose abortion, those who want to protect their Second Amendment rights, and those who want to reform the immigration system as rightwing extremists.

According to the administration, dedication to a single issue is enough to qualify one as an extremist. They have criminalized political opinions that are contrary to their

"Despite similarities to the climate of the 1990s, the threat posed by lone wolves and small terrorist cells is more pronounced than in past years. In addition, the historical election of an African American president and the prospect of policy changes are proving to be a driving force for rightwing extremist recruitment and radicalization."

-DHS Report

own. Because they fail to define a standard from which to judge extremism, they are allowed to expand the boundaries of extremism to include groups and people that oppose their policy. They exploit the vagueness of their definition to alienate those who oppose them. They encourage the American people to see such groups as National Right to Life and the National Rifle Association as extreme or fringe organizations, discrediting these groups' point of view and ultimately neutralizing any effect they might have on public discourse.

However, this thinking goes beyond the three topics of abortion, immigration and gun control. One of the first topics discussed in the DHS document concerns last year's presidential election. "The economic downturn and the election of the first African-American President present unique drivers for rightwing radicalization and recruitment … [creating] a fertile recruiting environment for rightwing extremists and [could] result in confrontations between such groups and government authorities similar to those in the past," the report says.

Upon first reading this, one is justifiably confused by what the administration could possibly mean by such a statement. Because of the loose use of words such as "extremist" and "confrontation," this statement could refer to almost anything, from protests outside the White House to a full-blown civil war.

However, the report does provide some clarification later on: "The possible passage of new restrictions on firearms and the return of military veterans facing significant challenges reintegrating into their communities could lead to the potential emergence of terrorist groups or lone-wolf extremists capable of carrying out violent attacks."

So then, we learn the meaning behind the previous statement, namely that these rightwing "extremists" are on the same level as al-Qaeda terrorists.

By doing this, President Obama is smothering opposition to his policies. In labeling core principles of the conservative movement as extreme, he makes his own radical views on such things as life and the role of government appear normal. He redefines extremism to include everything except his own view of the world. Dedication to the pro-life movement, gun rights, or even opposition to Obama's presidential bid lands one on DHS's list of extremists to be watched, monitored and silenced.

As an example of the dangerous consequences of this perversion of our language, consider the events surrounding Tom Tancredo's speech on campus. Various groups on campus (most notably Students for a Democratic Society) were aware of Tancredo's views on immigration reform (one of three unspeakable topics noted above). They branded him an extremist, a hate-monger, and a bigot. In doing so, they stripped him of his right to "peaceably assemble" and of the opportunity to even voice his thoughts. They prevented him from speaking by holding a banner in front of his face and shouting him down. They also smashed a window, mob-rushed the assembly and disrupted an official student function. Their actions ultimately forced the police to clear the building and shut down the event. His supposed extremism justified their rather juvenile actions that resulted in the termination of the event. The emotional power of the word "extremism" is such that merely labeling a man as an extremist is enough to prevent him from giving a public speech.

Of course, one of the great ironies of the actions of SDS (or DHS as the case may be) is that they not only malign the supposed extremist, but everyone else as well. These thought-police raise themselves up by pushing everyone else down. Consider the Tancredo incident again. The protestors who silenced Tancredo apparently felt that the rest of the student body lacked the level of intelligence necessary to ward off these "dangerous" philosophies. With the exception of themselves, these protestors believe that the student body does not have a properly developed sense of right and wrong.

Naturally, the student body needs something to protect it from dangerous thoughts and to point it in the right direction. This guidance and protection came in the form of the SDS protestors and the other thought-police who felt it necessary to shut down the event. This kind of thinking is a direct result of the understanding of extremism contained within the DHS document. It is a severe threat to freedom and liberty as the administration seeks to mold public opinion to conform with its own.

The Obama Administration's perversion of the meaning of extremism is disconcerting on many accounts. He is labeling any view contrary to his own as extreme and thereby forcing opposition to his policies into the shadows out of fear of government censure or popular riots. This bastardization of the English language is a threat to freedom and liberty. It brings to mind the credo of IngSoc from George Orwell's "1984:" "War is peace. Freedom is slavery. Ignorance is strength." **CR**

Not So *Crystal Clear*

Accuser in the Duke Lacrosse case makes an ironic case about discrimination



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The average American remembers Crystal Mangum as the instigator of what became a widely-publicized case of prosecutorial misconduct by lying to police and prosecutors in accusing several members of the Duke Men's Lacrosse team of rape. For this reason, many might suggest that she is perhaps not the ideal candidate to give a speech about the injustices resulting from a rush to judgment by prosecutors, that is, unless she is being made to explain how deceitful would-be victims like her convince prosecutors to make such hurried judgments. However, two fraternities and a sorority at UNC clearly see the situation from a very different perspective than most, as evidenced by their invitation to her to speak about problems that minority victims of prosecutorial misconduct face.

The event purported to discuss the "harsh reality of minority treatment" in the media and in the legal system. It was in reality a gripefest for Crystal Mangum, who should thank the Lord every day that she is not sitting in a jail cell for her heinous lies. Instead, she complained bitterly that CNN and NBC did interviews with her and then did not publish them, although she admitted that it was because they did not believe her.

Vincent Clark, the man who helped her to write her book and seems to handle her public relations, also spoke, complaining about the time that they had put into the interviews and the fact that the interviews had not aired, claiming that the executives of the news companies had refused to show Ms. Mangum's side of the story in a conspiracy to "bury her" and "make sure no one will ever believe her." If the news stations legitimately stopped believing her story, as Ms. Mangum was prepared to concede, would it not seem reasonable to assume that they felt it a violation of journalistic integrity to publish interviews in which they knew, or at least had reason to believe, that she was lying through her teeth?

Ms. Mangum said, "They were not protecting me by not showing [the interview] – I believe they were protecting other people." Vincent Clark referred to the Lacrosse players and the media as a "well-oiled machine." The premise of her entire speech was that the media had refused to give her a fair shake. However, if the media knew or strongly suspected that she was lying, how would it have behooved her to have them show interviews with her which they would then be immediately forced to discredit as a pack of lies or risk losing credibility?

Interestingly, after Ms. Mangum left, Clark's true opinion of the situation came out. Almost as soon as she exited the room, he leveled with the audience: "Say she is lying – what of it? Does she not deserve to finish college and go on with her life? Haven't you ever done something you're not so pleased with?" The fact is that for Vincent Clark and Crystal Mangum, the truth is the last thing that matters. They merely want to perpetuate the culture of victimization which has developed everywhere it is tolerated.

Ms. Mangum went on ad nauseam about how "every day is a struggle" for her, as it is for all (real) victims of sexual assault, even claiming that she suffered through post-traumatic stress disorder. Her grandstanding and unwarranted self-pity were unspeakable insults to every woman who has actually been a victim of rape, as was her patronizing invitation to rape victims to come to her in confidence for advice if they fear speaking out.

She acknowledged that "because of the way [her] case went, that made it harder for others to come forward." She is right about that, at least, although it is not because she was a victim of injustice; the fact that her case was brought and pursued and then proved to be comprised of falsehoods did indeed make it much more difficult for people who are victims of sexual assault to come forward.

The fact is that when people like Crystal Mangum lie about being sexually assaulted it increases the burden of proof necessary for women who have actually been raped to prove the veracity of their accusations, and that is the biggest travesty that has resulted from her indescribably selfish and utterly reprehensible actions. The fact that she held an event to speak about the "injustices" perpetrated against her after making it harder for actual rape victims to come forward and to be believed is incomprehensible.

The event planners' idea of trotting out victims of false accusations at the end of the presentation to juxtapose with Ms. Mangum's bald-faced lies as examples of the "harsh reality of minority treatment" was nothing short of embarrassing. Mangum's case is an exemplification of the harsh realities of the very antithesis to the subject being discussed: false accusations and injustice against non-minorities. In fact, Mangum herself single-handedly proved that minorities are not the only victims of failings in our justice system by leveling and pursuing false accusations against the white Duke Lacrosse players.

Hearing the stories of minority victims of prosecutorial misconduct only put the audience in the awkward position of sympathizing with the Duke Lacrossé players, who are certainly no angels, but who were also victims of overzealous prosecution at the hands of Mike Nifong and at the behest of Crystal Mangum. That she is now claiming to be an expert on the "injustices" of the legal system is an irony which should be too rich for even the staunchest believers in racial identity and victimization. **CR**

Keeping the Faith

by ANDREA LUDTKE
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College and the religious faith do not have to be mutually exclusive

You have pored over the books, sat for the exams, and put your Tetris skills to the test cramming more "necessary" items into the family car than the manufacturer thought possible – you are going to college. But before you do a cannonball into all college has to offer, your religion is one thing you may want to avoid checking at the dorm door.

According to CrossExamined.org, "3 out of 4 Christian teens walk away from the church after they leave home." Why is this? Many blame the institution of college itself, and for obvious reasons. Although college is the "marketplace of ideas," some ideas dominate more than others, translating into liberal attitudes at most colleges, and especially at UNC, that pressure students to behave in ways that contradict their religious upbringings. While these attitudes certainly have redeeming effects, according to an Add Health study, they also promote a culture of permissiveness, which includes heightened pressure to drink, do drugs and have sex. This pressure is elevated for freshmen, who have a higher desire to fit into the social scene to make friends and to experience the college way of life at full speed.

The liberal persuasion of the college culture at UNC has been the driving force behind many events this past year, namely "I Love Female Orgasm" and "Prop 8: The Musical," which both came with great excitement and left with little controversy. The book "Covering" by Kenji Yoshino that details the struggles of a gay Asian-American man was even deemed proper welcoming material to get freshmen buzzing, all contributing to a social environment that requires adhering to a certain set of values.

In addition to the liberal culture in general, college presents students with a significantly greater degree of personal freedom than their high school years. The new lack of parental oversight and community attitudes and traditions affords students the opportunity to stop doing activities like attending church that now seem uninteresting and are devalued by peers. New students also tend to succumb to both pressure and their own curiosity to engage in activities that place them at odds with their faith.

The combination of the permissive college culture and the freedom students have to enjoy it creates the perfect storm for students to walk away from their faith, but college itself is not the sole culprit. The Add Health study finds that ultimately the college experience "seems corrosive to religious faith only among those who were at an elevated risk of such corrosion when they arrived on campus … To suggest that the die is cast before the dorm room is occupied may be too strong a claim, but not by much."

In other words, students' lack of knowledge of their religion's beliefs and practices leaves them less committed than parents would like to think, and students are unable to defend them against the conflicting viewpoints and arguments that inevitably present themselves in college. When students leave the stable structures of their high school years, especially family, that have kept many of their traditions and beliefs intact and unchallenged, religiosity is simply left behind as well.

For students who are committed to keeping their faith, though, this is great news. College is not the enemy of faith, some evil secularizing institution that leaves students believing the Bible is merely a book of fables. It is merely the catalyst that exposes those students whose faith is only held together by their communities and family traditions, and not by personal choice, inserting new values in place of loosely held old ones. The question then becomes, how can students make that personal choice to keep their faith in college?

It starts with mental preparation, because faith is not transmitted by osmosis – it is taught. If you are a new student, make plans now to try out different on-campus religious organizations to find the one that best suits you. As Allysen Schaaf, President of the Presbyterian Campus Ministry, recommends,



"Choose a campus ministry that is composed of people who will help you think about your faith more deeply, challenge you, laugh with you, and pray with you. A great campus ministry has all of these things and many college students find a home away from home at their campus ministry. Surround yourself with a group of loving and faithful people who share the same passion for upholding religious values but at the same time allow you to grow and discover yourself."

Finding friends now who will support your lifestyle and grow with you through the changes of college will be your best bet later at avoiding peer pressure and good old curiosity to make regretful choices that contradict your beliefs. And on Sundays, fight the temptation to sleep in by promising yourself brunch at Ye Olde Waffle Shoppe and catch a service at one of the many churches right on Franklin Street with active and welcoming college communities. It is a great way to interact with those outside of the college bubble and gain perspective on life outside the dorm room.

Do not hesitate to approach college with an open mind and a desire for new experiences and challenges, but if you choose to stay committed to your faith, keep in mind that fully engaging in the college culture will mean compromising your values at some point. By becoming active in on-campus religious organizations and connecting with the local community at weekly service, however, you will discover the less talked about subculture of religiosity at UNC, as rewarding and enriching an experience as any you could hope to have in your college years. **CR**

A HOME ON THE FIELD

Freshman summer reading review



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"A Home on the Field" by Paul Cuadros details the experiences of a journalist (the author) who moves to Pittsboro, North Carolina, in order to report on the poultry industry in neighboring Siler City, NC, and decides to help out the sons of the poultry workers from South and Central America by forming a soccer team at their high school. The book is in part a poignant and inspirational account of the boys' struggle to overcome extreme adversity, including poverty, feelings of isolation, family pressures and a frustrating and often confusing language barrier, to come together as a team and win the state soccer championship.

However, what makes the book more than just the memoirs of the coach of a successful mostly-Latino soccer team is its focus on illegal immigration and its condemnation of the supposed "sins" of those who desire enforcement of immigration law. In his book, Cuadros refers to walls erected to enforce borders as a "sin," declaring, "God sees no walls in heaven." He also refers to the United States as the enslaver of an entire race, asking, "Is this how Pharaoh's heart hardens?" in reference to American policy regarding illegal immigrants and their children.

He also claims that American free-trade policies and globalization are to blame, and he believes that the United States should take the burden of improving the economies of Central and South American countries, even though he admits it is not our responsibility to do so. He compares our collective countries to a neighborhood, pointing out that "neighbors do help each other" to argue that the United States should take responsibility for fixing the economic situations in the other countries.

An obvious response to that assertion is: When was the last time your neighbors broke into your house because they were dissatisfied with theirs? Even if your neighbor is having his house fumigated or his water is turned off, one would hope that he would still check with you before he comes into your house to take advantage of your amenities.

Admittedly, bringing cheap labor into this country has benefitted towns like Siler City and the corporations that employ the immigrants, as Cuadros points out. However, he spends much of his book lamenting the low pay that illegal aliens receive as a result of their status, though he admits that it is much more than they would be making in Mexico. He gives the illegal workers the credit for awakening the economy of Siler City, bringing all manner of new businesses there to take advantage of the new market. The inherent fallacy in attributing the economic growth of any area solely to the workers who live there is the fact that the entrepreneurs who bring the firms to the areas and pay the workers are obviously necessary in order for this growth to take place.

The firms may be taking advantage of a worker's illegal status in paying him less than a citizen because it benefits the firm economically, but as harsh as it might sound, that is the price that illegal workers must pay for flouting the law. If a firm like the ones that Cuadros often demonizes in his book can minimize cost by paying workers less than minimum wage, it will. If firms paid illegal aliens the same wage they paid other workers, there would be no incentive for them to break the law and risk punishment by hiring illegal workers rather than legal ones. Both corporations and workers benefit from the situation in Siler City as it is.

However, the bottom line is that, while corporations and illegal workers may benefit from illegal immigration, our overarching national interest is severely hurt by attempts at instituting an open border policy. Problems arising from lax immigration standards and a lack of sufficient resources at the border already provide more than enough of a headache for our national security and counterterrorism agencies; removing the requirement of documentation for anyone entering the country cannot possibly be construed as an improvement over the current situation, grim though it may be.

Cuadros's assertion that the border fence is not working and that it is often easy to cross the border once one arrives at it is certainly not an effective argument for removing the border patrol. The idea of removing immigration standards because those standards are not being met is analogous to lowering education standards because students are not performing well; it does not make sense, and it is not right.

Why not work on fixing the problem instead of simply declaring it a lost cause? How can we fight against terrorism while at the same time declining to insist on documenting those who enter our country and refusing to determine the legitimacy of their motives for being here? Some opponents of immigration laws maintain that enforcing border control and deporting illegal aliens is impossible; that is certainly true if no one is willing to try.

Cuadros complains that the United States only uses "punitive" measures to curb illegal immigration; deportation back to a country like Mexico could be considered a punishment of sorts only because it is an undesirable outcome for the lawbreaker. However, deportation is not meant as a punishment but rather as a method of enforcing the law, as are other deterrents like requiring a social security number to obtain official licenses and raising the requirements of documentation for receipt of a driver's license.

Cuadros suggests positive rather than negative reinforcement; while blaming the United States for Mexico's economic troubles, he maintains that America should pour money into Mexico. The violation of NAFTA which occurs because of America's corn subsidy is certainly shameful and should not happen, but that is not an excuse to put the burden of blame on the United States for all of Mexico's economic problems.

It is time to stop blaming the United States for the poverty in Mexico, which existed before NAFTA and will continue to plague the nation unless it can escape from the grip of corruption. The Mexican people are not to blame; as Cuadros's book clearly demonstrates, immigrants are often excellent work-

ers and by no means lack initiative. Corruption in Mexico has robbed the people of the chance to take advantage of their country's considerable natural resources, which prevents them from creating a middle class and escaping from the poverty which motivates them to break our laws and threaten our sovereignty.

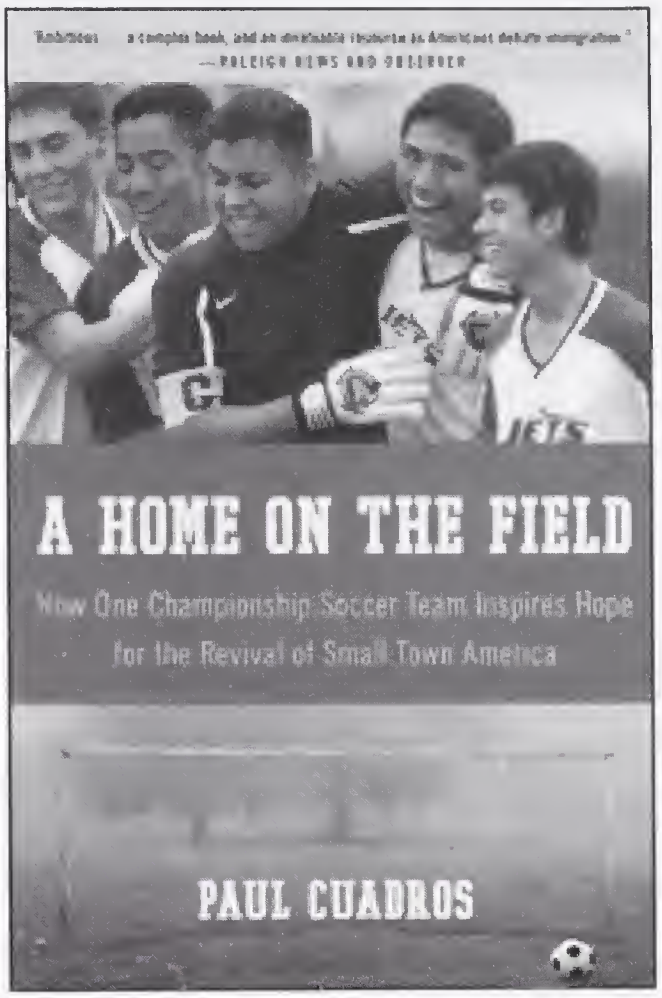
Cuadros describes Bill O'Reilly as "anti-immigrant" in his book, but O'Reilly (whose ancestors were Irish immigrants) actually offers some insight into the plight of Mexico by pointing out that Mexico is a country which is flanked by coastline and beautiful natural scenery, much of which is described in "A Home on the Field." There is no reason that a country so rich in natural resources should not make enough national income from tourism to lift itself out of poverty, but corruption and mismanagement keep the people from improving their situation.

Cuadros and I do agree on one thing: as he says, "Mexico and its ruling class must now do what it has never done or cared to do – educate its people, provide meaningful jobs, and create a middle class from the poor." Although Cuadros was quick and consistent in blaming the United States and our corporations for the problems of illegal Mexican immigrants, he finally admits in the epilogue that this country is not wholly to blame. "The migration is a national disgrace to Mexico and its leaders," he concedes.

However, Cuadros asserts that America "only seeks to punish" those who break our laws by deporting them and by refusing to grant their children legal status solely on the merit that they crossed the border with their parents successfully. The epilogue of the book contains a list of the players and a summary of how they were each spending their time after playing soccer for the Jets; for most of the players, Cuadros made sure that the first thing he mentioned was that the player was unable to attend college because of his illegal status.

In parts of the book, he complains that even if illegal immigrants were somehow able to attend college, they would be unable to afford the higher out-of-state tuition rates that they are made to pay. Instead of being grateful that no one in college administration systems feels the need to uphold United States law by reporting that some of their applicants are illegal immigrants, he complains that those who are breaking the law every moment of every day by residing in this country illegally are not given a break in tuition.

He uses the argument that it is not the fault of the students that their parents chose to bring them to this country; that may be true, but the students are violators of the law nonetheless, as they are certainly old enough to understand by the time they graduate from high school. They could help their parents become legal citizens; that would make them citizens also at the time of their eighteenth birthday, but instead they choose to continue to flout our laws. Many legal immigrants would not be able to make it through what is admittedly a frustrating and often confusing path to citizenship without the help of their children, who have learned English in public schools and are therefore better able to deal with bureaucrats in government.



Throughout the book, Cuadros discusses his attempts to teach the boys discipline and responsibility, showing them that rules had to be followed and that no exceptions would be made. If boys fought or misbehaved, he suspended them or kicked them off the team, no questions asked and no exceptions. However, he became almost apoplectic with rage when a police officer stationed himself by a neighborhood where illegal immigrants were known to reside and set up a driver's license checkpoint. He emphasized to the boys with whom he was driving how wrong it was for the policeman to take steps to enforce immigration law right after teaching them a lesson on the importance of obeying the rules on the soccer field and at school; what is more, he had the gumption to record that foray into hypocrisy for posterity in the book he wrote about the soccer team.

On some level, he is right: the boys are not to blame for their parents' disregard of American law. If I were living in an impoverished country and I could provide for my family by traveling to another country and taking advantage of better conditions there, I am sure that I would, but many immigrants come to this country legally because they respect the laws and the sovereignty of this country. It is unfair to them to provide amnesty to those who disregard our laws because they do not want to go through the hassle of becoming a United States citizen and only hope to use our country for economic benefit.

I do not believe that all illegal immigrants are inherently bad people, and I certainly understand that becoming a citizen is difficult and takes time. Immigrants are often some of the most hard-working employees in the workforce, and our nation is unquestionably better off because we are comprised of people from all kinds of backgrounds.

Paul Cuadros is to be commended for helping the Latino boys of Siler City learn teamwork, discipline, and a sense of honor in the area of athletics; however, if he is truly to teach them to carry those tenets from the field into their daily lives, he must start by admitting that no one should be exempt from the laws of this country.

We cannot pick and choose the laws we wish to enforce, and while justice should be tempered with mercy, it is not right to look the other way on illegal immigration, nor is it in our national interest. If we refuse to guard our borders and to look closely at who is crossing them, we make true national security nothing but a pipe dream.

The Jets worked extremely hard to become a very successful soccer team and to eventually win the championship, and they certainly overcame extraordinary hardship to do so, but if we make exception for every case that piques our emotions, there is no point in putting any limitations on who may enter this country and how they may do so because almost everyone has a story that elicits our compassion.

While I and others at the Carolina Review certainly support legal immigration, it is an unassailable fact that weakening border security to benefit illegal immigrants threatens our sovereignty and safety as a nation. Emotions have no place in national security policy, and I believe that we would all sleep better if we could know that our government has some measure of control over who is crossing our borders and how they are doing so. **CR**

2009 FRESHMAN ORIENTATION GUIDE



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Before I came to Carolina, I had heard and read enough horror stories detailing the rampant radicalism on campus that I came to imagine campus liberals as fire-breathing revolutionaries who would only be slain by the most precise of sword thrusts to the heart.

I was wrong. Most campus liberals are friendly, well-meaning, and earnest people. In at least one case, their liberalism directly benefited me.

As a freshman, I had a professor for one of my required English courses who was an unabashed feminist (along with several other disagreeable "ists"). As such, she apparently thought that men were only capable of watching football and administering high-fives to each other. Surely- she seemed to think- these brutish beasts cannot possibly understand literature, and they are definitely unable to articulate the nuances of the written word in their own writing.

Now, I can navigate my way around a book's Wikipedia page well enough to attain some mastery over the material. And I can write well enough to produce decent essays. Both of these facts surprised my professor, who gave my first paper (worth 20 percent of the final grade) an A (which, in her grading system, was 100 percent).

After comparing my grade with my surrounding peers I figured out that I had scored markedly above the mean. But then I read some of my colleague's papers, and noticed that they had quoted characters that I did not even know existed. Obviously, they had read the books we were assigned for the paper. They had far more nuanced theses than me. Their arguments were buffeted with better proof and their logic was stronger than mine.

But then I realized that they were all women- excuse me: womyn. I came to the obvious conclusion: my professor had given me a higher grade because of my gender. To this day I believe that I was the first beneficiary of backwards affirmative action (or reverse reverse discrimination).

I soon saw myself undergoing the adverse effects that we conservatives assign to regular affirmative action. I doubted each of my grades, and noticed that all of my peers did so too. Worse, I knew that the bar was lower, and began acting as such. By the end of the semester, I was struggling to even finish the Wikipedia pages for the assigned books- though, in my defense, the article for *Beloved* takes a good three or four full scrolls of the mouse to complete.

I recount this story because I know from experience that some campus conservatives, finding themselves in such a heroic minority, come to take any politically charged moment on campus a tad too seriously. In one way, college really is home to a war of ideas, the result of which will shape the future and the leaders who will determine it. By all means, conservatives should be as active as possible, immersing yourselves in the Gordian Knot of interwoven political groups that constitutes the Carolina conservative community.

But I hope that you do so with a bit of perspective. In another way, college is an absurd four year experience, the circumstances of which are not mimicked in life after graduation. In short, while I hope that you engage the political sphere here at UNC, I also hope that you have the good sense to simultaneously be entertained by the frequently outrageous excesses of the Carolina experience.
CR

Ten Books to Read this Year:

In order to fend off the monolithic forces of Liberalism at UNC, you must be able to argue intelligently, not by blunt invectives (only the stupid, moronic, idiotic, Dumbocraps do that). Here are ten books which will help, in order of priority:

1. The Road to Serfdom by Friedrich Hayek
2. The Law by Frédéric Bastiat
3. God and Man at Yale by William F. Buckley Jr.
4. Capitalism and Freedom by Milton Friedman
5. The Conscience of a Conservative by Barry Goldwater
6. Applied Economics by Thomas Sowell
7. Parliament of Whores by P.J. O'Rourke
8. Upstream by Alfred Regenry
9. Ideas have Consequences by Richard Weaver
10. Second Treatise on Civil Government by John Locke

Five Websites to Check Daily:

While the Right doesn't necessarily have any sites to rival Huffington Post or MoveOn.org, there are still some useful, engaging, and insightful sites to bookmark and visit in the excruciating weeks between issues of the Carolina Review:

1. CR Daily: www.crdaily.com
2. National Review Online: www.nationalreview.com
3. Townhall: http://www.townhall.com
4. Wall Street Journal Opinion Page: http://online.wsj.com/public/page/news-opinion-commentary.html
5. The Cato Institute: www.cato.org

Ten Classes to Take to be ther Token Conservative Gadfly:

While UNC's course bulletin might not feature such outrageous offerings as (President Obama's alma mater) Occidental College's class titled simply "The Phallus" or Amherst College's "Taking Marx Seriously," we do have some typically politically correct (… useless) courses:

1. WMST 553: Theorizing Black Feminisms
2. ENGL/WMST 363: Feminist Literary Theory
3. ENGL/WMST 140: Intro to Gay & Lesbian Literature
4. ANTH 539: Environmental Justice
5. ANTH 449: Anthropology and Marxism
6. POLI 475: Marxism and Socialism
7. ANTH 254: Environmental Consciousness and Action
8. POLI 265: Feminism and Political Theory
9. SOCI 273: Social and Economic Justice
10. SOCI 412: Social Stratification

Some Conservative Organizations:

In case you miss them at Fall Fest, here's how to contact the Conservative campus organizations:

College Republicans:
Chairman John Eick: jeick@email.unc.edu
Website: http://www.unc.edu/unccr

Tar Heel Rifle and Pistol Club:
Dwight Springthorpe: dwight@email.unc.edu
Website: http://www.unc.edu/thrpc

Carolina Troop Supporters:
Amanda Gates: gamanda@email.unc.edu

Carolina Students for Life:
E-mail: carolinastudentsforlife@gmail.com
Website: http://www.carolina students for life.com

… and, of course, the Carolina Review:
Carolina Review:
E-mail: carolinareview@unc.edu

Putting a Cap on CONTROVERSY

Charter schools will improve our education system if only we let them



by ALEX MACEY
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In a sense, charter schools are paradoxical institutions: they offer the intimacy and focused academics characteristic of a private school without charging tuition. Also, though open to everyone, a particular charter school might not necessarily be suitable for any given student.

This strange and relatively new anomaly in education has sparked disagreement within the North Carolina state government, as well as among parents. Governor Beverly Perdue aims to maintain a cap of one hundred charter schools in the state; the approximately two hundred million dollars of public funds annually allocated to charter schools would instead serve to increase teacher salaries. Other authorities have also deemed charter schools less than ideal. The Department of Education has declared that because charter schools are not held to significantly higher standards than public institutions, they do not produce notably better results. As a result, they serve merely as a drain on public funds.

If this is the case, however, why are hundreds of students currently on charter school waiting lists? Robert Luddy, founder of the prestigious North Carolina charter school Franklin Academy, acknowledges that among parents, the only true complaint about the charter school system is that it is simply not sufficiently accommodating. "The most common complaint is parents cannot get into the charters due to waiting lists," Mr. Luddy explained. "Parents want the system expanded." Clearly, the charter system is currently in high demand. Why, then, would the state government deem the schools extraneous and insignificant?

What charter schools have to offer is entirely different from simply a watered-down version of the traditional public school system. "Charter schools allow the benefits of competition and choice to flow to public schools," Mr. Luddy explained. Though still considered "public" schools, charters present similar opportunities and benefits found in private schools. Particularly unique is the academic and social environment within a charter school. Most, for instance, are smaller in size than public schools. Yet some families fear that the schools deny students a broad range of opportunities outside the classroom. Their fears are completely justifiable. According to David Mahaley, principal of Franklin Academy, it is indeed true that many charter schools do not provide the diverse range of athletics or other extracurricular activities that public school systems host. "There are some things we are unable to offer," he confessed. Still, charter school critics must consider that what the schools offer depends largely on their focus. For instance, Franklin Academy identifies as strictly college preparatory, concerned with upholding a rigorous, focused academic program. A student interested in competitive sports, then, would be unwise in choosing such an academic environment. When asked, Mayor Pat McCrory of Charlotte offered an additional perspective on the focused nature of the charter curriculum. "Many charters are well-suited to assist the specials needs population of students," McCrory affirmed. "Charters allow more flexibility in curriculum and teaching techniques." It is precisely the beauty of charter schools, then, that they offer parents and students this flexibility. While the public school system compels families to accept the place to which they are assigned, parents can select a charter school based on the environment in which they feel their child would most thrive. "The bottom line benefit is that charters are structured for innovation in all aspects, from governing board structure and management, to teacher assignments and curriculum, to parent involvement," McCrory affirmed.

Critics have also suggested that charters do not adequately represent a given region's academic, racial, and economic diversity by virtue of the fact that certain schools tend to attract specific demographics. This is not always the case. According to Mr. Luddy, because location is a key factor in the types of students charters attract, certain schools will have a high minority percentage. This dispels the common assumption that charter schools are merely havens for privileged, upper-middle class white families. While the schools might not necessarily reveal a perfect pattern of economic and racial diversity, they are arguably a very fair alternative to the public school system, in which administrators devise convoluted plans, such as rerouting school buses, to maintain the desired balance and diversity. Even so, despite their efforts, these schools still routinely fall short of achieving their ideal profiles.

Furthermore, states can facilitate excessive discrepancies. Most charters, like Franklin

Academy, use a lottery system as a basis for admission. That is, parents choose, in Mr. Mahaley's words, "the right school for them." Also, in this case, acceptance and denial are based on chance rather than an assessment of a student's academic capacities. The lottery system has proven to be a very effective means of attracting a broad range of students. Franklin Academy routinely pulls students from five different NC counties, resulting in an appreciably broad range of economic situations and academic abilities.

One of the most common arguments in the charter school opponent's arsenal centers on statewide or national academic barometers like standardized tests. According to the Board of Education, charter school students typically have not performed dramatically better than public school students on standardized tests. Yet not only is this untrue, it is a weak argument. According to principals like Mr. Mahaley, critics have to pay close attention to exactly what the tests are measuring. In NC for instance, state tests represent, in his words, "a conflict of interest." State governments routinely tailor their tests to generate the most favorable results. Currently, the NC government favors the public school system, and so state tests will be doctored to complement public school curricula. Using state tests alone, then, is not a fair evaluation of charter school performances. Mahaley suggests that national tests, such as the PSAT, provide "a much sounder philosophy in measuring how kids are doing." Generally, charter school students have performed well on such tests. A recent study by the National Bureau of Economic Research has affirmed the results Franklin Academy students have produced: across the board, charter school students have consistently performed higher than mainstream students on national standardized tests. For instance, according to the 2007-2008 College Board, the average SAT score for Franklin Academy students was 1635—significantly higher than the North Carolina average of 1486 and the national average was 1511.

Moreover, a critic must measure performance on tests in a proper context. According to Mr. Luddy, "the only fair measurement is to test for gains, not averages." For instance, if a certain charter school attracts more groups who perform poorly, their scores may be below the national average but still very good. "We test every student every year to ensure a least one year's growth and it is usually much more," Luddy said. Moreover, tests represent only one measure of ability. Other factors better weigh how well students are performing. For instance, college placement is recently the best measure of a student's success. In the increasingly competitive world of college admissions, a student's acceptance into a prestigious university speaks with far more force than a score on a test already constructed with a distinct bias.

A final attack on charter schools concerns the effect an increase in the cap would have on the public school system. Charter opponents argue that charter schools will ultimately pull the best students away from the public school system. Yet this issue is not as pressing as it initially seems. After all, the pool of students is so immense that the dent in public schools would be minimal. "In the worst case they would downsize and in some cases the charters might take over existing public schools," Luddy explained. Also, people tend to forget that charter schools also pull students from private schools, further reducing the impact on the public schools.



Regardless, while this issue might concern the government, it should not be on the forefront of parents' minds. "The decisions should be made based on the benefit for students, not the public school system," Luddy emphasized. "If we continue to support the system over students no progress is possible." Ultimately, according to Mahaley, charter schools draw kids "whose parents are ready for a change."

When taken off the defensive, the benefits of charter schools become increasingly evident. For one, the changing nature of the economy has invited a shift in the way families approach educational opportunities for their children. Mahaley expressed his views on the subject. "I think people are looking for options," he said. "They understand there are currently struggles in education, and they are looking for something different for their children." The difference is in the safer, more intimate, specialized environment, as well as the intensified academic program-what Mahaley called a "purposeful, rigorous program that will prepare kids for what's after high school." Michael May, a 2008 graduate of Raleigh Charter High School, which the News and World Report ranked the twentieth best high school in the nation in 2008, is an advocate of the charter school's uniquely challenging environment. "There is a sense of community that cannot be attained at a public institution," May explained. "We push each other to succeed both academically and socially." This environment also carried over to the teaching staff. "Teaching was personal to all my professors. It was not just a job—they all really enjoy what they do." May also emphasized that the instructors' passion for their subjects carried over to the students.

In the light of the current economic problems, families have suddenly placed increasing importance on the value of a solid education. Colleges have become more competitive as their pools of applicants have expanded, and both parents and students have realized the value of finding something to make them unique. "There has to be something to make these kids stand out," Mahaley emphasized. Different charter schools provide children with these opportunities in different ways. For instance, Raleigh Charter offers students ample opportunities to give back to the community. Twice a month, they offer what they call "Flex days," in which all regular classes are cancelled and students are given the chance to participate in community work. Other schools, like the Magellan Charter School in Raleigh, offer a unique curriculum in which teachers incorporate a study of the arts throughout each school day.

The tremendous benefits of North Carolina charter schools make the governmental plea for a restriction all the more confounding. Mayor McCrory has denounced the charter school cap as an "arbitrary" measure by which to appease lobbyist groups for the traditional school system. "North Carolina's situation is not unusual...but I'm not a proponent of the cap," McCrory admitted. "Now that we have a history of charters in North Carolina, we need to ensure their success," he said. "To do that is to demonstrate that they are graduating students who have the skills to either enter the workforce or pursue a higher education degree. This should not only be the goal of every charter, but the expectation for every school system in North Carolina."

His answer? To create, not restrict, these specialized schools, encouraging students to hone their unique skills in a way that a larger, more generic public environment would not allow. **CR**

OUT OF ENERGY

A way out of our energy crisis



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The energy crisis is real.

It's not something that alarmists dreamed up to feed the news cycle in a slow week. It's not something that is being cooked up by radical environmentalists to make us stop using fossil fuels. It's not something that is going to resolve itself once some kinks in the supply system get worked out. And it's not something we can drill our way out of.

America's second-largest oil importer is Mexico. Mexico's Cantarell oil field was once the third largest in the world. But production peaked in 2004. Ever since then, Cantarell's production has been free-falling. Mexican state oil company PEMEX expected production to decline fifteen percent per year. Instead, Cantarell's output fell by 38 percent last year. In January 2009, Cantarell was producing 770,000 barrels per day, down from two million barrels per day in 2004.

It's happening everywhere. Kuwait's Burgan field, once the second largest in the world, peaked in 2005. In Saudi Arabia, Saudi Aramco was forced to admit in 2006 that its production had been declining by eight percent for several years. This has led to speculation that the Ghawar field, the largest oil field in the world, has peaked. However, no one is sure of this because the Saudis keep their statistics on proven reserves a closely guarded national secret.

Other once-major oil producers such as Norway, Alaska and Indonesia peaked in the 1980s and 1990s. The decline in global oil production from giant fields can be offset in the short term by developing smaller oil fields, using more fuel-efficient vehicles and hybrids, and by developing new technologies to extract oil from unconventional sources, but this is equivalent to using a parachute instead of free-falling to the ground. Eventually, oil will become scarce enough that it will become too rare and expensive to be used as a general fuel.

The search for solutions to the oil crisis has focused on the development of so-called "sustainable energy." "Sustainable" is really a misnomer: The laws of physics state that new energy cannot be created, so no energy source is sustainable indefinitely. What we are really looking for are energy sources that are sustainable for a longer period of time than what we have now.

For the better part of this decade, the focus of these efforts in the United States has been on corn-based ethanol. The U.S. government has heavily promoted the production of ethanol through tax credits, subsidies and requiring that 7.5 billion gallons of ethanol be used as fuel annually by 2012.

Ethanol burns cleaner than gasoline, but it also contains only two-thirds of the energy. Mixing it with gasoline to make E85 fuel can only boost the energy potential by a small amount. Consequently, the fuel mileage of ethanol based vehicles is poor. According to the website e85prices.com, the average price of E85 ethanol in the United States on May 17th was $1.88 per gallon, while the average price of gasoline was $2.32 per gallon. Thus although E85 is 19 percent cheaper than gasoline, it produces 25 percent less energy, meaning that it is still more expensive.

What's more, ethanol is extremely corrosive and therefore requires special engines and infrastructure in order to be stored and used. This infrastructure does not currently exist. There is even debate over whether corn-based ethanol is really an energy source, with some scientists such as Tad Patzek and David Pimentel calculating that the amount of energy spent producing ethanol is greater than the amount of energy in the ethanol which is produced.

Manufacturing corn-based ethanol requires a huge amount of farmland. According to James Powell and James Jordan, both professors at the Polytechnic University of New York, even if all the arable land in the United States were used to grow corn for ethanol production it would only meet 15 percent of U.S. fuel demand.

In addition, when farmland is used to grow corn for ethanol, that farmland is no longer being used to grow food. In 2007, the growing demand for manufacturing ethanol caused the price of corn in Mexico to quadruple in the space of three months. Mexico was beset by protests as tens of thousands of poor people who were unable to afford food took to the streets. In a country where most people live on less than five dollars a day, a fourfold increase in a basic food staple is not something that can be afforded. In 2008, rising food prices around the world led to riots and protests in a number of countries, as

starving people who could no longer afford to eat took to the streets. These riots left at least 40 people dead in Africa and the Caribbean, and led to many governments instituting price controls in an attempt to feed their people. A 2008 report by the World Bank concluded that increased demand driven by the use of wheat and corn for biofuels was the prime factor in increasing global food prices.

In Brazil, ethanol is manufactured from sugarcane instead of corn. Because sugarcane ethanol is cheaper, more efficient and easier to produce than corn ethanol, the U.S. government has placed a tariff on Brazilian ethanol to keep it from being profitably imported and competing with corn ethanol. Sugarcane cannot be grown in the U.S. because the climate is too cold. Many people have called on the U. S. to abandon this tariff. However, Brazil is only able to supply its own needs. The U.S. uses 17 times as much gasoline and diesel fuel per year as Brazil, meaning that in order to supply US demand, Brazil would have to drastically expand its farmland. The expansion of Brazilian farmland comes at the expense of the Amazonian rainforest. The Amazon rainforest is one of the world's largest forests and is therefore a valuable carbon sink, important to the maintenance of the earth's atmosphere.

There have been other attempts at manufacturing ethanol or biodiesel from sources such as switchgrass, wood and soybeans, but these suffer from the same drawbacks as corn-based ethanol. They all are either too expensive, they compete with food crops or producing enough fuel from them requires more biomass than American farmland can produce.

There is one biofuel which has none of these problems. A number of start-up companies such as the Sapphire Group, Green Fuel Technologies, Aquaflow, Algenol and BioFields are working on developing biofuels from algae.

Some strains of algae can be processed into a form which is chemically the same as crude oil. This is not surprising, as it is believed that naturally occurring crude oil was formed from ancient algae.

Algae for use in biofuels is grown inside clear plastic tubes called photobioreactors. These tubes are filled with water and fertilizer, and are put out in the sun. The algae can then easily be harvested. Given enough sunlight and nutrients, algae can double its mass several times a day, which means that it can be harvested frequently. This in turn means that a field of photobioreactors can produce much more energy per acre than a corn field. They can also be placed on non-arable land so they do not compete with food crops. Finally, algal fuels ultimately derive their energy from the sun. Therefore, algal energy is sustainable for as long as the sun lasts, so theoretically we can use algal fuels for the next several billion years or so.



Algal fuels have been proven to work, but the issues come with making them economical. There are two drawbacks facing algal fuels at present. First, there is the startup cost of setting up thousands of photobioreactors. Second, growing algae requires carbon dioxide. Algal biofuels consume more carbon dioxide through their growth than they release by being burned, making them greenhouse gas neutral. However, the carbon dioxide must come from somewhere and we currently do not have an economical source for large amounts of pure carbon dioxide.

These are not insurmountable problems. However, another problem facing algal fuels is one entirely of the government's making. The U. S. government is currently subsidizing ethanol production as well as mandating certain amounts of ethanol be mixed with gasoline, thereby creating a market for the fuel. There are no current U. S. government programs to support algal fuels, despite the fact that they hold far more promise than ethanol.

But algal fuels simply don't have the political support that the Midwestern agribusiness lobby has. Subsidies for ethanol are not so much about moving to green fuels as they are about getting Midwestern votes. The largest ethanol producing state in the U.S. is Iowa, and every four years Iowan voters significantly affect the course of the presidential primaries.

In 2000, John McCain harshly criticized ethanol subsidies, saying that "if it wasn't for Iowa being the first caucus state no one on this stage would support ethanol." Fearing an embarrassing loss, McCain did not even compete in the 2000 Iowa caucus. In 2008, McCain tried to modify his position by stating his support for ethanol as a fuel while still being strongly opposed to subsidies. He finished fourth, behind Fred Thompson and just ahead of Ron Paul. Hillary Clinton was also at one time a critic of ethanol subsidies, but she also modified her position leading up to the 2008 caucus. Every other major primary candidate in 2008 indicated strong support for ethanol subsidies. In a state where 92 percent of voters rated ethanol as important to the state's economic future (according to a 2008 poll by J. Ann Selzer), political pundits have begun referring to such statements as the 'ethanol pledge.'

This is inevitably what happens when government interjects itself into the free market. As McCain said, "Ethanol is a product that would not exist if Congress didn't create an artificial market for it. No one would buy it." Ethanol is clearly not economically viable on its own, and is not likely to become viable anytime soon. Congress' solution to this was to create a market by requiring that ethanol be used, and then subsidize its production.

One result of this meddling is that political blocs have formed which have a vested interest in continuing ethanol subsidies in return for votes. Another result is that ethanol is being given an artificial edge over other fuels such as algal fuels, which have a much greater potential. Without government ethanol subsidies, the best fuel would win. This might cost some Midwestern politicians and presidential hopefuls some votes, but it would benefit the American economy. Stop the economic engineering, and let the best fuel win. **CR**

Valuing WESTERN Values



by DUKE CHESTON
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Western Civilization has a proud tradition which you will not be taught at UNC

Take a look around you. What you are seeing and experiencing is not normal. From your perspective it may seem that way, since this is all you have ever known, but in the greater context of human history it is anything but ordinary.

Chances are, if you are reading this, you are a citizen of the United States. As such, your life has been heavily influenced, if not made possible by the economic, intellectual and moral developments of Western Civilization.

Think about it. Without Western inventions, the simple act of purchasing groceries would not be possible. There is the technology in your car, in the store and at the farms and factories that produce the food, all made possible by Western science and capitalism.

There are also the political freedoms enjoyed in Western society. Looking again from the broader perspective of human history, it is obvious that the normal human condition is not freedom but oppression; Western civilization is unique in the creation and proliferation of free societies. Democracy as we know it arose in the post-medieval West and nowhere else.

It may be conceded that many societies accommodate (in some manner) man's basic desire to be heard and influence decisions made by his society (think tribal chieftains asking for input from the tribe). However, ideals such as free elections, representative government and checks and balances are uniquely Western.

Furthermore, as Dinesh D'souza notes in his best-selling book "What's So Great About America," Western civilization has not merely contributed ideas. For almost five centuries, the West has dominated the world. According to Edward Said, Western countries controlled about 85% of the world's land at the turn of the last century. Today, America remains the world's only superpower.

However, it was not always this way. As D'souza points out, up until about 1500 the West was lagging behind such cultures as the Chinese and Islamic Empires. "[Europeans'] lack keenness of understanding and clarity of intelligence are overcome by ignorance and apathy, lack of discernment and stupidity," a Muslim traveler to medieval Europe rather harshly noted.

The seemingly miraculous change in Western culture is the subject of some debate. There are several explanations for how Europe came to the forefront of human civilization after lagging so far behind. Multiculturalism, a doctrine which does not accept the inferiority or superiority of any culture, offers two explanations.

The first of these is the environmental explanation, articulated most prominently by Jared Diamond in his bestseller "Guns, Germs, and Steel." The idea here is that natural resources such as navigable coastlines, rivers, access to minerals, et cetera, gave certain societies a head start in their development. If an advantageous environment is the strength of Western civilization, then that means that the dominance of the West is due mostly to chance.

This explanation works fine for Egypt and the Indus Valley civilization, some of the earliest societies, but falls short of explaining Europe, which, after all, did not take off culturally until about five hundred years ago. This makes little sense considering that the natural advantages of Europe's geography have been in place since the beginning of mankind.

The second and more odious explanation offered by the multiculturalists is termed "oppression theory." "Its thesis may be summarized," says D'souza, "in the statement that the West grew rich and powerful by beating up everybody else and taking their stuff." Jesse Jackson, Johnnie Cochran, Frantz Fanon and the Congressional Black Caucus are well-known advocates of this approach.

The conclusion made by proponents of this theory is that the West needs to pay. Usually this takes the form of reparations.

Fanon, perhaps the most radical, has even advocated violence. His writings (for instance, "The well-being and progress of Europe have been built up with the sweat and the dead bodies of Negroes, Arabs, Indians and the yellow races") are frequently cited by Islamic radicals.

The problem with oppression theory, among other things, is that it is not based in fact. Proponents cite slavery and colonialism as the two primary evils through which Westerners plundered the wealth of the world. However, they fail to recognize that neither slavery nor conquest is uniquely Western and thus neither satisfactorily explains the rise of the West.

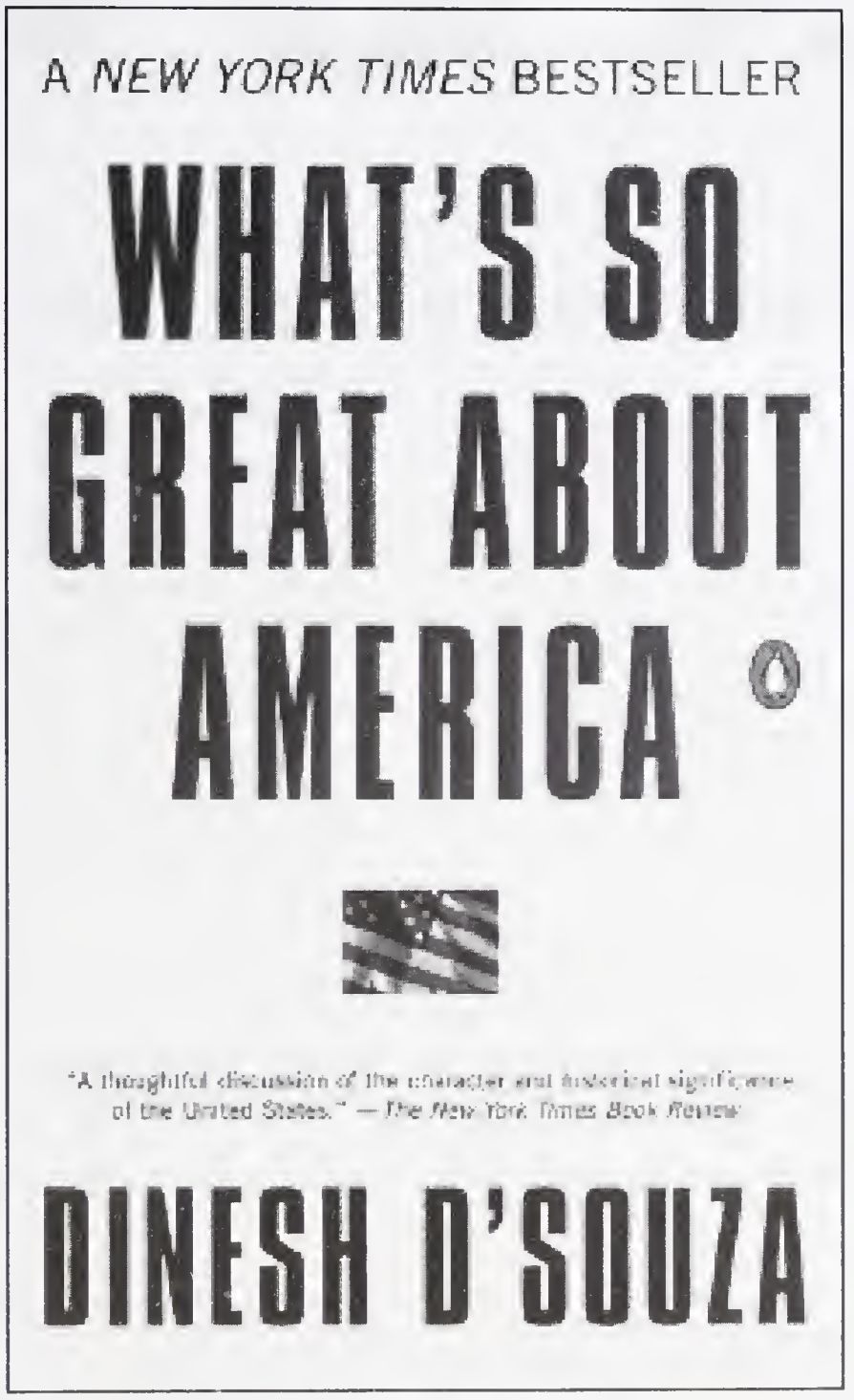
As D'souza points out, Greeks, Romans, sub-Saharan Africans, and even American Indians were all practicing slavery long before Columbus "sailed the ocean blue." Slavery is not unique to the West, but the movement

to abolish it is.

"No civilization once dependent on slavery has ever been able to eradicate it," says historian J.M. Roberts, "except the Western." (In a bizarre twist of history, the abolition of the slave trade was opposed by tribal leaders from Gambia, the Congo, Dahomey and several other African nations who had profited from the slave trade, as noted in Davidson's "The African Slave Trade").

Furthermore, it is worth noting that a hundred and fifty years after the abolition of slavery, the primary beneficiaries of the slave trade are not the descendents of slave masters but the descendents of slaves. Instead of being stuck in sub-Saharan Africa, which former UN Secretary General described as a "cocktail of disasters," the descendents of slaves are members of an incredibly free and prosperous society.

"Slavery is the price I paid for civilization," said Zora Neale Hurston, "and that is worth all that I have paid through my ancestors for it."



Colonization is by no means uniquely Western, either. D'souza explodes the idea that Western civilization achieved prominence through inter-civilization theft my making two adroit observations: he notes that (1) his native India was conquered seven or eight times (depending on who is counting) prior to being invaded by a Western nation (the British), and (2) colonization was primarily a product of, and only a small contributing factor to, economic prosperity, not the other way around.

If the West did not achieve prominence through geography and/or plunder, then that leaves something intrinsic to the society itself. Indeed, this is D'souza's conclusion. He cites the development of three institutions as crucial to the rise of the West: science, democracy and capitalism.

Multiculturalism, on the other hand, a doctrine so influential here at UNC, holds that all cultures are equal and encourages members of minority cultures not to assimilate to the majority one. It does not recognize the achievements of Western culture as special or unique. As Alvin Schmidt demonstrates in his book "The Menace of Multiculturalism," "multiculturalism is not a benign phenomenon."

To see where multiculturalism leads, one needs to look no further than the former Yugoslavia. As Schmidt points out, several ethnic groups within the failed state long refused to assimilate. Collectively they "retained ethnic consciousness and kept multilingualism alive." They even maintained two alphabets (Latin and Cyrillic). The end result was genocide.

Moreover, "the argument that all cultures are essentially equal," writes Schmidt, "does not stand up under empirical scrutiny and is plainly contradicted by people's everyday experiences." One has only to note the millions trying to enter this country to realize that there is something attractive and special about this society and the culture that produced it.

Multiculturalism denies moral judgments against other cultures, concluding that cultures must be judged by their own standards. Upon reflection, however, this is patently absurd. Cultures can be wrong. Some behaviors are simply wrong by any standard of morality. Consider slavery, clitoridectomy (female genital mutilation), human sacrifice, and Sati, the burning of live widows, which was practiced in India until banned by the British in 1829 (and still banned after India's independence).

To argue that we cannot judge other cultures is to argue that we cannot say such inhuman practices, as listed above, are objectively wrong. Perhaps this is justifiable in a philosophy without moral precepts, but most ordinary people plainly understand that such philosophizing is a bunch of horse manure.

Obviously, cultures are not equal on the basis of material advancement, either.

North America, Michael Novak demonstrates in his essay "Why Latin America is Poor," has fewer natural resources than South America, but is considerably more prosperous. Since both were settled by Europeans around the same time, Novak concludes that the difference in prosperity is attributable to culture. The British who settled North America brought a different culture than their Portuguese and Spanish counterparts who landed in South America, and these distinct cultures have produced remarkably different results over the centuries.

Ideas have consequences, and multiculturalism is a terrible idea. It arises from wishful thinking and leads to disaster.

By studying those things that actually improve the condition of mankind (a great number of which have come from Western civilization), we can hope to continue the advancement of man. This requires the recognition that the future can be objectively better than the past and that certain practices and ideas are objectively better than others, something multiculturalism does not do.

"I happen to prefer champagne to ditchwater," mused Oliver Wendell Holmes, "but there is no reason to suppose that the cosmos does." Such relativism has weighed heavily upon the American soul for some time (its current expression being the doctrine of multiculturalism), but it need not. Let us be unafraid to assert the superiority of civilization to barbarism, clear thought to multiculturalism, even champagne to ditchwater.

NOTE: In full anticipation of being called racist, let me address such concerns here. In this article, I am dealing specifically with culture, not race. The two are not synonymous. Culture, defined as a society's institutionalized values and beliefs, is not inherited in the genes. To suggest so, as some multiculturalists have, is, in fact, racist. **CR**

SDS BINGO



by ZACH DEXTER
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A hypothetical conversation

Zach: Why, hello, my name is Zach and I am with the Carolina Review. I thought I would attend your monthly get-together and play some justice bingo.

Long-haired fellow in a brown tweed jacket: Welcome, Zach! My name is Groucho.

Zach: Nice to meet you, Groucho.

Groucho: You too, Zach. In fact, I think I remember you… (whispers to the person sitting next to him, "was he the one with the blue t-shirt?") Oh yes, you were the one with the blue t-shirt.

Zach: The blue t-shirt?

Groucho: Yes… at the Virgil Goode speech. We took your headshot and… (person whispers into Groucho's ear) oh… well, anyways, we conversed about your outfits and your blue 50 percent cotton t-shirt made us reminisce of the days of slavery in the United States.

Zach: Are you saying that my shirt should be 100 percent polyester?

Groucho: No. Polyester is woven in China by foreign workers who take jobs away from hard-working middle-class families.

Zach: What are you wearing right now? That shirt you have is at least 75 percent cotton.

Groucho: But it was made by fair-trading small farmers in Carrboro, so that doesn't count. These farmers pick their own cotton locally and weave it into such wonderful designs as my rainbow-colored full-zip hooded sweatshirt.

Zach: I see. It's not quite a Bathing Ape, but it is an egalitarian piece of clothing nonetheless.

Groucho: Indeed, Zach. Indeed.

Zach: But, Groucho, I do not understand. Does it not occur to you that by way of producing goods that you want to consume, those fair-trading Carrboro cotton farmers are pursuing their own economic self-interest and generating value, which you obtain by utilizing the dollar as a medium of exchange? Is this not the very capitalistic greed that you desire to end?

Groucho: No space for hate, Zach; there's no debate.

Groucho: Anyways, how did you hear that we would play justice bingo tonight?

Zach: Well, I heard about your meeting while at Kinko's making copies of some old government documents for class. A couple chaps were talking about SDS bingo night, and I joined in the conservation to ask when and where.

Groucho: Why would you want to. . . wait, while we're on the subject: did your grandmother introduce you to egalitarian bingo? After FDR saved the American economy from certain doom with his arbitrary price controls and destruction of perfectly good crops, my grandparents turned to equality bingo to evenly distribute the remaining corn among his small town's residents. The good old days, Zach – when we used to only buy from Blue Eagle stores. . . ah, I could go on. . .

Zach: My grandparents played the kind of bingo where somebody won each round.

Groucho: Oh, Zach, I'm sorry; I didn't know.

Zach: It's okay. As you can see, everything else must have gone all right. (Silence.) Anyways, I saw those guys at Kinko's printing off flyers that read "WARNING: WHITE SUPREMACY IS AT HOME ON OUR CAMPUS" with pictures of Klu Klux Klan members. They said that they were fighting the "racist Republican scum" that was about to visit campus.

Groucho: Everyone, shout!

The whole of the second floor of Alumni Hall: "DIE, FASCIST PIGS!"

Groucho: Great. Thanks, folks. Please continue, Zach.

Zach: Right. So I took a closer look at the picture of the Klan members, who happened to be unveiled, and saw the face of Democratic Senator Robert Byrd (D, WV). He was the Exalted Cyclops – the local leader – of his West Virginia chapter back in the day. And it occurred to me that these two guys at Kinko's had chosen the wrong picture, because they were trying to claim that Republicans were racist with a picture of a Democratic Senator who held the "Exalted Cyclops" position in the KKK.

Groucho: But he has two eyes.

Zach: Yeah. That's not what they meant by "Exalted Cyclops." So I talked to these chaps and informed them of the gaffe. They were grateful and decided to print another flyer with another claim: "WARNING: DISSENTERS FROM MARXIST-LENINIST ORTHODOXY IS AT HOME ON OUR CAMPUS." And that did the trick. They left to go post the fliers.

Zach: But these guys weren't from SDS. They were just friendly chaps trying to promote the spread of mindless mob rule on a college campus. And they had quite a bit of success, I'm afraid.

Groucho: Look, hateful speech is violence against immigrants and others who don't have as much of a chance in life as you do. Sticks and stones may break interest groups' bones, but words saw through them like the Texas Chainsaw Massacre. Can't you see that?

Zach: On the contrary, sir. My first musings upon hearing that Tom Tancredo opposes the redistribution of American workers' money to fund community college for illegal aliens did not include the Texas Chainsaw Massacre. What am I missing; how do I become a loving, caring member of humanity? I do not want people associating me with hefty, expensive power tools!

Groucho: Zach, the first step is to love the environment. It was here before we were. Hug the trees, do not mow your lawn, and protest against new nuclear power plants.

Zach: Okay. So when I saw the Marxists at Kinko's, should I have reprimanded them for contributing to the destruction of countless virgin rainforest trees to print anti-Republican literature? Ugh, this is going to be hard. I used to chop down those same trees myself to make mallets to bludgeon baby dolphins. I guess paper is just as bad.

Groucho: Oh no, please leave me in ignorance. You did not! How many guiltless sea mammals are dead as a result of your actions?

Zach: A joke, Groucho. Humor must complement a life dedicated to political revolution, lest things get boring if the protesters start to play games instead of commandeering South Building.

Groucho: If we fail to start a revolution, Zach, Duke Energy will just build more nuclear plants. Those things result in clean lakes where bunches of rich people buy vacation homes . . .

Zach: Whose construction employs dozens of middle-class and immigrant workers . . .

Groucho: . . . and we cannot have that.

Zach: Groucho, if Duke does not go nuclear, they will have to build coal plants. Coal comes from beautiful West Virginia mountaintops, many of which no longer exist. No thanks to your party's subsidies for coal and no thanks for its opposition to nuclear power.

Groucho: Nuclear power?! You can't be serious. The second we build another uranium or deuterium death machine, the world will explode from the core out. Magma will bubble up in Wilmington and hot lava will destroy the Panthers Stadium. Nuclear fission isn't safe, you know.

Zach: Right. Well, shall we join forces to halt progress and rebelliously disrupt the "fascists'" coal and nuclear activity? And while we're at it, shall we claim that nuclear missiles are less threatening than those dangerous nuclear power plants, and defund the Missile Defense Agency?

Groucho: Onward, to the dark ages! We'll only achieve redistributive justice when we're all sitting around a campfire with no government. We'll share. There can be no doubts about it: fission reactors lead to energy; energy leads to scientific progress, progress leads to the dark side, and the dark side leads to Republican election victories.

Zach: And what do those victories lead to? Prosperity?

Groucho: Yes. . . Republican election victories lead to prosperity, but then the poor would have no need to depend on the federal government, and leftists would have nothing to do all day. That is not justice! Back to the dark ages, before we go too far forwards!

Zach: Groucho. . . back in the dark ages, they didn't have bingo.

Groucho: Oh.

Zach: I guess we can't play after all.

Groucho: We can, we can. I have lobbied for a long time for policies that would bring a quick end to capitalism, freedom, and the scourge that is humanity. For example, I opposed funding for the Missile Defense Agency.

[At this moment, multiple ballistic missiles hit the United States. The Air Force's limited anti-ballistic missile capability, scaled down ever further during the Obama Administration, only shot down a few. We retaliate, and other nuclear powers "fire ze missiles." Sadly, humanity comes to an end very soon – as it would be in any nuclear war.]

Groucho: Now that we're in the dark ages, we need individual rights and a market economy to bring us to the point where we can redistribute resources. You see, right now, we don't have any resources to redistribute. Social justice cannot happen without other folks' money.

Zach: I say we should increase the amount of resources and find more efficient ways to use them instead of just redistributing the resources. Each person will have an incentive to produce more resources, because he will reap the rewards of his work. Soon, we will have prosperity. It won't be heaven, but it won't be serfdom.

Groucho: I see the error in my ways. Note that the oceans had to burn before I would recant. Let us avoid the road to serfdom! Once, I was blind . . . but now, I see but only after the whole of capitalism . . . vanished, before me.

The ghost of Clement Attlee: I chose the wrong ideology. The only thing the survivors mentioned about British history in their cobbled-together treatise, "The History of the World As it Was – Before It Went Away" is this:

"Margaret Thatcher tried to patch things up, but Labour redistributed all human troubles across the British Isles, and the country ended up in the lou."

The ghost of Clement Attlee: Bloody Fabian socialists. Wrecked the British Empire and contributed nothing to history but a bleak sentence about a bloody toilet. **CR**



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The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

It's quiet…too quiet – whatever could the problem be?

A little less conversation…

GASP! [Jaw drops.] It's been a whole month without a protest at UNC!

Try not to hyperventilate

So just to spice things up and keep the tradition going, for the summer issue I am making a list of all the things I would like to protest (but might not otherwise have the time [or audience] to do so).

An abbreviated list, at least

1. The price of books. It runs all over me when a book makes it onto Oprah's book list and then they put out a new edition with bigger pages and bigger font that's harder to carry around and then double the price on it.

Same content, repackaged – just like all of Oprah's shows, actually

And while we're on the subject of books, let me include on my list 1a) professors who don't get their textbook orders in on time and therefore the bookstores can't find used books and 1b) publishers who insist on putting out a new edition of their textbook every semester because they found a misplaced comma.

And then we get $1 to sell the book back, which is more insulting than giving us nothing

2. UNC making me take art classes. After 20 years of existence, I have (sometimes painfully) realized that I can't draw, I can't act and I'm musically challenged.

To say the least

News flash: Coercing me to take a class that I don't have time to take isn't going to make me like any of the above any better.

And when I don't graduate on time, I'm blaming art

3. Existentialism. It's just your life that's absurd; the rest of us are doing quite fine.

Plus, there are more logical explanations for the financial crisis

4. A few bad apples who make everyone else around them look like raving lunatics as well.

I'm just gonna say it: SDS

5. _____

It's like Mad Libs – fill in your favorite subversive activity!

6. The Cuban embargo and/or the Castro brothers. I want to go to Cuba, and it's somebody's fault that I can't.

Except for…wait! Shhh – don't tell the CIA!

7. Liberals.

You knew it was coming

The sub-list here is obviously very long, but here's just a sampling: excessive spending, intolerance of opposing viewpoints, throwing money at problems, inability to stay within a budget, inability to listen, raising taxes so they can spend more, and excessive spending.

All that spending, and yet the economy still isn't fixed

8. People who protest things too much.

"Not I," said the duck

Hmm…looks like that's all the space I have for now. Look for Part II to come sometime in the next semester.

Plenty more where that came from

In the meantime, I'm going to proceed to sit here smug and happy because five people read this and know that I'm angry.

Instead of, oh, doing something about it

Ay, there's the rub

A little less conversation…a little more action

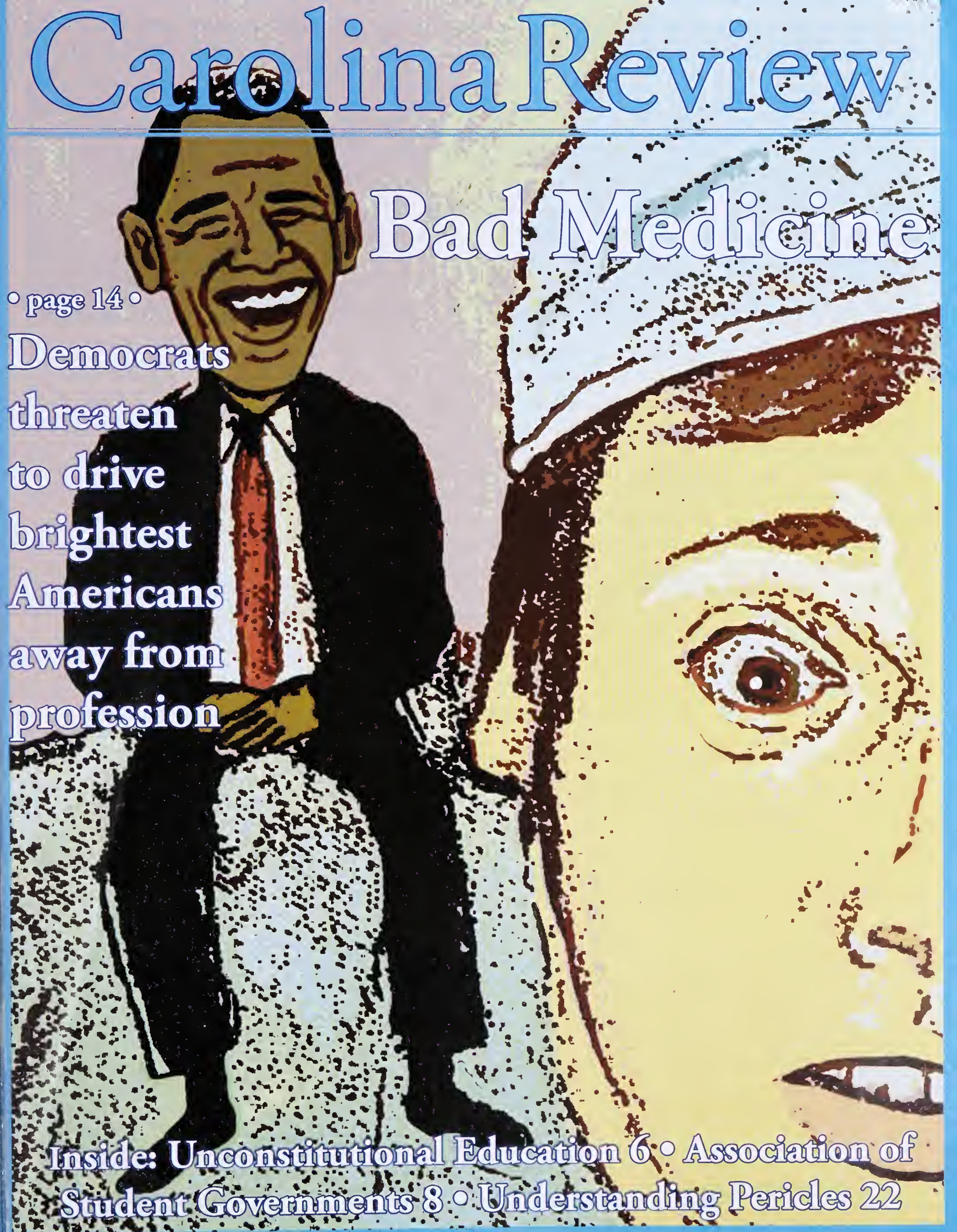
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Carolina Review



Bad Medicine

• page 14 •

Democrats threaten to drive brightest Americans away from profession

Inside: Unconstitutional Education 6 • Association of Student Governments 8 • Understanding Pericles 22

FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

This summer, the collective angst of millions of Americans manifested itself into an increasingly surreal political spectacle. As seen very vividly at everything from the infamous townhall meetings to the surprisingly well attended September 12th march on Washington, a vast grassroots movement has arisen to confront the Obama administration's manifested political philosophy in general, and their plans to reform health care in specific.

We completely understand this fervid outcry. We want to cover health care reform and the reaction against attempted health care reform, but we recognize that most of the things that could be said about the health care debate have already been said (or shouted or placed on protest posters, as the case may be). So our cover story by Duke Cheston looks at the issue from a slightly different angle than most other sources, analyzing the potential impact of Obamacare on students contemplating medical school.

Whatever its potential benefits for consumer of health care, Cheston argues that Obamacare will inevitably increase the burden on the producers of health care. By putting this extra burden on doctors, Obamacare will certainly drive students away from the medical profession, which will undoubtedly have ramifications for decades. Actually, there is already data that suggests that many current doctors might leave the profession if Obamacare is passed.

Obama has also started other controversies recently. On September 8th, Obama gave a speech to the nation's children. Though the administration obviously thought that their intentions were innocuous enough, this speech again drew the ire of many. Marc Seelinger's article looks at Obama's speech. He argues that the speech and the actions of the Department of Education indicate a centralizing tendency which is inimical to the roots of the American democracy.

But we aren't just focusing on the issues of the moment. Josh Groll's article, the first in a series of articles about the great speeches of Western history, looks at Pericles' Funeral Oration, Pericles' speech given at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta.
Pericles used his speech to commemorate those who had died in the first year of fighting, and to exhort the citizens of Athens to continue to fight, though the first year of battle had been very difficult. Pericles attempted to inspire the people of Athens by defending the greatness of Athens. Pericles argued that the roots of Athenian society- its freedom, democracy, equality under the law- made Athenian society something rare, special, and worthy of defense.

Pericles' speech is simultaneously an argument against multiculturalism. By saying that Athens is superior to other societies, Pericles is denying the multiculuralist claim that no society is inherently superior to any other society. Pericles argument that Athenian accomplishments were rare and deserved protection could be made about our Western culture as a whole.
We hope that you enjoy this first issue of the year

Sincerely,
Nash Keune and Bryan Weynand

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CHEERS & JEERS

Summer 2009 The Summer 2009 issue of the Carolina Review served as our welcome to the Class of 2013. As usual, it featured a review of the Freshman Summer Reading Book and our Freshman Orientation Guide. You can find this issue, along with all of our other past issues at unc.edu/cr/

Comment on Summer articles at CRDaily.com



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Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its sixteen-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributors to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.
* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.
* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.
* We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.
* We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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VIEWPOINTS

"The strongest reason for the people to retain the right to keep and bear arms is, as a last resort, to protect themselves against tyranny in government."
Thomas Jefferson

"Hard work is simply the refuge of people who have nothing whatever to do."
Oscar Wilde



To kindergarteners: You like big government, don't you? Yessss, you do-oh.

"Eloquence may exist without a proportionate degree of wisdom."
Edmund Burke

"Our briefings are always better with beer and wine." - Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs P.J. Crowley, addressing reporters.

"What am I going to tell the president when I tell him his teleprompter's broken? What will he do then?"
Joe Biden

"Consensus is the negation of leadership."
Margaret Thatcher



Might as well have . . .

"It happens to be, as Barack said, a three-letter word ... jobs ... J-O-B-S, Jobs!"
Joe Biden

"Go to Heaven for the climate, Hell for the company."
Mark Twain



Oh, pooh! I hope the rain doesn't ruin my perm!

"There are more instances of the abridgment of the freedom of the people by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power than by violent and sudden usurpations."
James Madison

Let the Little Ones Come Unto Me



by MARC SEELINGER
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Barack Obama's hostile takeover of the classroom is the death-knell of federalism.

On September 8, President Barack Obama issued an address to all of the nation's schoolchildren, broadcast live right into their classrooms. This event has two important aspects to it. The first is the issue of federalism (or lack thereof) and the way in which the speech was set up. The second aspect concerns the actual content of the speech.

The U.S. Department of Education was the main organizer for this event. This immediately raises some questions. On its website, the Department of Education says that its mission is "to promote student achievement and preparation for global competiveness by fostering education excellence and ensuring equal access." However, it has not taken the department long to extend its tentacles into every aspect of an American's education.

When the department was first established in 1980, it operated on a $14 billion budget. Since that time, the department has experienced explosive growth, gradually expanding its role in the education system and usurping the role of the states. It now operates on a $68.6 billion budget (at a cost of about $536 per taxpayer) and employs over 4,200 people. It now has offices supervising student financial aid, English language acquisition, educational excellence for Hispanic Americans, civil rights, anti-drug programs, all levels of education from cradle to grave, and everything in between.

However, the 10th Amendment to the Constitution reads, "The powers not delegated to the United States [i.e. the federal government] by the Constitution nor prohibited to it by the states, are reserved to the rights respectively, or to the people." This amendment establishes federalism as the American mode of government. Any powers or responsibilities not specifically delegated to the federal government by the Constitution are reserved for the states and/or the people.

Nowhere in the Constitution does it authorize the federal government to "promote student achievement" or to "foster educational excellence" much less promote such things as English language acquisition and educational excellence for Hispanic Americans. In fact, the Constitution makes no mention of education at all. Therefore, we are left to assume that the power to foster and encourage education is reserved for the states. It is simply not the federal government's role to manage education. This calls into question the very existence of the Department of Education and its 4,200-person bureaucracy.

This may explain, in part, the anti-federalist approach taken by the department that is, itself, an affront to federalism. This illegal department illegally issued curriculums and lesson plans, in violation of its own charter. It circumvented the state and local school boards by going right to the nation's principals with both the lesson plans and the announcement of the speech.

"No provision of a program administered by the Secretary or by any other officer of the department," states the Department of Education Organization Act, "shall be construed to authorize the Secretary or any such officer to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration … or over the selection or content of library resources, textbooks, or other instructional materials by any educational institution or school system."

The lesson plans distributed by the department are in clear violation of this stipulation. In offering the lesson plans, the department was attempting to direct the curriculum and the program of instruction, by helping "engage students in the address and stimulate classroom discussion." They also constitute "instructional materials" created by officers of the department, in this case created by Teaching Ambassador Fellows appointed and paid by the Department of Education. As such, the distribution of these lesson plans was in clear violation of federal law.

However, disregarding the Obama Administration's blatant violation of federal law for a moment, consider the deeper constitutional issue here. For over 200 years, this nation has operated under the principle of federalism, and that principle has defined the relationship between the federal and state/local governments.

In addition, the federal government's invasion of education serves no practical purpose. It is simply impossible for one central department to efficiently and successfully run a national education program in a country of over 300 million people. This national department is unable to account for or even be aware of local educational needs or specific problem areas in a community.

Local school boards can account for these needs. The members of these school boards are drawn from local people who are directly affected by the educational policy set forth by the board. They are in fact, chosen by the voters of that community. Put simply, local school boards allow for direct interaction between the producers and consumers of the educational product, giving each a stake in the success of the schools.

Even if it were legal for the Department of Education to distribute these lesson plans, the department should have given these lesson plans to the local school boards, the duly elected legislative bodies of the people. This would have allowed each school board to make its own decision regarding the lesson plans.

Instead, Obama and his administration went outside the system. They cut the school boards out of the process. This is a very bizarre and un-American mode of

governing. It flies in the face of some of the most basic traditions of this nation's founding, particularly limited government.

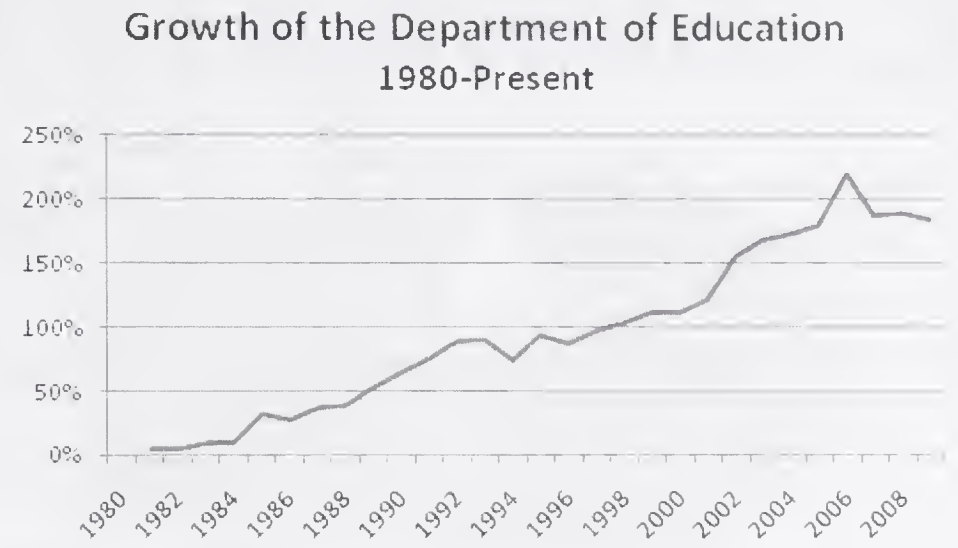
Obama continues to show disregard for some of the most fundamental laws and institutions of this country, and this case is merely further evidence of the fact. This action reveals a federal government that is undaunted and unlimited by legal constraints on its actions. Obama has unchained the federal government.

Coupled with his 112 public speeches in his first nine months in office (an unprecedented number), this desire to constantly be in minds of the people seems like something out of the playbook of some Third World dictator.

Consider the case of Hugo Chavez, the self-described socialist, who recently nationalized Venezuela's education system. The BBC describes Chavez as "a populist leader, who never miss[es] an opportunity to address the nation." The same can be said of our own president. Both Chavez and Obama are carefully deconstructing the constitutional barriers within their own countries to complete, centralized power while at the same time encouraging their nations' citizens to help them with the process by riding on a wave of mob-like populism and such original slogans as "10 Million Hopes," "Hope and Change" and "Yes We Can."

This nation's greatest Presidents, people like Washington, Lincoln, Reagan and others have all possessed a virtue that is completely absent from Obama's character: humility. They recognized that they were elected President to serve the American people. The idea that the people should somehow serve them is an idea completely alien to their understanding. They were not concerned about building monuments to themselves or about how history might view them. Their top concern was not their egos but preserving the freedom of the American people and ensuring the survival of the American Republic.

What this whole scenario illustrates is what could properly be termed the "domino effect." When Jimmy Carter established the Department of Education, he violated the federalist principle and began the federal government's slow but steady encroachment on states' rights in education. One thing has led to another.



US Department of Education Expenditures

Source: US Department of Education

Over the past 30 years, the department has made great inroads into the public education system, expanding its own power and authority at the cost of local governments. What this speech incident illustrates is that the federal government is no longer limited in its jurisdiction by local governments.

If the president wants to talk to the children or the Secretary of Education wants to issue national lesson plans, they are free to do so. They do not need to worry about the local school boards. The words "so let it be written, so let it be done" seem especially appropriate here.

The logical extension of this policy is very troubling. If Obama can simply ignore the legitimacy of the local school boards, how far will he take it? In some areas, the federal government already sets standards and mandates that it then orders the states to follow. The Environmental Protection Agency is a prime example of this. This rule by fiat is an abhorrent affront to liberty.

Of course, one would expect some sort of trade-off here. By surrendering our liberty, we should be able to increase the efficiency and success of our schools, increase the graduation rate, etc., but the deal is completely one sided. In its 30-year existence, the Department of Education has not made things better; arguably, it has only made them worse. No Child Left Behind was a fantastic failure, and since the department more or less monopolized the student loan market, the price of higher education has skyrocketed. In addition, standardized test scores continue to fall every year. So, the American people sold part of their soul to the government and in return received more taxes, higher costs and a slap in the face.

It results in a greater concentration of power within the federal government, eventually making institutions like town and city councils, general assemblies and other state legislatures obsolete and powerless. The need for these institutions diminishes every time Obama circumvents them.

This is a prime example of the domino effect. If he can issue mandates to the schools and circumvent the authority of the school boards, then he can also issue mandates to municipal offices and circumvent the authority of the town/city councils, and so on up the chain. The ability to ignore the law in small matters makes it possible to ignore the law in much larger matters.

"Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction," said Ronald Reagan. "We didn't pass it to our children in the bloodstream. It must be fought for, protected and handed on for them to do the same, or one day we will spend our sunset years telling our children and our children's children what it was once like in the United States where men were free."

These words are especially true in light of the actions of Obama and his speech to the schoolchildren. He has shown that he has no reservations about circumventing the legitimate legislative bodies of local governments to strengthen and centralize his own power, thereby making these bodies and the people who elect them obsolete and powerless.

The United States is based on a tradition of limited government as evinced in the Constitution. The separation and division of power between the state and federal governments and within the federal government itself was a deliberate effort on the part of the Founders to ensure that one man could not wield ultimate, tyrannical power. The decentralization of power acts as a safeguard on the freedom of the citizenry

As Obama continues to amass ever-greater power unto himself, freedom-loving people everywhere must be alert to the actions of the administration and challenge its attempts to subvert the system and eliminate the legislative process. Only this can ensure that Obama will fail in his attempt to recreate America.

Continued on page 11

WASTE, BUREAUCRACY, ...and the ASG

UNC needs to stop funding the profligate ASG



by ANTHONY DENT
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T. Greg Doucette crisscrosses the state of North Carolina throughout the academic year, meeting with students and leaders at all seventeen member campuses of the UNC system. He meets with high-level officials in the UNC Board of Governors and General Administration, including President Erskine B. Bowles. As President of the Association of Student Governments, he has one goal in mind in all his endeavors: to listen to students.

The ASG is an organization charged to champion "the concerns of students" and to ensure "affordability and accessibility to quality education today and tomorrow." Noble goals certainly. But does it live up to them? Each campus in the UNC system sends the ASG one dollar per student under the policy instituted in 2002. This comes to $28,000 per annum from UNC.

The budget begs the question: is our $28,000 is being used properly? Only eight percent of the budget is directly devoted to advocacy, down from eighteen percent from the last fiscal year. The remaining 92 percent of the entire budget– approximately $220,000– is devoted to officer salaries, administrative costs, and travel.

The ASG does not fare well in comparison to its peers in the field.

"The better organizations try to keep overhead down to about 15% or 20%," according to Stephen J. Bukowy, PhD, a professor in the School of Business at the University of North Carolina at Pembroke who has worked with non-profit organizations.

But the ASG disagrees.

"Travel and lodging are essentially important to ASG," contends Doucette. "There is a direct correlation between ASG effectiveness and the ASG networking with students and campuses. We need the lodging and travel money to percolate and move around. It's the job of ASG to network with students and campuses."

These travel costs include reimbursement for travel for ASG officers to the seventeen campuses across the state, restaurants for catering at ASG retreats, Enterprise-Rent-A-Car for vehicles rented, Clarion Hotel for the "NC in DC Advocacy Trip," and various three- and four-star hotels across the state for "lodging for delegate attendance."

Yet, for such a large investment, the returns are abysmal. Doucette believes that "the big goal of the ASG is the way student fees are spent." He points to the organization's work in changing the policy where faculty automatically received twenty-five percent of any increase in student fees. Many of the issues he deals with throughout the year involve academic advising and campus safety.

A recent example he cited vindicating the effectiveness of the ASG is the resolution that passed which called upon the UNC-system Board of Governors to defer to campuses when enacting tuition increases. As this resolution was a result of President Bowles's rebuke after initial ASG actions, this is an interesting example. The situation began in October of 2008 when, after Gov. Beverly Perdue announced budget cuts across-the-board, the ASG passed a resolution calling for modest tuition increases. President Bowles admonished the ASG, saying in an e-mail quoted by *The Daily Tar Heel*, "That's not the way I think business should be done."

His reprimand led to a reversal on the part of the ASG and student leaders who then advocated for tuition hikes at a UNC-system Board of Governors meeting on Jan. 9, 2009. This position was made official in a resolution that passed during a session later in the month which requested that the Board of Governors follow standard practice in determining the tuition increases. The resolution was utterly unnecessary as it was asking that the Board of Governors follow the procedure that they were going to follow anyway, no matter the opinion of the ASG. It was merely an attempt to save face after President Bowles's rebuke.

And now the implementation of a mandatory health insurance policy by the Board of Governors – which the ASG strenuously opposed – raises further questions of the effectiveness of the ASG. The policy has its origin in a move two years ago by the UNC system General Administration when they started mandating health insurance coverage for students at smaller campuses, UNC-Pembroke and UNC-School of the Arts.

Ever since, the mandate has been slowly creeping to the other campuses, with UNC to be joining their ranks in the fall of 2010. The debate erupted last March when UNC system President Erskine Bowles fired the first salvo against opponents of the mandate, sending an e-mail to the UNC-System Board of Governors stating the proposed policy would be discussed at its March meeting. According to Doucette, the proposal had not been brought to his attention, and he had been "blind-sided" in the entire discussion.

In response, Doucette launched a fusillade to oppose the proposal by writing a document which detailed his concerns. This in turn earned him a telephone call from Bowles in which, according to Doucette, "Bowles cussed me out."

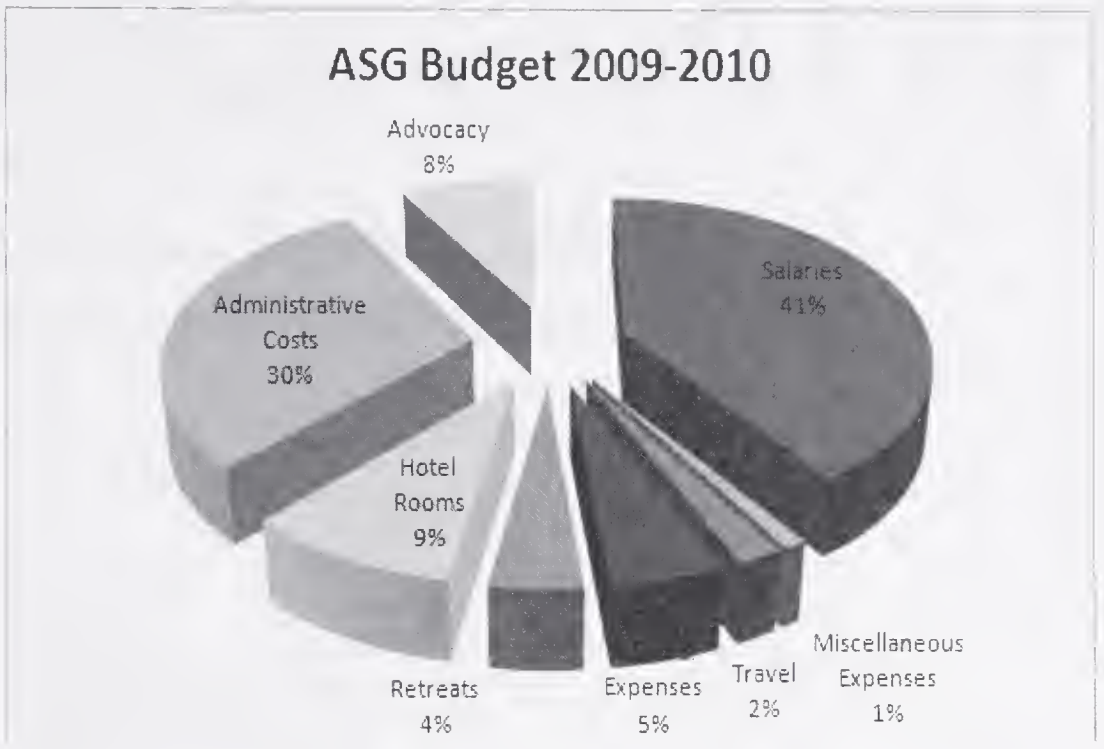
The ASG's opposition to the policy caused the Board of Governors to postpone discussion of the proposal until their May meeting, where it was then further delayed until August when the proposal finally passed.

Although in retreat, the ASG has won some albeit small victories in a rear-guard action in the form of lengthening the deadline for health insurance waivers and in persuading the GA to reconsider its "one size fits all" plan with age-banding premiums as a possible replacement; however, Doucette believes at the end of the day, the

policy will instead have split undergraduate and graduate options, with the possibility of an age-banding premium in ten year increments.

While ineffective as a statewide forum for student governments, the question may still be asked as to whether the ASG is beneficial to UNC. There are differing opinions. On one side lies former Student Body President JJ Raynor.

She was quoted in *The Daily Tar Heel* as saying, "It's really not a productive body for anyone from Chapel Hill," referring to the ASG.



Source: UNC ASG Budget 2009-2010 (Note: Expenses categorized utilizing *Forbes'* "Charitable Commitment" methodology.)

The new administration has struck a different chord. In an e-mailed response to queries, Jasmin Jones said, "We can see real potential that can come not only through the organization but also through networking with students from other universities."

The ASG has other proponents in student government. Dakota Williams, Chief Financial Officer of the ASG and Speaker Pro Temp in the current UNC Student Congress, believes that "[t]he Association benefits UNC Chapel Hill students by providing a direct line of communication to the statewide UNC Board of Governments and influencing the policies of the Board and the UNC General Administration in a student-friendly direction."

As the fee is levied by General Administration throughout the UNC system, even if the student body or the student body officers decided to not participate in the ASG, UNC could not voluntarily opt out of the fee. There is no established procedure in the event that a campus was to leave the ASG, so that remains a gray area for UNC-system administrators. While he could not specify the manner in which this request would be handled, Rob Nelson, the Vice President for Finance, believes that "the Board [of Governors] would have to say that the particular school could opt out of the fee."

Even if UNC were to opt out, it would still have to be determined for what the $28,000 UNC currently sends to the ASG could be used. If the money stayed on campus, student leaders believe the money would be used directly on student groups.

"I personally would advocate for the money to [be] allocated so that student groups would be able to benefit from it," said Joseph Levin-Manning, the Speaker of Student Congress.

Jennings Carpenter, the Student Body Treasurer, agreed. "Our expenditures are made in accordance with Title V of the Student Code, so the student government funds are spent on campus.

In talking with and working with Doucette, Williams and other members of the ASG, one quickly realizes that they are extraordinarily capable and well-intentioned; however, the history of the ASG shows that at the end of the day, it is a veritable House of Lords. It can delay the enactment of and make cosmetic changes to policies it opposes, but it is not an effective representative for students in Raleigh.

The ASG merely shows the futility of excessive centralization. To achieve unanimity, one would have to balance the disparate interests of campuses all across North Carolina, in the mountains, Piedmont and the coast, each with a different set of wants and needs due to the varied nature of each institution. The problems that face the North Carolina School of the Arts differ from the issues facing ECU.

At times, the issue may be the same, such as health insurance for students; but what works for NC State is different from what works for UNC-Pembroke. We can see this in the opposition to the mandatory health insurance policy from members of the NC State and UNC delegations because the insurance policies those schools already offer is tailored to fit the needs of their students.

The beauty of a decentralized system that exists for the campuses under the UNC-system umbrella is that, in most instances, each campus has the right to make their own decisions and implement policies that offer the best solution for their particular circumstances. That means the seventeen campuses are each laboratories, experimenting with policies to find the right solution.

And further, each campus has its own student government which can advocate for the student body for each issue that presents itself. The ASG is merely an unnecessary layer that attempts to be the courier between each respective student government and the Board of Governors.

If the ASG were to be simply a forum for the exchange of ideas between student leaders, the most likely purpose for its establishment in 1972, it would be different. But the ASG has taken a different route, taking a life of its own and creating its own culture and bureaucracy.

At the moment, we cannot justify sending $28,000 every year to an organization that spends more on salaries, hotels and travel than advocacy, which is the ASG's purpose. That much overhead – 92 percent – in a normal 501(c)3 would trigger an immediate investigation by the IRS, yet we continue tolerate this wasteful expenditure by sending money to the ASG year in and year out.

UNC should dissolve its ties from ASG. Whether we participate in the ASG should be put up for referendum because it is time for the student body to determine whether their fees should be subsidizing this organization. If the majority of the student body votes to end our participation in the ASG, we should petition the Board of Governors to end the fee and amend the Student Code as appropriate to reflect this change.

This would most likely end in two ways: abolish the fee, thereby making tuition that much more affordable; or re-allocating the money to the university bursary and appropriating it to groups and organizations on campus, thereby allowing them to bring speakers, hold events, and programming which would further enrich our college experience. Either way, students need to be allowed to decide whether we continue to participate in the ASG because we are the ones that are paying for it.**CR**

BLOWING SMOKE



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Greenbridge endures baseless criticism from some Northside residents.

In case you never venture north of Franklin Street for fear of unknown bus routes or pick up *The Daily Tar Heel* (who could blame you?), you may have missed the subject of some recently boiled-over controversy: Greenbridge.

Situated at 601 W. Rosemary St., the ten-story mixed-use condominium complex that has been heralded for its innovative approach to sustainability is steadily climbing skyward. However, coverage of the project has focused on the strong dissent expressed by some in the adjacent Northside Neighborhood.

In addition to a recent bomb threat and loads of graffiti, Greenbridge took another blow when on Sunday, Aug. 30, the *Chapel Hill News* published a heated letter from 61 residents of the historically black neighborhood. They accused Greenbridge of everything from unnecessary waste and grotesque size, to inevitably being the cause of gentrification and the ultimate downfall of the neighborhood.

Before you take sides, you may find yourself questioning the validity of these claims, as *Carolina Review* readers are inclined to do. The papers covered the controversy, but it is our responsibility to you, the insatiable consumer of knowledge, common sense and all things holy, to do some digging.

So, do any of the letter's claims hold water, or are they just hogwash?

Claim #1: Greenbridge is a "luxury housing project."

While Greenbridge does cater to upscale living, it has committed to making 15 percent of its units affordable, in accordance with the requirements of the Chapel Hill Town Council. These will be one- or two-bedroom units on site, and since Greenbridge has 99 units available, 15 will be affordable.

The term "affordable" is not subjective either. As defined by the Council, Greenbridge must price these residences for households earning less than 80 percent of the area median income, or less than about $38,000.

In addition to complying with Council regulations, Greenbridge has also agreed to cap monthly dues at 1.5 percent of the selling price of the affordable condominiums. Therefore, monthly dues could never rise above about $570, ensuring the condominiums stay affordable and staving off gentrification, which will be discussed in detail later.

As long as we are on the subject of money, it is important to note that Greenbridge will bring in $1 million in tax revenue for Chapel Hill, hardly "irresponsible…in the midst of a recession" as the letter claims

Claim #2: It is of "unprecedented size for our small town."

While the Greenbridge towers do measure in at ten and seven stories high, they are only 15 feet over the height limit for that zoning district, at 135 feet. The Council approved the project because the excess is due to mechanical equipment, solar collection devices, and other maintenance structures necessary to the function of the building.

In addition, during the planning stage for Greenbridge, the developers altered the design based on the concerns of church and community leaders. Greenbridge conducted door-to-door surveys to consult residents and even attended Northside Community Watch Meetings to go over plans with residents and make changes based on their concerns.

The results? At a cost of $10 million, the building was "split" to allow sunlight onto Rosemary Street, and the developers lowered the west building from nine to seven stories, out of respect for St. Paul AME Church. Greenbridge even rotated the building 90 degrees and split it to eliminate the "wall" effect of a new building between neighborhoods.

Claim #3: "Greenbridge condominiums will fundamentally change the character of our neighborhood."

In response to altering and potentially damaging the historic presence of Northside, Tim Toben, one of the six partners of Greenbridge – all Chapel Hill natives – reminded us how the property for Greenbridge was commercial use property with run-down buildings in need of repair to revitalize the neighborhood.

"Broken, boarded-up, asbestos contaminated buildings will be replaced with a thriving streetscape, offices and retail establishments that will offer jobs and economic opportunity to the community."

In response to residents' concerns, Toben added that they even "created a public plaza to draw neighbors into the project, rather than repel them from it."

In keeping with the historical look of the community, Greenbridge will use a mixture of traditional Chapel Hill materials such as brick, wood, glass, and stucco in a modern architectural style. The first floor will merge with the business district, utilizing transparent materials, architectural details, and street furnishings to mesh with the lively, inviting environment that Chapel Hill is famous for and that keeps people coming back.

Claim #4: "Greenbridge has refused to meet neighbors' demands that might mitigate the effects of the development … and is unwanted and unwelcomed by Northside residents."

In addition to changing the design of the project radically in response to residents' demands and working with the community since 2006, Greenbridge has also produced a documentary on the history of Northside over the last 100 years that will be shown in the building. It already premiered at a Council meeting and was met with great approval.

Greenbridge will even provide meeting space to the Hargraves Center for community watch meetings and offer classes for first-time homebuyers to qualify residents for ownership with Greenbridge or other affordable housing.

As the buzz about the project grew, many residents wrote letters to express their approval of Greenbridge and excitement for the benefits it will bring to Chapel Hill. As early as 2007, one resident explains, "Greenbridge has the support of its neighbors, including religious leaders, business people and community activists."

Even the former owners of the property approve. The Masons used to own the property, and Charlie Mason's daughter



Photo by Yelena Pelcheny
The Greenbridge construction as seen in September

Virginia said that her father would be proud to see the project go ahead.

Claim #5: "Greenbridge is being promoted as a new frontier in environmental sustainability, but (it) … is not sustainable."

Research into Greenbridge's sustainability reveals nothing but accolades for its innovation in the latest green technology. Tim Toben was affected by the Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change that determined that 5 percent of the world's population (America) contributes 30 percent of world's greenhouse gases. In 25 years, it reported, "basic elements of modern life for people around the world will be compromised, such as access to water, food production and human health."

Determined to reverse that trend and set a new standard for sustainable development, he envisioned building Greenbridge, and hired the world's leading green architect, William McDonough.

Toben praises Greenbridge for its "cutting-edge green features – solar thermal hot water, water sourced heat pumps, LED lighting and a fresh air purification system, complimented by gorgeous, eco-friendly finishes." The bottom line is that Greenbridge residences will use 50 percent less energy than adjacent structures.

These innovations have received attention on both state and national levels. Greenbridge was named one of the 2008 ten most sustainable developments in America by *Natural Home Magazine*, and as it is the first of its kind in North Carolina, the Director of the State Energy Office testified that he hoped to see many like it in the state's future.

In a pledge of further service to the community and its unfailing commitment to sustainability, Greenbridge will even have a "Sustainability Center" to, as Toben puts it, promote a "sustainable future -- local food, green energy, green building."

The G-Word

The concern that Greenbridge would promote gentrification was not directly stated in the letter, most likely because the effects of gentrification are so hotly debated that it would have been unwise to include such an assertion. Especially given the affordable units allotted at Greenbridge, the image of the big bad wolf that essentially blows down the houses of the lower-income pigs is shaky at best.

According to a 2008 *Time* article, "Gentrification: Not Ousting the Poor," researchers found that "low-income non-white households did not disproportionately leave gentrifying areas," a major concern for the large low-income black population of Northside.

Researchers at the University of Colorado at Boulder, the University of Pittsburgh and Duke University examined Census data from more than 15,000 neighborhoods across the U.S. in 1990 and 2000. The study found that "at least one group of residents, high school–educated blacks, were actually *more* likely to remain in gentrifying neighborhoods than in similar neighborhoods that didn't gentrify" – even increasing in number and seeing gains in income.

In "Urban Affairs Review," Lance Freeman, an assistant professor of urban planning at Columbia University, came to a similar conclusion in his 2005 paper.

His study looked at a nationwide sample of neighborhoods between 1986 and 1989 and found that low-income residents "tended to move out of gentrifying areas at essentially the same frequency they left other neighborhoods." In fact, gentrification created neighborhoods that attracted middle-class minorities.

Cries of harmful gentrification are unfounded and do not do justice to Greenbridge. The evidence indicates that, if anything, gentrification can be beneficial to a neighborhood, revitalizing the area while maintaining the community. Greenbridge has gone to great lengths to ensure it listens to the community and only furthers its goals of maintaining a cherished history while looking toward the town's concerns for the future regarding sustainability and urban development.

Greenbridge has already sold half its units and is on track to open in June 2010, and it will prove a great asset to the community. It meets and exceeds Chapel Hill's expectations for urban development and community consciousness while blazing a new trail, not just for the town but also for the state in sustainability. Next summer, swing by Greenbridge and take a look at the prototype for the future of Chapel Hill.**CR**

Continued from page 7

Except for members of the Cabinet, it is every citizen's duty to surrender his wealth to the government, his "patriotic duty," so that it may be redistributed to the "disenfranchised," in the name of fairness. Every citizen is to surrender his freedom on the altar of the Nanny State.

"Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction," said Ronald Reagan. "We didn't pass it to our children in the bloodstream. It must be fought for, protected and handed on for them to do the same, or one day we will spend our sunset years telling our children and our children's children what it was once like in the United States where men were free."

These words are especially true in light of the actions of Obama and his speech to the schoolchildren. He has shown that he has no reservations about circumventing the legitimate legislative bodies of local governments to strengthen and centralize his own power, thereby making these bodies and the people who elect them obsolete and powerless.

The United States is based on a tradition of limited government as evinced in the Constitution. The separation and division of power between the state and federal governments and within the federal government itself was a deliberate effort on the part of the Founders to ensure that one man could not wield ultimate, tyrannical power. The decentralization of power acts as a safeguard on the freedom of the citizenry.

As Obama continues to amass ever-greater power unto himself, freedom-loving people everywhere must be alert to the actions of the administration and challenge its attempts to subvert the system and eliminate the legislative process. Only this vigilance can ensure that Obama will fail in his attempt to recreate America.**CR**

Private Compassion Thrives

A closer look at the Community Empowerment Fund



by JOSH OTAROLA
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Loaning money to the homeless does not seem like a smart idea. After all, homeless people are unreliable and would have limited funds, if any, to pay back the loan. Maybe they will simply spend the money on drugs and alcohol, which probably contributed to their becoming homeless in the first place.

At first glance, the Community Empowerment Fund seems ludicrous and highly idealistic. However, upon further examination, CEF is crafted very carefully and thoughtfully, it is well-balanced, and its early success speaks volumes of its potential.

CEF is sponsored by HOPE (Homeless Outreach Poverty Eradication) and CMI (Carolina Microfinance Institution). It is funded through a $3,500 SURF grant (Summer Undergraduate Research Fellowships) and around $6,000 raised from HOPE's box-out event. It is currently composed of twelve student volunteer loan officers who are in charge of approving or denying loans for applicants.

The acquisition of a loan is the last resort. Jonathan Young, a senior loan officer said; "We check among the community to see if there are alternative resources that they can use before looking into us."

The application process lasts two weeks, and two loan officers are assigned to each applicant. The loan officers review the application and verify the information by checking references, verifying employment, etc. The two loan officers then consult with the rest of the loan officers for approval or rejection.

The Daily Tar Heel recently published an editorial criticizing CEF, entitled "Lending a hand: Microloan program for homeless should be expanded." The members of CEF were surprised and upset at this editorial because of its blatant inaccuracy and misleading journalism. "What kind of journalist doesn't even bother to ask questions about things he will print as facts?" Daniela Velando, a senior loan officer, said. "It's pretty disappointing."

The editorial says, "This microloan program, which gives participating homeless people $300 to pursue skill workshops,

About the CEF:

The Community Empowerment Fund is a student-run non-profit organization based at the UNC Campus Y in Chapel Hill, NC that works locally to provide micro-loans, savings opportunities and financial services to individuals in need of employment, small business or housing assistance.

should be expanded and should also include outreach for applicants who aren't approved for loans."

Contrast this statement to the CEF Loan Application's first paragraph: "The Community Empowerment Fund provides no-interest loans of up to $300 for persons in need of employment or self-employment assistance in the greater Triangle area. CEF loans are meant to directly assist borrowers in acquiring or expanding employment opportunities."

The differences are quite striking. First, CEF is not just for the homeless, as the DTH claims, but for those in need, homeless or not. Second, CEF can grant a loan of ***up to $300***, not a guaranteed $300. Third, the $300 is not used to pursue skill workshops; the skill workshops are free.

As for the kind suggestion to expand the program "to include outreach for applicants who are not approved for loans," CEF has that covered. If a loan is not approved, it is usually because there is not a foreseeable method of payment or the loan does not comply with the guidelines or seen as productive. The loan officers then analyze the applicant's needs and connect them with as many resources within the community as possible. They also inform the applicants of ways to build-up resources to reapply for the loan and are still welcome to monthly workshop sessions, from basic finances (budget/debt-handling), to internet use, to resume building skills, to small business practices.

"In addition to funds, CEF volunteers supported all applicants through resume-building, job searching, connections to services, computer literacy, and much more –" Maggie West, a senior loan officer and spokesperson for CEF, reported in her final summary of the SURF research. "All of which significantly increased the true loan value and provided opportunities to applicants not approved for a loan."

Once a loan is approved, the loan officers install a repayment schedule, usually a weekly one, and a plan. The plan consists of part repayment and part building a savings account into which CEF will match up to $100 of what the borrower saves. The borrower is required to make a ten percent savings deposit before the actual loan distribution.

It is crucial to understand that cash is not handed out, like welfare. The way the loan works is more active and hands-on. It is carried out item-by-item, and the loan officers accompany the borrower to purchase said item. Some examples include educational books, housing deposits, small business loans, and a cell phone for a freelance painter to keep in contact with clients.

The loan officers meet with the borrower weekly, one-on-one, mainly to advance opportunities and check on the borrower's progress. The loan officers make sure there is a stable environment and that each borrower is on track to repay the loan. There are also weekly borrowers' meetings in order to create a community where they can help each other out, share resources, and create another sphere of accountability.

"Within the term of the summer pilot, CEF received 18 complete applications," Maggie West reported. "CEF approved 5 loans in the pilot – 4 to men and 1 to a woman, with 5 additional applications pending." Thus far, the loans are in good shape and on track to being repaid.

There is a well-balanced variety among the loan officers. There are the optimistic and compassionate types, as well as the realistic and skeptic types. There are business-oriented people and charity-oriented people.

What CEF does can be summarized by a simple statement: they help people help themselves. "We invest in people and their potential," said Jonathan Young. CEF is a perfect example of compassionate conservatism, regardless of the organization's ideals.

Compassionate conservatism, as illustrated here, is the power of individual people and private organizations – not government – to help the needy. The funds used by CEF, mentioned above, come from a private research grant and a box-out fundraiser. There is no government money involved.

The CEF project believes in people's willingness to succeed, which can bring them out of poverty. Unlike welfare, which is a handout and merely continues the poverty cycle, CEF loans encourage people to use their creativity and ingenuity responsibly and to be in control of their own fates. CEF provides the push that will allow many of these underprivileged people to break free of a poverty cycle that plagues cities everywhere.

Compassionate conservatism allows for the private sector, mainly churches and charities, to help solve problems such as homelessness. The private sector can be more caring, more thoughtful and definitely more strategically developed to combat problems like homelessness and poverty.

Hopefully other organizations can look to CEF as a model for how to alleviate poverty and homelessness, as CEF is the only microfinance group that targets the homeless populace. **CR**

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How to get involved:

If you would like to get involved, contact Jon Young or Maggie West at the Campus Y. Visit www.communityempowermentfund.org or call 919-200-0233. for more information about specific meeting times.

Bad Medicine



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Democrats threaten to drive brightest Americans away from profession

"O, that way madness lies; let me shun that;
No more of that."

So said the good King Lear, in time of his distress; the same could be said by anyone trying to figure out the future of the American healthcare system. With several drastically different bills making their way through Congress, the President saying one thing and the CBO saying another, and millions being spent in promoting both sides of the debate, it is difficult to tell what is going on now, much less what is going to happen when or if a final bill goes into effect.

Indeed, it may be prudent to examine the situation from a more confined viewpoint. Specifically, it would be helpful to look at the medical system as it currently exists and potential upcoming changes from the perspective of a doctor, a perspective especially useful to all the pre-med students here at Carolina.

To begin with, the healthcare system is in bad shape. There are the problems that patients see, like skyrocketing costs and waiting times, but the things most affecting doctors are the things patients do not see.

For instance, there is the trouble with insurance companies. Dr. Arthur Feldman, writing in the Washington Post, said "Every physician has insurance company horror stories: patients who went untreated because their carriers wouldn't pay, endless hours on the phone to get administrator's approval for necessary tests and mountains of paperwork to collect reimbursements."

In addition to problems with insurance companies, the number of frivolous malpractice lawsuits has reached an absurd level in this country. Dr. Feldman continues: "Practically every doctor has a story about a jury that awarded huge damages to a plaintiff despite the absence of wrongdoing by the physician. The best from our practice group is the physician who was sued – even though he was out of town during the patient's entire hospitalization."

The tort situation is so bad that in some specialties doctors pay up to $250,000 a year in malpractice insurance.

According to the Wall Street Journal, spending on malpractice litigation amounts to $30 billion annually, roughly 1 percent of total medical spending. More significantly, defensive medicine (procedures and tests done exclusively to avoid the risk of lawsuits) is an expensive result of such lawsuits, contributing to the rising cost of care.

> "Doctors in their 50s and 60s faced with increasing burdens, increasing demands. See 50 a day instead of 20, running through like a cattle run, we're going to quit."

Some analysts estimate the cost of defensive medicine to be much higher than the cost of malpractice litigation, in the range of $100 to $200 billion annually, although this is difficult to measure since there is no strict definition of what does and does not constitute defensive medicine.

Another problem is the growing shortage of doctors in both primary care and the specialties. The Society of University Surgeons, in their journal "Surgery," projected a shortage of 1,300 general surgeons in the U.S. by next year.

If that were not enough, there is also the bureaucratic nightmare that is the Food and Drug Administration. The immense regulation, internal disorder and conflict-of-interest policies make producing new drugs extremely difficult to develop in a timely or cost-efficient manner. New drugs cost about $1 billion to produce, and burdensome regulations cause many companies to develop drugs overseas.

So then the question becomes: what about healthcare reform? Are any of these problems that doctors face going to be fixed? In his Sept. 6 op-ed, "10 Things I Hate about Health-Care Reform," Dr. Feldman gives his answer: an unequivocal "no."

In all of the bills going through Congress, "private insurance companies escape real regulation [which] is what makes my colleagues and me so cynical about the reform proposals." Tort reform, notes Feldman, is also found nowhere in any of the bills. Neither is any effort to address the problems with the healthcare provider shortages or burdens on drug development.

Some proposals do attempt to cut costs through preventive measures, but, as researcher Louise Russell points out, "prevention" usually *adds* to costs instead of reducing them.

In fact, many doctors fear that current proposals will make things much worse. In response to a recent IBD/TIPP survey, 45 percent of doctors who responded said

they would consider quitting their practice or going into early retirement. If the 1,376 respondents' answers can be extrapolated to the entire medical field, we could be witnessing a doctor shortage of catastrophic proportions in coming years.

Dr. Robert Van Zant, a family practice physician from Houston, is one among many who have warned that President Barack Obama's healthcare reform might make things considerably worse for doctors, driving many to quit. "Doctors in their 50s and 60s faced with increasing burdens, increasing demands. See 50 a day instead of 20, running through like a cattle run, we're going to quit."

A similar mass exodus occurred when Canada nationalized its healthcare system, and many are still emigrating from that country for similar reasons.

The doctors in the survey mentioned three main concerns about the reform proposals: "costs, control and courts," IBD's Terry Jones noted in a recent op-ed. As one of the surveyed doctors ominously predicted, we may end up with a healthcare system with "all the efficiency of the post office, all the compassion of the motor vehicle bureau."

It is difficult to say exactly what the new round of increased government intervention in healthcare will look like, but there is little cause for optimism on the part of doctors. Increased mandates, regulations, red tape and government bureaucrats are sure to make life at least a little bit less pleasant for healthcare professionals. Not surprisingly, the IBD/TIPP poll mentioned above showed 65 percent of physicians opposed to proposals currently making their way through Congress.

Given the problems with the medical field and the lack of solutions coming from Washington, the bottom line question must still be addressed: is it worth committing ten years of your life to become a doctor?

That depends on why you want to become a doctor in the first place. If you want to be a doctor so you can be your own boss, for example, you can "f***ing hang that up," said Patricia Cheston, a physician's assistant from Lake Panasofkee, Florida. Oppressive government regulations, onerous insurance companies and the constant threat of lawsuits combine to remove any substantial sense of independence.

If you want to be a doctor for the job security, then you need not worry about choosing between Kaplan and the Princeton Review for an MCAT prep class. In terms of job security, "we are not valued as much as day laborers," said Dr. Jim Davison. Many doctors are technically independent contractors and, as such, can be replaced on a whim.

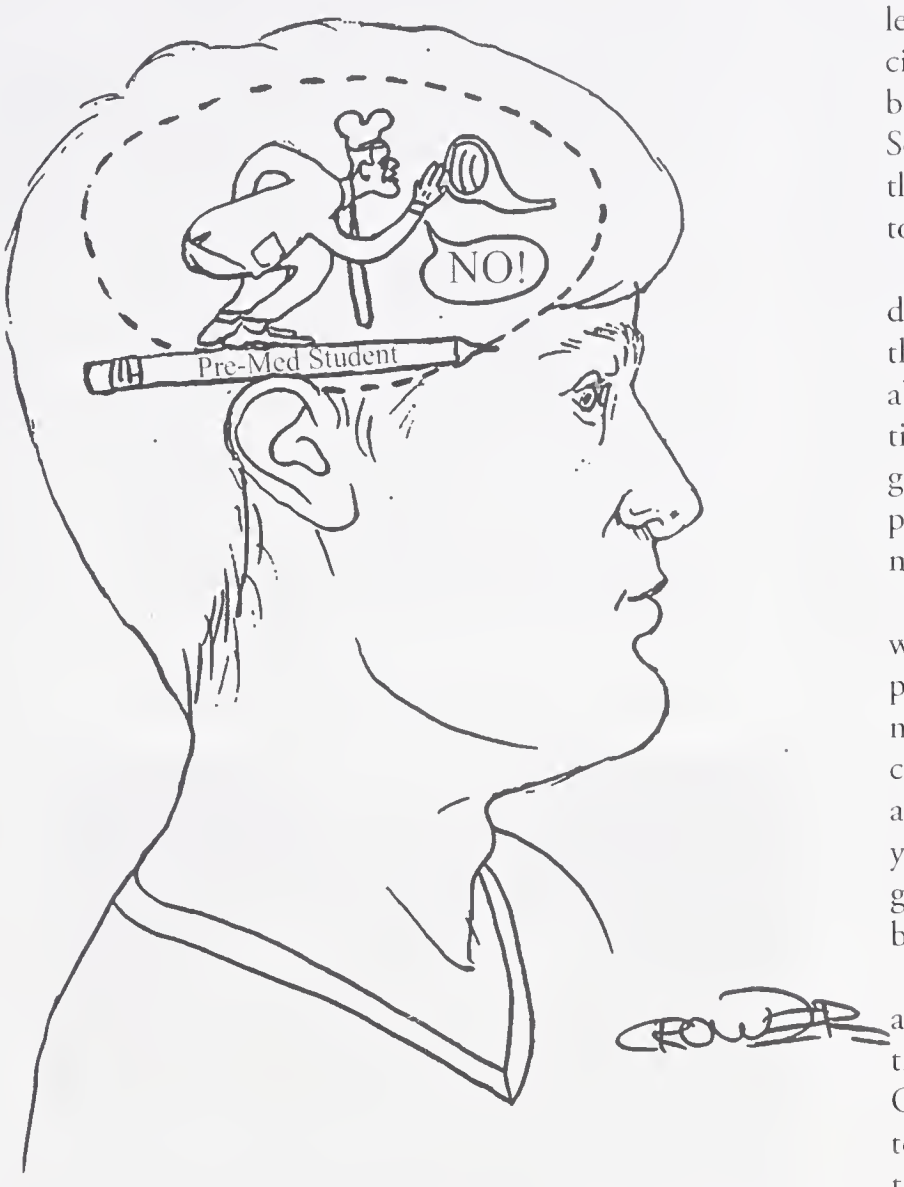


Illustration by Justin Crowder

If you want to be a doctor for the money (and let's face it, some of us do), then being a doctor will, in all likelihood, become increasingly less attractive to you. As the pressure to cut costs rises, cuts have to come from somewhere, and it is likely that some of that will be from doctors' bottom lines. President Obama has promised to "squeeze" doctors, and there is little reason to believe it will be a friendly embrace.

This is not to say that you will not be able to make a decent living and eventually pay down your medical school debts, but there is a lot of uncertainty. When Medicare began issuing price recommendations, primary care became a lot less profitable while being a specialist and performing procedures became a lot more profitable. Something similar might happen this time around, but it is difficult to make predictions.

If you genuinely want to be a doctor for the chance to help ease the afflictions of the suffering, enable loving families to spend more time together on this Earth and generally make the world a better place, go for it. The world needs more doctors like you.

But don't delude yourself. You will be dealing with mountains of paperwork, a jungle of red tape, a massive debt that will take an increasingly long time to pay off and an army of lawyers arrayed against you. As they say in football, "you gotta want it." It will undoubtedly be challenging.

The bottom line is that being a doctor in today's America is tremendously frustrating, and Obama's reforms are not going to make it any better. Indeed, they will likely make the situation much worse.

The last major redoubt of non-socialized medicine, the United States, stands on the brink of the national-healthcare abyss. Obama and the progressives in Congress are yelling "Jump!" but the citizenry, and doctors especially, are becoming all the time more disillusioned. Perhaps our leaders will take note and desist from going

Of 1,376 doctors questioned in a recent IBD/TIPP survey, 45 percent said they would consider quitting their practice if current proposals pass; 65% oppose the proposals

The Tragedy After 9/11

Reverence for national principles wanes



by NICK WILSON
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Sept. 11, 2001. "A date which will live in infamy –the United States was suddenly and deliberately attacked"… No, wait, that's not it.

One hundred individuals were chosen anonymously, at random, from Franklin Street to South Campus, and asked an intriguing pair of questions: where do you classify yourself politically (either conservative or liberal, and independents were asked to pick a side), and does the date Dec. 7 ring any bells for you? Each appeared to be around student-age.

Of those polled, eighty-three said that they were liberal, seventeen conservative. Not surprising around these parts. What *is* surprising, however, are how these young men and women responded to the next question.

Of the eighty-three professed liberals, only nine were able to correctly identify the anniversary of Pearl Harbor, while many others incorrectly guessed at Normandy, the Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the attack on the USS Cole, and various other responses, some of which were humorous – others, not so much.

I'm sure more than just 10.8 percent of them have seen Ben Affleck and Josh Hartnett's 2001 blockbuster, but that is another matter. Seven of the seventeen conservatives polled were able to correctly recall the significance of Dec. 7. As a percent, this is roughly four-times greater than that of the previous respondents.

Overall, only a meager sixteen percent of combined political affiliations identified correctly. Not good numbers, Chapel Hill. This obviously cannot be attributed to a lack of information – UNC students *are* well-educated and intelligent – but to a sense of apathy born of a rational ignorance of this country's tribulations.

It is difficult to stress how imperative it is for us to perpetuate a strong sense of reverence for our history. Sept. 11 effectively picked our scab of complacency and apathy. We were exposed once more to America's vulnerability, which had forgotten what suffering is, guarded as it was by years of domestic safety.

Thomas Paine once told us, "What we obtain too cheaply, we esteem too lightly." Our freedom did not come cheaply, nor should we esteem it as such. The events of 9/11 were tangible reminders of what we, as a beacon of freedom and social mobility, have staved off in the past and are up against once more.

It seems a declining sense of moral obligation has long since been underway, as each year fewer and fewer respects are paid to not only the events which took place on 9/11, but also the events subsequent. Even left-leaning The Daily Tar Heel was quick to point this out.



Photo by John Eick

The UNC College Republicans made thier annual of American flags to honor the victims of 9/11.

We are all fully aware of the tragedies which were brought about on that day; there is no need to refresh. But what does need refreshing is our sense of nationalism which has been wrought with political conflicts, particularly in the past eight years.

But when did our nationalism start to taper? One can start as far back as Sept. 11, 2001, shortly before George W. Bush's approval ratings rose to the highest in American history. We as Americans, though differing in opinion, were unified as one in a common purpose – *that* is our long-lost sense of patriotism, when political expediency did not contravene an American agenda.

Unfortunately, this pinnacle of American accord did not last long; about two weeks passed before Democrats began harping Bush for not acting swiftly enough. This also did not last long; the same night Bush launched his immensely successful raid on Tora Bora, Democrats once again turned their backs on his agenda by criticizing him for acting at all.

Disagreement is inevitable. The Democrats have every right to disagree and to oppose in some instances. Nevertheless, they do not have a right to impede the war nor use it as a quandary of discord towards Republicans (completely skewing facts, slandering a president and grossly undermining a war effort in the process) all for the pursuit of political leverage. It even seemed that as the casualties mounted, Democrats rejoiced in the fact that they were gaining favor as opposed to lamenting the misfortunes of their countrymen.

As far as subverting the war effort goes, take Nancy Pelosi's opposition to CIA interrogation methods. Proven effective, these methods are mostly scare tactics that cause no lasting, if any, harm to the subjects. Either way, the safety of terrorists should pale in comparison to our liberties as Americans, which the terrorists' existence alone threatens. Pelosi nonetheless continues to be a hindrance in our quest for valuable information, which could save American lives, on an ethical basis regarding terrorist's rights. What does this say about an esteemed leader in the Democratic Party's priorities?

It is not that Pelosi truly cares about the safety of terrorists. Rather, she understands that sensitivity, in general, is what appeals to a large, pacifist, liberal base. Yet again, Democrats understand well how to further their agenda and will do so above all, regardless of the stakes.

The behavior of most Democrats throughout this war is analogous to rooting against your son's football team because you disagree with the coach's methods and play calling. Rather than going to the opposing side and cheering, however, you stay on the same size and root against, demoralizing everyone.

Take for instance the Wellstone Memorial, a year after Tora Bora. Most would consider this an occasion for reverence, respect, and renewal of zeal. Rather, liberals "snatched

defeat from the jaws of victory" by lobbying to defund the war effort and chanting, "Bush lied, people died."

So much for civil discourse.

It is insulting, in the very least, to turn such an event into a bash-Bush extravaganza, but similar grievances are commonplace now. Democrats continue to manipulate events in such a way as to shed a favorable light on their agenda, instead of solving the problems.

"What we obtain too cheaply, we esteem too lightly." Our freedom did not come cheaply, nor should we esteem it as such.

"Many democratically elected governments, like our own republic, have less of a stomach for war than others … as they can be drawn out and very costly," remarked Jason Sutton of the College Republicans. "So as the public began to turn, upon exposure to the burdens of war, the Democrats picked up on that and rode the turning tide."

Essentially, the Democrats made it politically acceptable to oppose the president and the war effort, propagating a defeatist attitude towards the path of least resistance which never leads to freedom, as America's conflict-ridden history so loudly displays. In the past, Americans have willfully shouldered the onus of freedom, the nature of their cause validation enough to do so proudly.

"The question is whether the liberals took advantage of the turning tide of public opinion regarding the war," Sutton said, "or if they really believed in their positions."

As our regard for such events has become so intertwined in political animus, many people have become so bogged down by the dispute that there is a mass proclivity toward rational ignorance. But no case of ignorance can explain the recent attempt at making Sept. 11 another earth day, as President Obama suggested in his address at the Pentagon.

A few days before the anniversary, President Obama made his way to New York to commemorate Walter Cronkite. On Sept. 11, he sent Joe Biden to New York to memorialize the anniversary of the attacks. Apparently he could not do the honors himself, but on Sept. 14 he was able to fly out to New York again to pay homage to the crash of the Lehman brothers, the crash of the towers a dull afterthought.

Again with the priorities – as societal regard (particularly in Obama's voting populace) for the remembrance of 9/11 continues to wane, it was politically expedient for him to pawn the obligation of commemoration to his vice president.

"On this first National Day of Service and Remembrance, we can summon once more that ordinary goodness of America to serve our communities, to strengthen our country, and to better our world" Obama said. "Let us renew our common purpose, let us remember how we came together as one nation, as one people."

America did not suffer because we did not serve our communities well enough; there was no lapse in regard for our community. A devastating act of war is not the cause for environmental reform; the two are in no way related. If anything, it should be a summons for a foreign policy makeover, the likes of which places practicality over political expediency.

Obama later donned the terrorist attacks as "heinous crimes," the perpetrators of which "must be brought to justice."

Obama has effectively deflected attention from our foundational principles, of which the gaping, empty plots of land in New York ought to provide a hallow reminder.

As aforementioned, these acts are not crimes; terrorists are not mere criminals to be captured and tried. An act of terror of this magnitude is a declaration of war. It is important that we understand this. We are foolish to reason with Al-Qaeda, Islamic extremists whose Koran ordains eternal sanctification for individuals who stain their swords, but not their conscience, with the blood of American "infidels."

"President Obama has designated 9/11 as an annually recognized National Day of Service and Remembrance," New York's Mayor Bloomberg said in accordance to Obama's will, "and appropriately, the city of New York has been the first to take up that call."

There are more important things to be done in the city of New York besides picking up trash and planting arboretums. There are two towers that need to be rebuilt, two bold monuments of capitalism, two prodigious milestones of a free trade society.

The anniversary should be a national day of awareness for the values that continue to fortify America: the upholding of free speech, free religion, free market, freedom of ideas, encouraged social mobility and the understanding that the pangs of sacrifice still resonate daily in the hearts of America's free citizens. For without sacrifice, the heart of freedom could not subsist.

Understanding our history is much more important than chalking up another day of service to our environment. Obama has effectively deflected attention from the principles of old, of which the gaping, empty plots of land in New York continue provide a hallow reminder to us.

"From this day forward, we will safeguard the memories of those who died by rekindling the spirit of service that lit our city with hope and helped keep us strong," continued Bloomberg.

What "spirit of service" need we rekindle? Sept. 11 was a tragic example of just how vulnerable we are. The only "spirit of service" we need to note are the ones who were lost that day and in the future preservation of this country.

The "spirit of service" which "helped keep [our nation] strong" was that of those veterans and those who are with us no longer. These men and women fought in some desolate, hostile, foreign land for us and our leaders to sit safely back home and quibble over our best interests. They are who we must remember.

In light of the political maladies the United States has seen in recent years, it is easy for one like this to slip through our desensitized ethical standards. For this very reason, 9/11 should be an occasion to renew our minds after a year's worth of political deterioration and amplify our awareness and as a reminder of what not to take for granted.

It will be a sad day when only sixteen of one-hundred Americans can correctly account for what happened on Sept. 11, 2001. It is our job to preserve these memories forever, not for mourning but for the fact that the loss of common blood ensured our promise for another morning. Remind yourself that your countrymen bled in anguish on a beach somewhere, alienated and underappreciated, so that you could read an article published without censure.

If you have not already, go thank a veteran. **CR**

VIVA LA LIES

A closer look at the myth and legacy of the romanticized revolutionist Che Guevara



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"Don't listen to what the Communists say, but look at what they do."—Nguyen Van Thieu

Over the past forty years, Ernesto "Che" Guevara has held an almost-unmatched iconic status amongst young leftists throughout the western hemisphere. Guarded admiration for Guevara can even be found amongst some conservatives and libertarians.

The 2004 film "The Motorcycle Diaries" has become a favorite on college campuses. Its promotional poster graces many a dorm room, bearing its vaguely inspirational slogan to "let the world change you, and you can change the world."

This past month, the Ackland Art Museum hosted an exhibit of Cuban film posters, which featured several posters featuring Guevara's image, as well as a print of Alberto Korda's famous "Heroic Guerrilla" photograph.

This admiration for Guevara is based on a series of popular myths. These myths are that Guevara was a humanitarian, that he was a great military leader, and that he was a Communist of a different mold than tyrants such as Josef Stalin or Mao Zedong.

All of these myths are false. In fact, Guevara was a strong advocate for the violent repression of dissent. His theories on guerrilla warfare proved disastrous in practice and led to the defeat of Communist movements in several countries. And rather than being a Communist of a different mold, Guevara was an admirer of Mao and Stalin who considered Khrushchev's Soviet Union to be too moderate.

In his writings, Guevara professed to be a man of profound empathy for the victims of oppression and injustice around the world. Yet rare is the admirer of Guevara who has actually made a serious study of the man's life. In searching for the true Che Guevara, one finds that his actions speak far louder than his words.

Guevara's famous motorcycle journey across South America led him to believe that armed struggle was necessary to overthrow Latin America's existing social structures and bring about Marxist revolution. As a result, in 1953 he abandoned his goal of becoming a doctor and set out from his native Argentina in search of a revolution.

He ended up in Jacobo Arbenz's Guatemala. In his letters home, he expressed admiration for Josef Stalin, saying that Stalin inspired him to continue the fight against Capitalism. After Arbenz was overthrown in a CIA-backed coup, he would fault Arbenz for being too soft on the opposition, writing that, "If there had been some executions, the government would have maintained the capacity to return the blows."
Guevara fled Guatemala to Mexico and met Fidel Castro, who was planning to return to Cuba to overthrow the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. Guevara joined Castro's band of guerrillas.

It was during his time as a guerrilla leader in Cuba that Guevara's brutality began to show.



Che Guevara

He was known for brutal enforcement of discipline, shooting deserters on sight and personally executing suspected spies without trial.

Guevara himself records killing eleven of his own men as well as four local civilians for crimes ranging from being suspected of spying to stealing food. After shooting Eutemio Guerra, whom he suspected of passing information to Batista forces, Guevara later confided to his father: "I'd like to confess, Papa, at that moment I discovered that I really like killing."

Much of Che Guevara's reputation as a military commander rests on his performance in the Cuban Revolution and specifically his victory in the Battle of Santa Clara in 1958, which opened the way to Havana. According to the Cuban government's version of events, Guevara led a small rebel group to a decisive victory over a force ten times its size, inflicting heavy casualties.

In reality, Guevara bribed the local commander to let his men pass through the area. His famous capture of an armored train was actually accomplished by buying the train from a corrupt Batista officer. Other bribes bought the surrender of the Batista garrisons in the area. Casualties on both sides were minimal, except for 17 prisoners of war executed on Guevara's orders.

As Castro consolidated power, Guevara's brutality came into full force. In January 1959, he was appointed Comandante of La Cabana Prison in Havana. Determined not torepeat the mistakes of Arbenz in Guatemala, he presided over show trials and executions of hundreds of former Batsista regime members, former guerrillas who were both anti-Batista and anti-Communist, journalists, Christians, and other political undesirables.
Cuban jazz musician Paquito D'Rivera later wrote: "One of these Cubans was my cousin Bebo, imprisoned there just for being a Christian. He recounts to me on occasion, always with infinite bitterness, how he could hear, from his cell, in the early hours of dawn, the executions without prior trials or process of law, of the many who died shouting, 'Long Live Christ The King!'"

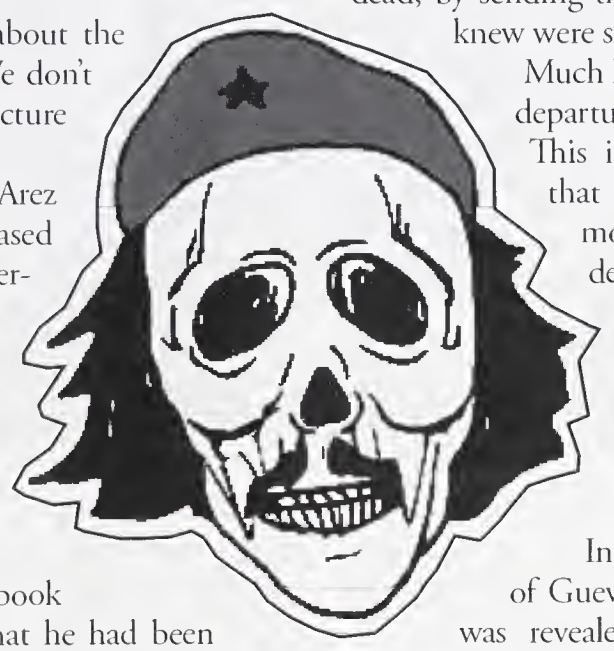
American media such as The New York Times reported that "war criminals" were being executed after trial. In fact, the trials at La Cabana were show trials where fabricated evidence and false witnesses were common. Guevara was the head of the appeals court, where he never overturned a sentence and pushed for executions in cases where even Fidel Castro had doubts. Guevara described his views on due process:

"It is not necessary to make many inquiries to shoot somebody. What one needs to know is if it is necessary to shoot him. Nothing more. You should always give the accused the possibility to do his discharge before executing him. And this means, understand me well, that the accused should always be executed, without mattering which has been his discharge."

Political prisoner Pierre San Martin described being jailed with a boy "some 12-14 years old" who had been arrested trying to keep his father from being murdered by Castro's security

agents. Later, he describes how the boy was led out to the execution site:

"Near the wall where they conducted the executions, with his hands on his waist, paced from side to side the abominable Che Guevera. He gave the order to bring the boy first, and he ordered him to kneel in front of the wall. We all screamed for them not to commit this crime, and we offered ourselves in his place. The boy disobeyed the order with a courage that words can't express and responded to this infamous character: 'If you're going to kill me, you're going to have to do it the way you kill a man, standing, not like a coward, kneeling.' Walking behind the boy, Che said, 'Whereupon you are a brave lad ...' He unholstered his pistol and shot him in the nape of the neck so that he almost decapitated him."



As Guevara said about the La Cabana killings: "We don't need proof. We manufacture the proof."

Police officer Mario Arez Polo was convicted based on the testimony of several witnesses brought in to provide fabricated testimony. He was executed only hours later, and refused to wear a blindfold to face the firing squad. Before he was executed, he gave a book on the life of Christ that he had been reading to his family. Inside the book, he wrote:

"To the prosecutor that asked for my death sentence and the tribunal that accepted it, may God have mercy. Pray for my soul, although I am going to heaven. Cowards die every day, the brave die only once."

Guevara was instrumental in planning the Cuban police state. As a result, a network of prison camps was established across Cuba, and networks of secret police informants were created to spy on Cuba's civilian populace.

These camps held anyone suspected of disloyalty to the Castro regime. People who listened to "imperialist" rock music were imprisoned. Homosexuals were rounded up and sent to the camps. To this day, criticizing the government of Cuba is punishable by three years in a prison camp.

Far from being a military genius, Guevara's contributions to the theory of guerrilla warfare were minimal. Rather than wait for the proper conditions to form for launching a guerrilla war, Guevara advocated what he called the foco theory. In his conception, a small, highly mobile, and dedicated force of guerrillas (the foco) would operate in the countryside, attacking government forces and seeking to create the conditions for a wider revolution.

Guevara's theory called for a small band of fighters to concentrate its forces and engage in sustained offensive military action against a much larger and better-supplied force and expect to win. In short, his theory defied all military sense. In practice, the foco was usually surrounded by a superior force and destroyed. In fact, Fidel Castro would use the foco as an opportunity to eliminate people that he wanted dead, by sending them to form focos that he knew were suicide missions.

Much has been made of Guevara's departure from Cuba in 1965. This is often taken as showing that Guevara was a different, more humane and independent kind of Communist. However, his supposed break with Fidel Castro in 1965 was a carefully crafted fiction designed to mask the true nature of Guevara's new mission.

In the Congo, the true nature of Guevara's departure from Cuba was revealed when he began commanding a force of 100 Cuban soldiers. Guevara's disappearance was not a falling out with Castro. Rather, it was a cover story for Cuban operations in the Congo, the first of many Cuban military interventions in Africa.

Guevara's mission was to aid a rebel group called the Simbas (Swahili for "Lions"). The Simbas had overrun the eastern Congo in 1964, torturing and murdering government officials, political leaders, schoolteachers, western missionaries and anyone else suspected of being westernized.

By the time Guevara arrived in 1965, the rebels had been pushed back across the border into Tanzania. Guevara hoped to train Simbas to form a foco along with his Cuban force. Instead, he found the rebels to be undisciplined, unmotivated and reliant on witchcraft to win battles.

The Congolese government went on the offensive in the fall, hiring Irish Colonel Michael "Mad Mike" Hoare and several hundred European mercenaries to supplement the government forces and crush the rebel army.

The combined Cuban and Simba forces totaled 5,000 men. They held highly defensible, mountainous terrain around the towns of Fizi and Baraka. Hoare attacked with a force of around 500 men. Dividing his forces in half, he outflanked the rebels by making an amphibious landing behind their lines across Lake Tanganyika.

Despite holding highly defensible high ground and outnumbering his enemies by a ratio of ten to one, Guevara was incapable of stopping Hoare's forces. The Battle of Fizi-Baraka turned into a rout as the rebel force suffered heavy losses and disintegrated. Guevara and the dozen men who remained with him escaped across Lake Tanganyika at night in small boats.

After the disaster in the Congo, the Cuban government ordered Guevara to Bolivia. He was to train and lead a Communist guerrilla group called the National Liberation Army in a war against the Bolivian government. He arrived in Bolivia in 1967 with 16 Cuban soldiers and an East German spy and recruited a few more members to form a small guerrilla foco which totaled 50 people.

Bolivia's small, divided Communist party had little desire to wage guerilla warfare. The rural civilian population had few grievances against the government of Bolivia and did not want to see their homeland become a Cold War battleground. Guevara had a different view. He hoped to turn Bolivia into a starting point for a regional war which would force American intervention, saying that "Bolivia will be sacrificed for the cause of creating the conditions for revolution in the neighboring countries. We have to create another Vietnam in the Americas."

As a result, Guevara had no support amongst the Bolivian population, who often passed on information about Guevara's movements to the government. Guevara's force was hunted by the Bolivian Army, trained by American Special Forces soldiers and advised by the CIA.

With hardly any peasants rallying to his side, Guevara's small band of guerrillas suffered from illness, lack of supplies, and poor communications. They were taking a steady stream of casualties from Bolivian Army patrols, and their caches of food and medicine were captured. Guevara divided his small force in half, and both columns got lost in the wilderness, unable to contact each other. The second column was wiped out in an ambush within a month.

Five weeks later, Guevara and his sixteen remaining fighters were ambushed by a Bolivian Special Forces unit. Only five managed to escape. Guevara was wounded, disarmed and captured, pleading "Don't shoot, I'm Che Guevara. I'm worth more to you alive than dead."

After a short interrogation, the Bolivian government overrode the request of the CIA

Continued on page 23, *Guevara*

Ernesto "Che" Guevara
June 14, 1928 – October 9, 1967
Born: Rosario, Argentina
Died: La Higuera, Bolivia
1951: Year of his famous motorcycle journey across South America

THE ENEMY AT HOME

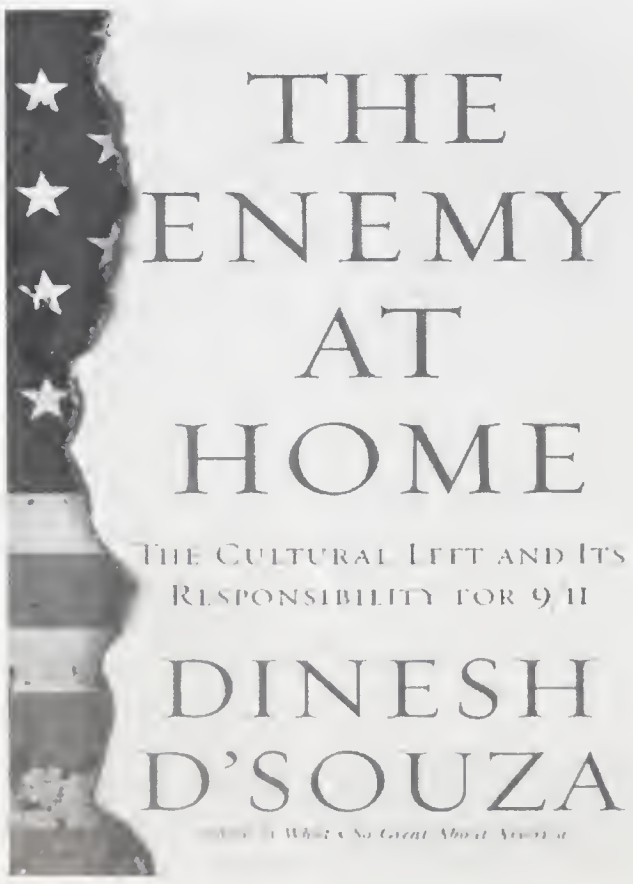


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Is the spread of leftist cultural norms and values solely to blame for Jihadists' contempt for the west?

After the attacks of 9/11, those liberal extremists who were not actually claiming Bush Administration complicity with the terrorists were blaming American foreign policy for prompting their actions. These liberals might look in the mirror if they are interested in discovering who is most responsible for Muslim animosity toward the West. At least that would be a logical conclusion based on Dinesh D'Souza's book, "The Enemy at Home."

In "The Enemy at Home," D'Souza develops the thesis that many of the cherished ideals of the American Left are repugnant to Muslims and contribute to the hostility of Muslims toward the United States and the West in general. D'Souza argues that they are hostile toward us because of these beliefs, and they are even angrier that the American Left exports these modern beliefs through official United States policy and via international bodies such as United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations.



D'Souza sees a deep divide between radical Muslim jihadists and what he calls "traditional Muslims." He identifies "traditional Muslims" as a large majority of Muslims in the Middle East and in western countries who do not desire to engage in acts of terrorism against the West, but nevertheless despise us as a result of the Left's campaign to promote modern values and ideas at home and abroad. He points out that, whether they want to see America and other western states blown to smithereens, both traditional and radical Muslims agree that the values of secularism and moral relativism espoused by "blue America" have no place in their countries.

D'Souza purports that radical Islam's hatred of the West does not stem from contempt for our military supremacy and democratic ideals or from Western "imperialism," as has been suggested by analysts on the right and the left, but rather from the Left's acceptance and support of homosexuality, abortion, promiscuity, feminism and secularism. According to D'Souza, "What traditional cultures and specifically Muslim cultures consider deviant and disgusting, many liberals consider progressive and liberating. Thus, from the point of view of those cultures, liberals promote an 'upside down' morality in which traditional forms of depravity become signposts of freedom."

A pillar of D'Souza's argument is the idea that Muslims object to those who endorse secular over religious values, believing that their apostasy results in rampant indecency. He maintains that Muslims do not respect the left because it does not recognize the United States as a Christian nation, but instead promotes a radical interpretation of the principle of separation of Church and state that encourages intolerance of all religious expression instead of preserving religious freedom for all, as the doctrine was meant to do. He suggests that traditional and radical Muslims take issue with these secularists but have no quarrel with Jews and Christians who are true to their faith. He writes, "Islamic radicals make their case against America and the West on the grounds that these cultures have abandoned Christianity."

It is very true that many Muslims, like all members of traditional societies, are often deeply offended by the left's "war against religion and traditional morality," as D'Souza says.

However, his thesis – that radical jihadists would not be at odds with America if only we declared ourselves a Christian theocracy – is too restrictive. It fails to consider a deeper desire of jihadists and many other traditional Muslims: the desire to place the Western world under the governance of sharia law.

In "The Enemy at Home," D'Souza claims that Islam is not in conflict with Christianity and Judaism. "Jews and Christians have historically been entitled to Muslim respect and even protection," according to D'Souza. He interprets chapter nine, verse five of the Qur'an, which reads, "Slay the idolaters wherever you find them," as a command to murder pagans and atheists rather than Christians and Jews.

The fallacy behind interpreting this verse as an affirmation that only atheists should fear the violence and destruction of the followers of Islam, which is itself not an entirely comforting assurance, lies in the context which surrounds the verse. Chapter nine, verse 29 reads, "Fight those who do not believe in Allah … nor follow the religion of truth, out of those who have been given the Book, until they pay the tax in acknowledgment of superiority and they are in a state of subjection." In many Muslim states, non-Muslims are still required to pay this tax, are still placed in a condition of subjugation as second-class citizens, and are sometimes even subject to threats and violence because of their beliefs, notwithstanding D'Souza's protests against conceptions of sharia law as harsh and discriminatory to non-Muslims.

Chapter nine goes on to contradict directly D'Souza's vision of harmony between the

three major religions in verse 30: "And the Jews say: Uzair is the son of Allah; and the Christians say: The Messiah is the son of Allah; these are the words of their mouths; they imitate the saying of those who disbelieved before; may Allah destroy them; how they are turned away!"



Dinesh D'Souza

Undoubtedly, as D'Souza says, there are many "traditional Muslims" who do not believe that Western countries should be subjugated by force. Furthermore, it is almost certainly true that radical Muslims would prefer that Americans adhere to the moral teachings of Christianity instead of exporting a culture of secularism that contaminates traditional societies, but being considered radical Muslims' preferred group of infidels is not altogether reassuring. Just because jihadists might despise the West less if we unequivocally identified ourselves as a group of Christian nations does not mean that they would hesitate for a second if given the opportunity to subjugate the entire West as the Qur'an decrees.

Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, in concert with several other Guantanamo Bay prisoners, sent a letter to the military judge during their trial which listed Al Qaeda's grievances with the United States, a list that lends credence to D'Souza's assertion that Muslims cite many reasons for their hatred of America, most of which have been created and intensified by the Left. The problem with his thesis in "The Enemy at Home" is that it does not go far enough; it does not account for the words of the very perpetrators themselves, which demonstrate their fervent desire to replace both secularism and Christianity with Islam.

In the letter to the judge, Mohammed and his fellows stated, "It would be our privilege and our duty to fight you for your infidelity." Robert Spencer, the director of a group dedicated to promoting awareness of jihadist ideology and tactics called Jihad Watch, interprets the letter as saying, "There's nothing you can do, there's no foreign policy change that you can make … because you are not Muslim."

In other words, Spencer and D'Souza agree that the Left errs in claiming that radical Muslims attacked America because of some phantom perception they hold of nonexistent instances of American imperialism or colonialism. However, they disagree about the difference that America's religious pedigree makes to Muslim terrorists. D'Souza seems to believe that terrorist cells like Al Qaeda would not target the United States if the Left were not engaged in an attempt to "modernize" societies in ways that disgust American conservatives and traditional Muslims alike. Taking them at their word – and in light of their deeds – Spencer maintains that radical Islamists will not rest until Western nations are subjugated under sharia law.

Moreover, Islam teaches that the inhabitants of a nation ruled by sharia need not all convert to Islam. Although Osama Bin Laden's 2002 letter to America states, "The first thing that we are calling you to is Islam," it would in fact be acceptable for the people of a Christian, Jewish, or even a secular nation to maintain their own religion (or lack thereof), provided that they are subject to sharia and remain second-class citizens.

According to commentary found in the Qur'an, "The purpose for which the Muslims are required to fight is not, as one might think, to compel the unbelievers into embracing Islam. Rather, its purpose is to put an end to the suzerainty of the unbelievers so that the latter are unable to rule over people. The authority to rule should only be vested in those who follow the Truth Faith; unbelievers who do not follow this True Faith should live in a state of subordination."

Throughout his well-documented discussion, D'Souza makes many laudable points about the negative effects of leftist ideology in this country and the errors we make in attempting to impose that ideology on traditional societies elsewhere. But Spencer is correct in stating that D'Souza does not go far enough in recognizing the extent to which radical Islamists and traditional Muslims alike disapprove of the West simply because we are not Muslim. It remains to be seen whether any measure of rapprochement can be developed between these very different civilizations. **CR**

DINESH D'SOUZA AT UNC!

DEBATE WITH BART EHRMAN

OCTOBER 7TH, MEMORIAL HALL, 7:30 PM

ADMISSIONS: FREE FOR UNC STUDENTS, $10 FOR NON-STUDENTS

TICKETS ARE REQUIRED AND CAN BE PICKED UP BEFOREHAND AT THE PIT OR MEMORIAL HALL BOX OFFICE ON OCTOBER 6TH AND 7TH

Great Speeches in Western History

Pericles' Funeral Oration, academia, and the speech they don't want you to read

Joshua Groll
Junior
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Commenting on a classical text is a task of extreme difficulty. As with Shakespeare or the Bible, nothing can be said that probably has not already been said.

For some, this reality is too much to concede, giving rise to a slew of overly interpreted classical works. The original meaning of Plato's "Phaedo" is now buried under a mountain of postmodern perspectives; the "Antigone" now a misogynist rag, according to feminists.

Things used to not be this way. The "Phaedo" used to be a story of a man (Socrates, if anyone cares) who refused to recant his beliefs even in the face of death; the "Antigone" a story of a civilly disobedient woman who challenges a king. Prior to the 1960s these interpretations would be valid; now they would be scoffed at by academics as "pedestrian."

The speech discussed here, Pericles' "Funeral Oration," you will find, is so hard to make-over that it has been tossed down the Orwellian memory hole altogether.

This is a by-product of the vast undertaking to purge the classical world from academia starting in the 1960s. The decline in respect for the exceptional nature of the tradition can be marked as beginning here. Feminists, multiculturalists and postmodern social critics styling themselves as "radicals" viewed the classical tradition as a support beam to the "establishment"; therefore it had to die. Pericles, Plato, Aristotle and the like are the oldest-deadest-white guys in all of history and were not in vogue with the times.

Sometimes the dirty work was done by the classicists themselves. Martin Bernal's multi-volumed "Black Athena," in an attempt to strip the ancient Greeks of their uniqueness, argued that "Greek wisdom" was in fact all lifted from Africa and parts of the Near-East.

So why the crash course in the history of collegiate curricular "reform" if the subject here is Pericles' "Funeral Oration"? It is because the motives of the postmodernists are precisely what Pericles addressed.

The postmodern education movement was geared toward delegitimizing the values of western society (freedom of speech, constitutionalism, private property, separation of church and state, etc.). So what better place to do this then at the root of western society altogether? Due to this movement, Pericles' "Funeral Oration" is purposefully overlooked.

The historian Thucydides, in Book II of his "History of the Peloponnesian War," shows us an Athens one year into its war with Sparta, a war that would ravage Greece. The funeral oration was an Athenian tradition, often given by the best speaker who was elected by his peers to memorialize those who had died on behalf of the polis. Pericles, who was also the ruler of Athens at the time (the "Golden Age" as historians call it), was given the honor of the funeral oration.

The intrepid Pericles deviated from typical oration style however and did not give the standard recitation of former battles that the Athenian brave had won. Instead he makes Athens herself his subject: Athens herself, and why she is worth dying for.

[Pericles] claims that the Athenian government "does not copy the institutions" of others but that their constitutionalism is sui generis, unique.

The speech then becomes a multiculturalists' worst nightmare. Pericles makes the case that not all cultures are equal and enumerates the reasons why Athens is superior. So what makes Athens worth dying for?

He claims that the Athenian government "does not copy the institutions" of others but that their constitutionalism is sui generis, unique. More ambitiously he asserts that Athens is the polis that is copied and used as a model.

Further, the Athenian constitution allows for the "protection of the oppressed," an aspect that Pericles champions as making Athens "open to the world." Foreigners flock to Athens to enjoy rights, not Sparta.

To Pericles, Athens is also economically advanced. Athens allows social mobility an option to "escape" poverty.

Pericles exalts in the participatory democracy of the polis, saying "we do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all."

Most of all, Pericles praises the inevitability of progress under this system: "for we [Athenians] do not think that there is an incompatibility between words and deeds."

On the subject of those who lay dead before him, he tells their families why he has tried to rekindle their love of Athens: "because I wanted to make it clear that for us there is more at stake than there is for others who lack our advantages;" and that "happiness depends on being free, and freedom depends on being courageous." The speech is a dramatic cry to remind those who take the polis for granted, that some things are worth defending.

Recommended Reading

Who Killed Homer?: The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom by Victor Davis Hanson and John Heath
The Devil Knows Latin: Why America Needs the Classical Tradition by E. Christian Kopff

The postmodern social critic might assail Pericles for extolling a society that was imperialistic, nationalist, sexist, racist and patriarchal. They would end their critique with a comparison (directly or indirectly) of Pericles to Hitler, concluding that the "Funeral Oration" is nothing more than dangerous propaganda.

They would be right about ancient Athens. It was no utopia. "Citizens" owned slaves, those very same citizens also had to be male and own a certain level of property. It was a society in which some were more equal than others.

However the very same critic ultimately fails to realize the aforementioned characteristics are those that have existed and do exist in every civilization on Earth; they are not unique to ancient Athens, the West, or America for that matter.

The Athenians were unique, however in that they were the first to codify a language of social dissent. In this they have the self-anointed "radicals" of 1960s stock, who supposedly pioneered social criticism, beat in every way.

There is more feminist gusto in "Medea," "Lysistrata" or the "Antigone" then could ever come out of the collective pens of Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem. Plays that premiered at the "City Dionysia" relentlessly eviscerated Athenian and Greek society for its prejudices and oppressive mores. Socrates was executed for asking too many questions, and Diogenes famously strolled around Athens during the day with a lamp looking for an "honest man." But we are led to believe that Abbie Hoffman was some sort of revolutionary?



Pericles

This was the animus that compelled Pericles to share his love for Athens and impel others to do the same. The Athenian gift for self criticism, the notion that things should be "properly debated" and not taken as a given, was the target of his admiration. Even Thucydides himself criticizes his country when he shows Athens in a state of moral decay during the plague, while previously showing the polis in its zenith with Pericles.

Instead of recognizing fellow (and quite frankly more capable) social critics, postmodernist "reformers" purged them from academia or changed their meaning to demonstrate their sources' chauvinism.

Instead of recognizing fellow (and quite frankly more capable) social critics, postmodernist "reformers" purged them from academia or changed their meaning to demonstrate their sources' chauvinism. At a 1990s conference on "Feminism and the Classics" at Princeton University the group resolved that the "Antigone" is actually a patriarchal work that legitimizes the oppression of women.

Pericles had to be marginalized because he commits the ultimate sin in the eyes of the "new" social critic – he does not apologize for his society and its evils. Pericles was not an idealist. He realized that Utopia could not exist (as the word "Utopia" implies), but recognized that the Athenians were unique because they knew that "changes and chances" exist to make things better. He dared to love a government that was fashioned around what people are, not what people ought to be, and praised those who were willing to preserve it.

Pericles' state, as he says, was one of individuals and did not subordinate the individual to the collective such as the polis of Sparta.

So if you read the "Funeral Oration" in its entirety, remember this: Athens still exists despite having lost the war, and Sparta, figuratively and literally, does not. That the same Athenian values Pericles exalts, are the very same that have been preserved for the contemporary world of liberal democracies – that "it was not without blood and toil that they handed it down to us, a free country," as Pericles said. And so you will find that petty self-indulgent academic interpretations are negligible and that principles have a way of enduring, along with the people who are loyal to them. **CR**

Guevara

Continued from page 19

that Guevara be taken alive to Panama and ordered that Guevara be executed. He was shot that afternoon.

The popular conception of Che Guevara as a romantic revolutionary is a myth. First, Guevara was not a Communist of a different mold. He did criticize the Soviet Union, but for being too moderate and not aggressive enough in confronting capitalist nations. Rather than breaking with Cuba, he continued until his death to work as an agent of the Cuban government.

Second, Guevara was not a good military commander. His only significant military victory, at Santa Clara, was not due to his military prowess but to bribery of corrupt officials. The only major battle he was involved in, at Fizi-Baraka, ended in a rout despite the military situation being entirely in Guevara's favor.

His theories of guerrilla warfare defied all military sense and proved disastrous in practice. The foco failed in the Congo, and it failed again in Bolivia. It failed in a half-dozen other Latin American countries where it was tried.

Third, Guevara was no humanitarian. He wrote moving humanitarian things, such as the letter to his children where he advised them to "always be capable of feeling deeply any injustice committed against anyone, anywhere in the world. This is the most beautiful quality in a revolutionary."

But his compassion extended only to people who agreed with him. When it came to people opposed to him, he was bloodthirsty. He was convinced that the way to secure the new regime was to kill all who were opposed to it. Therefore, he became an enthusiastic executioner of Fidel Castro's political enemies, real or imagined. He was instrumental in creating Fidel Castro's police state, which has caused human suffering on a massive scale for the past 50 years. And he was quite proud of all this.

Guevara is often praised for holding fast to what he believed in. But what he believed in is what led him to participate in some of the worst crimes of the 20th century that were committed in the western hemisphere. Che Guevara's real legacy lies in his role in creating the Cuban police state, and his role in beginning thirty years of Cuban military adventurism in Africa and Latin America.

He should be remembered as a murderer, a brutal tyrant and an aid to one of the western hemisphere's worst regimes. To this day, the regime that Guevara helped create continues to oppress its people. His actions speak louder than his words. **CR**

Imagine That!

John Lennon's "Imagine" calls for a stateless world in which nobody owns anything, hunger does not exist, and self-interest has disappeared. Lennon sought to fundamentally transform the human psyche by eliminating our dependence on religion and our desire to pursue ends that benefit us (self-interest). But this dreamer's world could only come true under the immediate threat of force by a government. Lennon's world would actually be an international-socialist hellhole, where everything, from bread to rights, are collective and not individual. Without self-interest, nobody would pursue ends that benefit mankind. Instead, we'd all gather around the campfire. At this point, Lennon supposes, we would all share. But humanity has been there before. We didn't share; we fought over fish and grain and sought to barter for goods from the other people at the campfire. We've come so far since then, riding on the legacy of the purpose-driven self-interest that brought the world into the modern age. Today, a larger percentage of the human population is better off than ever before. Though our future may hold nothing more than social democracy and a thousand years of slow growth, we have the opportunity to maximize human welfare by promoting the spread of capitalism around the world. I see no reason to seek collective poverty in order to achieve collective equality. A world like that would be much tougher than Lennon imagines. **-Zach Dexter**

Updated Lyrics

Imagine there's no federal government
It's easy if you try
No hell below us
Above us only Ban-ki Moon
Imagine all the people
Living for Geneva

Imagine there's no countries
It isn't hard to do
Nothing to kill or die for
It'll only take a [Iranian] nuke or two
Imagine all the people
*Living life in peat**

You may say that I'm a socialist
But I'm not the only one
I will compel you someday to join us
And the world will be as one

Imagine no possessions
I'll just take them from you
No need for greed or hunger
'Cause every day you'll get your rationed can
Imagine all the people
Sharing all the world

You may say that I'm a socialist
But I'm not the only one
Glenn Beck told me yesterday he'd join us
And that he'd retain the only gun

** - a slimy material found in Irish bogs, used to build eco-friendly but dark and gloomy huts.*

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Carolina Review
North Carolina's Collegiate Journal

Rest in Peace, Irving Kristol.

Though considered the "Godfather of Neo-Conservatism," Irving Kristol was no Vito Corleone. For the past several weeks, the paeans of his admirers have noted his "generosity of spirit" and the way in which he influenced rising members of the next generation. He was born on January 22, 1920 and became a vocal Trotskyist early on. Serving in the military caused him to question his Communist beliefs, and he became a liberal, going on to serve as Editor of publications like Commentary and Encounter.

Yet he began to question the underpinnings of LBJ's "Great Society," and he started to move away from liberalism. He believed political action should produce beneficial results for society, so he founded a journal, The Public Interest, to determine the utility of government programs. This analytical framework created the intellectual foundation for neoconservatism.

His contribution to the conservative movement was bringing sociological principles for analysis. Prior to this, conservatives approached issues with questions of constitutionality or morality, but the neoconservative approach could be summed up with the question, "Does it work?" Of course traditional conservatives wryly note that, in the end, the conclusions drawn by the neoconservatives agreed with them.

One difference: Kristol was in favor of an active government in the public sphere. He was wont to criticize the more libertarian members of the conservative movement simply because he often did not find them promoting the national interest.

While Kristol was associated with the Republican Party, he was once sardonically criticized for actually wanting to convert both parties to his persuasion to which he replied that would be an excellent idea. This was in line with his conception of neoconservatism as a persuasion, not an ideology. Its approach to politics could be embraced by either liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican. Eventually, he did impact both parties from Jack Kemp on the right, to Daniel Patrick Moynihan on the left.

In his final days, a new magazine, National Affairs, was established to continue the legacy of The Public Interest. While the man Kristol may have passed, his influence remains with us today. **-Anthony Dent**

DEMOCRATS: THE TRUE MORALIZERS OF GOVERNMENT



by BRYAN WEYNAND
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In his letter to President Obama several months ago, the late Senator Ted Kennedy called his life struggle for universal healthcare a "moral issue." It seems like a fairly benign statement; invoking the human sense of morality in favor or providing care for those in need appeals to a standard generally shared by all, and justifies clearly and passionately his belief that government is obligated to grant this right.

It does not take long, though, for any experienced conservative familiar with the vicious patronization of the so-called Religious Right to notice the evident irony of the statement. It is the default response of the liberal movement to denigrate pro-lifers and advocates for traditional marriage as shallow and unenlightened, unable to transcend their narrow Bible-belt perspective of the world and free themselves to a modern one of tolerance.

It is their inability to separate their morality from their politics that defines these people in the skeptical eyes of the Left; to hear Ted Kennedy calmly using morality to promote his agenda, as many Christian liberals are beginning to do, frustrates those seeking objectivity and principle to rule our approach to government.

The purpose of this column is not to target apparent hypocrisy, though it is most certainly present on both sides, and it most certainly not intended to defend the perspective of the radical Religious Right. The above contrast, instead, highlights the gross contradiction that now pervades our political discourse and the silent usurpation of moral freedom that has escaped our notice.

When Ted Kennedy implied that enforcement of a moral standard ought to guide the function of our government, he meant it; the entire agenda of the Democratic party and their arguments in favor of it depend on this premise. Their criticism of the Right for making use of this premise is therefore hollow, for when liberals say governmental standards of morality are not welcome in the private lives of individuals, they mean that conservative morality is that perspective which is not welcome.



Illustration by Justin Crowder

Again, the hypocrisy is not my target, but the fact that the Democratic Party is winning in this political culture they created. It is one in which an entire agenda can be created based on collective moral decisions on issues seemingly resolved by society, and at the same time be created by a Party that prides itself on moral tolerance, social liberty, and keeping government out of our private lives.

This is the contradiction that has escaped our notice, that our political culture today speaks to individual freedom, but in practice it works to destroy it; it goes unnoticed simply because the liberal agenda promotes morality on questions that are nearly unanimously resolved by society, such as aid for the poor, riddance of smoking, and banning of unhealthy food ingredients such as trans fats.

These are moral points on which we all agree, but that itself is not a defense of their positive presence in our government. The reason, after all, that Democrats give in their defense of abortion and homosexual rights is that there is an inherent wrong in making cooperate moral decisions that are binding to everyone, regardless of whether the decision is right. How many times have you heard a Democrat say they are personally opposed to abortion but believe in a woman's right to choose?

They are right in their claim, but wrong in failing to see they commit the same offense in their positions on healthcare, smoking, trans fats, and countless other pieces of their agenda. It is time our political culture accurately identifies precisely who are the Bible-thumping (or whatever standard to which they appeal) moralists in American politics.

They are those that render incredible the conservative who says: "I believe in providing health care to those that need it, but it is the wealthy person's right to choose." **CR**

CLASSIFIEDS

MAJORS

Become a Women's Studies Major: Because you don't really need to learn facts!

Sign up for Computer Science: Girls are allowed.

Become a Sociology major: You'll technically still get a degree when you graduate...

Join the Exercise and Sports Science Department: Look, we have the word "science" in our title and everything!

Become a Political Science major: It's like History but you don't have to remember things.

ORGANIZATIONS

Join the LGBTQ: We're always looking for new letters!

READ BLUEPRINT: ...WE FINALLY HAVE A LIBERAL MEDIA OUTLET AT UNC.

Join the Secular Society and talk smugly in private about people you talk smugly about in public.



GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Health Care Reform: According to a poll by the Obama Administration, with the help of ACORN, 142% of American's support his health care bill. So should you.

TALKING POINT:

Even though the Obama Administration currently houses more czars than a Russian mausoleum, the Carolina Review would like to see some czars appointed to areas we feel have been unjustly slighted:

1. Teleprompter Czar- Since the Obama Administration couldn't function without an operating teleprompter
2. Joe Biden Gaffe Control Czar- Even with the omnicompetent Robert Gibbs on the job, it never hurts to double up
3. Czar for Creating Fake Medical Anecdotes- President Obama is in constant need of stories to manipulate personal tragedies to sell his health care plans, especially untrue ones.
4. Czar for Increasing Government Waste- The Obama Administration believes strongly that past successes in promoting waste in government (like the stimulus package or John P. Murtha Regional Airport) should be replicated.
5. Gratuitous TV Appearances Czar- Obama needs to match or beat his record six shows in one weekend.
6. Hymns to Obama Czar- So more kids can sing songs with as many Obama-as-Jesus allusions as possible.
7. Facebook Czar- It would be great if, instead of having to listen to his darn speeches, we could just read his Facebook status updates (though, we're afraid he'd be the kind of guy who would write stupid Facebook survey notes and annoyingly tag all his friends).
8. Michelle Obama Fashion Czar- To keep Michelle Obama on every cover of every human interest magazine in every part of the world and to make sure the critics keep swooning at her "dazzling" style.
9. PR Czar- Wait, never mind. They already have the media.
10. New Czar Titles Czar- Czar for coming up with new czar titles.

The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

Common wisdom says you can't let a few bad Apples ruin the bunch, right?	***Stop being PC***
That's what UNC would have you think, anyway, as it does its best to discriminate against Mac users on campus. We must unite in solidarity to combat the injustice going on right before our very eyes.	***Previous attempts have been less than fruitful***
Mac users on UNC's campus have been the victims of discrimination and scare tactics for far too long.	***Since 1789 (give or take)***
In fact, I would buy a Mac if I wasn't so terrified of compatibility issues.	***CCI scare tactics***
The CCI printing software, Pharos, didn't used to work on Macs, meaning Mac users had to find another way to print their schoolwork.	***"Separate but equal" processes***
How long was it that Mac users were forced to email themselves documents from their laptops then log onto lab computers in order to print?	***About a year…***
And yes, CCI finally took some steps toward equality, but there will inevitably be more software that just won't work for Macs.	***The next Microsoft release***
Furthermore, at the business school, Mac users have all kinds of compatibility issues with Excel and the Microsoft Exchange Server.	***Those blasted profit-loving Republicans***
Mac students can't even do some homework assignments without using a computer in the lab.	***What an inconvenience***
But it doesn't stop at computer programs. This is a direct quote from a professor: "Those of you who have Macs, I like you; those of you who have PCs...be friends with them."	***In other words, be tolerant***
But it's incredibly hard for PC users to be friends with Mac users when Macs make themselves so different and difficult to use.	***Self-isolation***
This madness must end. That's why I am calling on UNC to add computer orientation to its nondiscrimination policy.	***Would be nondiscrimination characteristic #37***
Students should have the right to use whatever type of computer they choose without fear of compatibility issues, low homework grades and struggling to make friends.	***Latter is uncorrelated with pretentiousness of Mac users***
UNC, I have a confession to make: I'm a Mac.	***And I'm a Tar Heel***
In fact, today we are all Macs.	***And all incompatible***
Ay, there's the rub.	***Stop being PC!***

PARADIGMS AND PRINCIPLES

Media Amnesia...

On September 10th, Obama delivered a speech on healthcare reform. During this, "[Democrats] were giving [Obama] the fascist fist salutes," Dana Milbank from the *Washington Post* reports, "and laughing and taunting Republicans on their side of the aisle."

None of this carousal seems to have received any prominent media coverage, especially in comparison to Joe Wilson calling Obama a liar during the health care speech.

Even the Associated Press reluctantly admitted, in their own roundabout way, that Obama had indeed lied, "The longtime prognosis in cost for health care legislation has not been good."

"I will not sign a plan that adds one dime to our deficits," Obama said, "either now or in the future."

But as Rush Limbaugh, Joe Wilson, and many others have noted, Obama has already 13 trillion dollars to our deficit in the course of the next twelve to thirteen years.

This is not all the AP had to censure. Obama continued, "Nothing in this plan will require you or your employer to change the coverage or the doctor you have."

In reality, "The Congressional Budget Office analyzed the health care bill written by House Democrats said that by 2016 some three million people who now have employer based care would lose it."

Ironically, years before a Mr. Joe Wilson Plame, had initially sided with Bush regarding weapons of mass destruction; only to slander him as a liar several months later, receiving nowhere near the static that the Senator faces today.

Roger Pilon, Vice President for Legal Affairs at the Cato Institute, has spoken on the recent state of affairs:

"Have we forgotten that Senator Harry Reid said 'President Bush is a liar' and never apologized for it? Have we forgotten the vicious, unrelenting Democrat attacks on Bush throughout his presidency or on Sarah Palin, extending even to her family and her children? Or the gratuitous attacks on Republican judicial nominees starting with Robert Bork and running through Sam Alito to a point at which Mrs. Alito had to leave the hearing room in tears? Have we lost all perspective? Or is the question before us and this debate just one more example of politics as usual here in Washington?"

I say all this to ask this, who is more deserving of negative media attention: the jeering Democrats or Senator Joe Wilson for his outburst? The evidence points to Joe Wilson, as he was just in his claim, but what is unsettling is the amount of scrutiny he faces for a lesser offense. Such is the power of the partisan media.**CR**

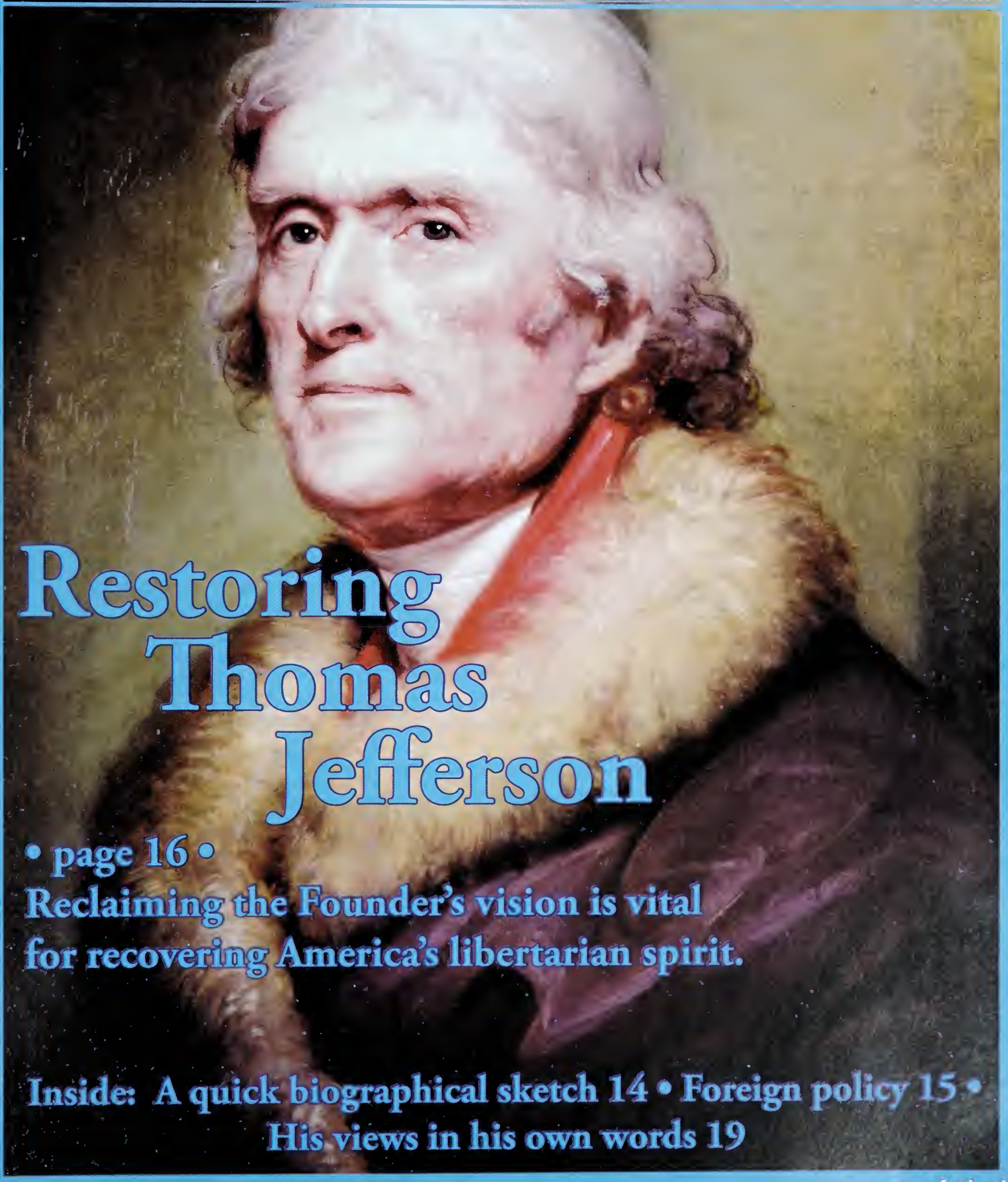
What NOT To Do...

One would think that with the budget crisis affecting everything from teachers to universities to transportation, one thing on Governor Beverly Perdue's mind would be fiscal responsibility. Apparently not. Even with the budget cuts and diminishing tax revenue, Governor Perdue still believes there is space in the budget for the state to purchase Alcoa's dams and hydroelectric facilities along the Yadkin River. Cost? A cool $500 million.

The issue has been brewing since 2002 when Alcoa's license from the federal government ran out and it began the obligatory re-licensing process, yet was hindered by Governor Mike Easley, who asked the feds to delay issuing the new license. Yet bills to allow the state to take over the river facilities have languished in the General Assembly.

Why is Perdue still pursuing the take-over? She "believe[s] the state would be a better steward of the water resources, the environment, and the electrical power." Right. Sort of like how the Tennessee Valley Authority has been an undeniable success... **CR**

Carolina Review



Restoring Thomas Jefferson

• page 16 •

Reclaiming the Founder's vision is vital for recovering America's libertarian spirit.

Inside: A quick biographical sketch 14 • Foreign policy 15 • His views in his own words 19

FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

Beginning during his presidential campaign, Obama started using the word "ideological" as a pejorative term for his political adversaries. Trashing the "ideological" enemies to Obama's policies has been a consistent refrain of the early part of his administration. We are told that the problems we face must be solved "pragmatically" (ie- without reference to any kind of discernible principles).

We entirely disagree with this contradictory (it seems impossible for any politician to be free from ideology; even the belief in the harmful effects of ideology would seem to be a part of an ideology) notion. We believe that every policy should be assessed on the grounds of the principles it supports or subverts just as much as every policy should be assessed on the grounds of its eventual consequences.

In this issue, we focus largely on ideology, particularly the ideological guidance we can derive from Thomas Jefferson.

The Democratic Party often boasts that it was founded by Thomas Jefferson. However the Democratic Party has moved far from the political philosophy espoused by Jefferson over the past two centuries. Today's Democratic Party favors statist policies inimical to the libertarian philosophy of Jefferson. Our cover spread deals with this contradiction. It features a group of articles assessing the meaning of Jefferson as a historical figure. We start our series on Jefferson with a brief biographical sketch to reacquaint readers with Jefferson's fascinating life.

Then Zachary Dexter has a piece describing Jefferson's leadership as President during the First Barbary War. His strategy during the conflict with the Barbary pirates showed a pragmatic but aggressive way of handling foreign policy.

Then we have a thorough exposition of Jefferson's political philosophy. We argue that Jefferson espoused a unique libertarian ideology which isn't truly represented in our political spectrum today. We believe that Jefferson's ideology can and should be applied to the problems of today.

Finally, Chelsea Walker has a piece compiling Jefferson's thoughts on different public policy issues. You will see that Jefferson's comments frequently differ from the stances of the modern Democratic Party.

In this issue we are also starting a new feature which looks at the women of the conservative movement. Though American women tend to lean to the Left, women are making significant contributions to the advancement of the conservative ideology. In the first installment in this series, Chelsea Walker writes about radio host, national best-selling author and general provocateur Laura Ingraham.

We hope that this issue provides an insightful, engaging distraction from Carolina football.

Sincerely,
Nash Keune and Bryan Weynand

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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CHEERS & JEERS

September 2009 The September 2009 issue of the Carolina Review analyzed the affect of health care reform on undergraduates who would otherwise be interested in going to medical school and becoming doctors. It also featured the first installment in our series on the greatest speeches in western civilization, which dealt with Pericles' Funeral Oration.

Comment on September articles at **CRDaily.com**



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CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound soci ety.

* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

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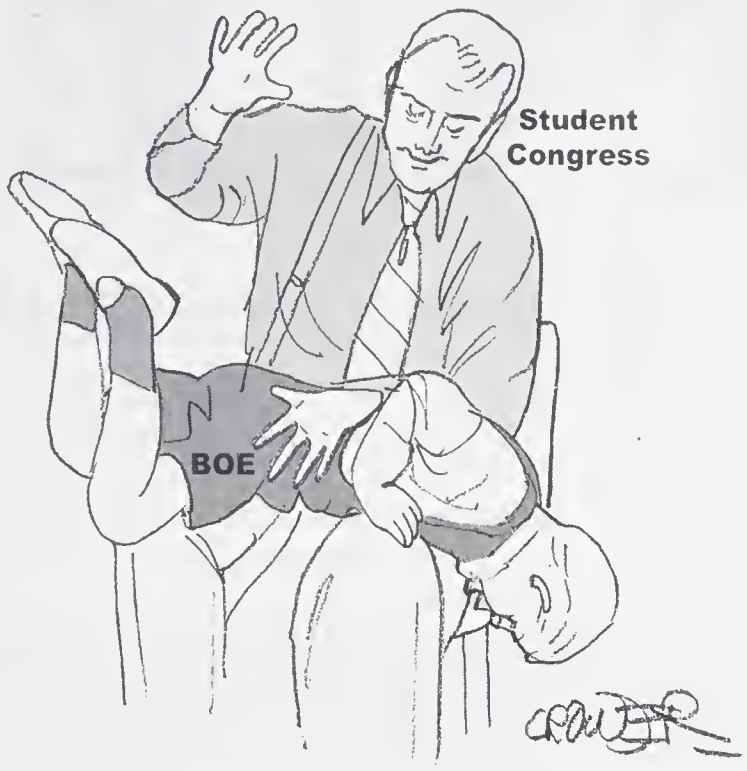
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VIEWPOINTS



"One-party autocracy certainly has its drawbacks. But when it is led by a reasonably enlightened group of people, as China is today, it can also have great advantages."

Thomas Friedman

"We are on the path to recovery"

Barack Obama, shortly before unemployment hit 9.8%



"Who forgot to sign their pledge to Obama on their test?"

"Perhaps one of the most important accomplishments of my administration has been minding my own business. Government shouldn't play a part in everyday life."

Calvin Coolidge

"Nothing is so permanent as a temporary government program."

Milton Friedman



"Man, I want my dollar back right about now."

"Someone said, 'The dead writers are remote from us because we know so much more than they did.' Precisely, and they are that which we know."

TS Eliot

"It is idle to talk always of the alternative to reason and faith.

Reason is itself a matter of faith. It is an act of faith to assert that our thoughts have any relation to reality at all."

G.K. Chesterton

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

THE IRONIC VIRTUE



by ALEX MACEY
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Tolerance isn't all that it seems.

Among the myriad of ideals college students uphold, the golden virtue of "tolerance" reigns supreme. Yet what we fail to see is that tolerance, in all its deceptive legitimacy, holds at its heart a deep irony.

The ideal for which college students currently strive is a sense of "open-mindedness," commonly used in conjunction with the term tolerance. What they believe is that "tolerating" certain mindsets is equivalent to somehow whole-heartedly embracing them. More often than not, the two terms are used almost interchangeably. This is a misconception made clear upon defining the terms.

Webster's Dictionary defines tolerance as "the capacity to endure pain or hardship." *The Oxford English Dictionary* goes further and lays out the term's multi-layered meanings. The original use of the word from Middle English was the physiological sense of enduring large doses of potent drugs or overcoming an adverse environmental situation. Further, in biological realms, the word is defined as "the ability of an organism to survive or flourish despite infection with a parasite or otherwise pathogenic organism." Similarly, one who is "tolerant" of a certain ideology views it as parasitic, loathsome and hardly endurable, but deigns to cope with it under the guise of being magnanimous and accepting. To claim oneself "tolerant," then, is no admirable feat.

Thus, tolerance is distinguishable from the "open-mindedness" with which students consider it synonymous. To be truly open-minded is to be genuinely accepting of a vast array of ideologies, even willing to adopt them as one's own. An open mind does not simply "tolerate" a diversity of beliefs, but rather possesses an active and authentic desire to understand them. This should not be confused, though, with indecisiveness or a lack of a moral or ideological center; a truly open-minded person is not confused about what he believes, but rather can express curiosity for differing ideas without losing touch with his core.

College is the ideal place to broaden horizons and mature in this way, providing unspeakable opportunities to fully realize personal values while seeking out contrasting ideologies. Often, though, as students

To claim oneself "tolerant," then, is no admirable feat.

we consciously or unconsciously maintain a veiled preference for only the most chic, contemporary, popular ideals. In fact, it is almost safe to say that the collective mind is closed to little but the select few ideologies that today's youth have dubbed acceptable.

It is unreasonable to say that generally more conservative views are always under attack. Instances from recent UNC history, however, indicate that issues considered

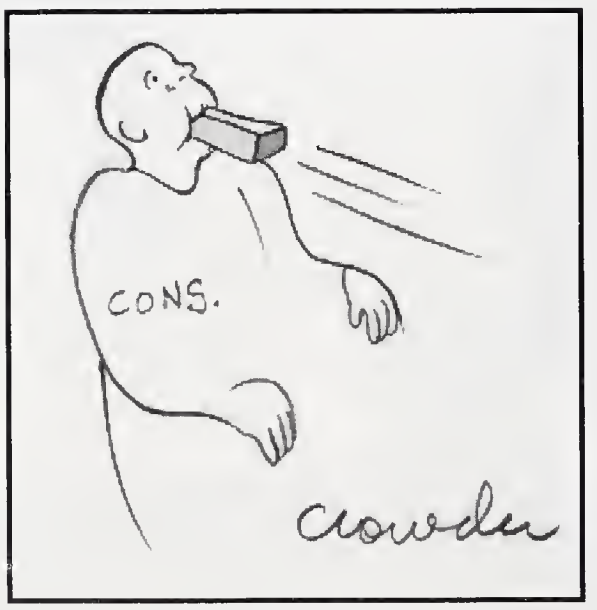


Illustration by Justin Crowder

more "liberal" in the local or national political landscapes tend to be generally more respected by the student body at large. The national organization Justice for All's fall 2008 pro-life display is a prominent example of a set of ideals the student body at large seemed to reject. The display, which featured large billboards with a series of startling images of aborted human fetuses, was shockingly graphic and, understandably, highly offensive. Yet, the controversy did not center primarily on the use of the graphic photos themselves; the heart of the issue was in the motivation behind the display. A similar display known as the Genocide Awareness Project, which intended to inspire empathy for people suffering in third-world countries, did not generate the same level of animosity. The images were equally shocking. What, then, was the issue with Justice for All? People were enraged that Student Government spent seemingly inordinate funds to support a message that, frankly, an almost insignificant minority of students embraced.

Further, less graphic attempts to convey the same message met equal distaste. Posters conveying the stages of development of an embryo were removed from residence hall walls, and the benevolent "Project Nadia" of 2008, in which Carolina Students for Life provided clothing and resources for pregnant teen mothers, generated mostly skepticism.

Yet are these exhibitions not instances of free speech and expression on campus?

"The University cannot discriminate against any group simply because they don't like the message," the University's former General Legal Counsel Susan Ehringhaus told *The Daily Tar Heel*. Those involved in the Justice for All operation may have been attacked for being "intolerant" or unfeeling for touting such an outlandish view. Yet the fact that the generally more non-mainstream, "pro-life" view is a minority on campus does not discredit it. While students may not want to embrace the ideology, to simply write it off before attempting to understand it is, quite simply, close-minded.

Another issue that has generated dialogue

on campus is the acceptance of homosexuality, inspired by last fall's summer reading discussion and, more recently, Muslim poet Ifti Nassim's lecture and reading at Peabody Hall. The general suggestion on campus is that those who fail to openly embrace the unequivocal acceptance of an open display of homosexuality are dubbed intolerant, ignorant and cruel. Yet what people fail to realize is that to simply not take part in the now vocal petitioning for gay rights does not label a person intolerant. Those who might not openly and publicly embrace the ascendancy of homosexual acceptance do have legitimate reasons for their beliefs, just the same as those who embrace it.

It is safe to say that at times, we students fail to exemplify a truly open-minded disposition. Granted, we excel at tolerance. After all, no one ripped down the Justice for All display or physically attacked those who chose not to attend Nassim's reading. Various groups are permitted to spread their messages openly. Regardless, though, mere tolerance is a bare minimum. Collectively as a student body, we are a far cry from mastering that genuinely open-minded intellectual disposition.

Collectively as a student body, we are a far cry from mastering that genuinely open-minded intellectual disposition.

Ultimately, campus dialogue will be far more effective if we abandon our preconceived notions that certain groups are intolerant or ignorant. Students from various viewpoints, the more mainstream and more conservative alike, need to strive to understand issues from different standpoints. To do so will not only allow us to more fully appreciate our own views, but it might also lead us to see value in previously unacknowledged ideals.

Thus, while this student body represents an array of unique and diverse ideals, to be open to all but the less mainstream views is hypocritical. Let us, as young intellectuals, move beyond mere tolerance and be the truly open-minded, accepting people that we pride ourselves to be. After all, we can do better than tolerance. **CR**

The Conservative Story

The real deal behind the liberal myth



by MATT OAKES
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What? A conservative at Chapel Hill? Where? Duck and cover! This may not be as uncommon a reaction as you may think here on the grounds of Carolina. The cruel, heartless mystique of the Republican Party leads young people to flock to the left in droves. After all, if you want to help change the world, you must be a Democrat, right?

It is, after all, no secret that universities and colleges have, and always will be havens for leftist, liberal views. However, the Obama revolution of 2008 has taken it to a whole new level. Attaching themselves to the "Change" message and lured by the alluring, eloquent speaking of a relative unknown, young college kids, like never before, turned up at the polls and casted their votes overwhelmingly in favor of a new direction for America.

So why exactly, do the vast majority of students run to join the bulging Young Democrats? The answer: It's the easy thing to do. Everyone else is doing it. They just want to help people. Boosted by Obama's glittering generalities and his hope for a utopian dream, the liberal viewpoint is seen as attractive.

Debunking the myth that conservatives are heartless is critical at UNC. The reality is this: What it means to be a conservative has been so misconstrued that it is hard to even identify at this point. They are not the cruel, intolerant people that the media so desperately tries to make them out to be. Conservatives are simply for limited government. Chairman of the NC Republican Party, Mr. Tom Fetzer, who spoke on Sept. 14th, left a strong message.

"Government is only there to insure the basic right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," said Fetzer. "Government is not there to give out our rights. We do not get our rights from the government. We receive our basic inalienable rights from God."

Conservatives take this to heart. They do not believe it is up to the corrupt hand of Washington to dole out rights (or money now that I think about it). We are guaranteed the pursuit of happiness. We are guaranteed equality of opportunity, but not necessarily results.

There is a reason that the United States of America has stood for so long as one, united Republic. The Constitution works. Conservatives believe in the Founding Fathers who worked tirelessly ironing out a working document that has stood successfully to this day.
It is easy to get caught up in a frenzy of new, popular revolutions. Change is all well and good. But is it change for the better?

A country must stand for something. The Republican Party believes that the greatness of America comes from its people, not from the government. Thomas Paine wrote, "Government is a necessary evil."

We must put our faith in each other as citizens of this great nation, instead of hastily depending more and more on the government, which can only lead to bitter disappointment (See Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union).

In time, I do believe that more young people will come to see that it is all well and good to help those in need, but putting too much power into a government system controlled absolutely by one political party that is moving further and further away from what this country was founded on, is downright dangerous.

Hopefully, for all Americans (not just the conservatives), it does not come too late. **CR**

The Non-Nuclear Option

Obama's foreign policy threatens to undermine American dignity



by MARC SEELINGER
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In his address to the United Nations, President Barack Obama announced "four pillars" that he claimed are "fundamental to the future." However, these pillars, if properly adopted, threaten to undermine the standing of the United States in the world.

The first pillar advocates nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. "We must stop the spread of nuclear weapons," Obama said, "and seek the goal of a world without them." He declared that nations with nuclear weapons should disarm, while those without nuclear weapons should forever shun them. There are several problems with this.

The first is that it is a hopelessly idealistic position to hold. No nation has an interest in disarming or forsaking nuclear weapons. The technology necessary to develop these weapons is now so widespread that it would be unsafe to disarm. If the United States were to disarm, it would place itself at a comparative disadvantage to the rest of the nuclear world. In its negotiations with rogue nation-states (like North Korea or Iran), it would have to negotiate from a position of weakness rather than from a position of strength.

Nuclear weapons also raise the costs of war. Going to war with a nuclear power carries potentially devastating consequences for the aggressor. They provide a deterrent to war, in that they raise the costs of war-like aggression to such an extent that it no longer makes sense to start a war. Of course, if a nation disarms and forsakes its nuclear weapons, it loses this protection. The potential for war increases as disarmament is completed.

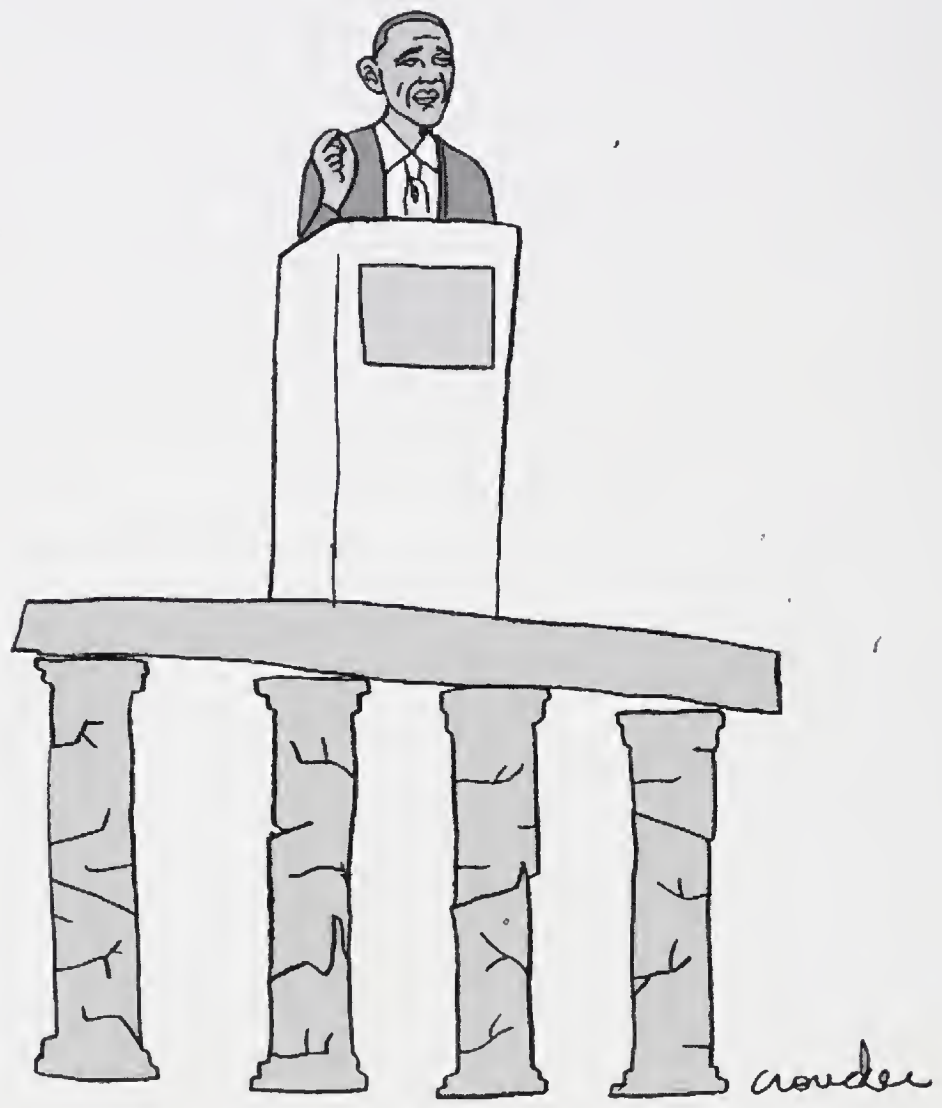


Illustration by Justin Crowder

One of the other problems with disarmament concerns the United Nations. Its attempts at enforcing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and other treaties have been remarkably ineffective. This has been clearly demonstrated over the past few years as both North Korea and Iran have acquired nuclear technology. Countless condemnations and sanctions by the U.N. Security Council and the International Atomic Energy Agency have had no effect on these nations' drive to develop nuclear weapons.

This illustrates a fundamental weakness in the structure of the U.N.: where it really counts, the U.N. is impotent. Attempting to pursue nuclear negotiations through the U.N. is simply a waste of time and potentially dangerous.

The second pillar describes what Obama calls the "pursuit of peace." While at first glance, peace may seem a noble and worthy goal, the pursuit of peace for peace's sake displays a fundamental misunderstanding of reality. It also threatens to embolden this nation's enemies in their attacks on the United States and its allies.

In describing his plan regarding international terrorism, Obama stated, "In confronting [terrorists], America will forge lasting partnerships to target terrorists, share intelligence, and coordinate law enforcement and protect our people." Obama indicates that he sees these terrorists as nothing more than criminals, to be dealt with by local law enforcement.

This is a very simplistic view of the matter. A more accurate reading of the

situation is that they are enemy combatants hell-bent on destroying this country and its people. These combatants are properly dealt with by the military. By the time that local law enforcement becomes involved, the federal government has already failed at protecting its people.

"Insanity," said Albert Einstein, 'is doing the same thing over and over, and expecting different results.' Nothing could be truer in this case.

In other foreign dealings, Obama claims, "the most powerful weapon in our arsenal is the hope of human beings – the belief that the future belongs to those who would build and not destroy; the confidence that conflicts can end and a new day can begin." Disregarding the uncanny similarity between this statement and Neville Chamberlain's "Peace for Our Time," this statement reveals a very disturbing trend in Obama's foreign policy.

Later on in the speech, he describes his desire to achieve peace through multilateral U.N. agreements. More often than not, these agreements come to nothing. Hope is merely an excuse for inaction, and the United Nations is merely an excuse for multi-lateral inaction.

Compare the failures of U.N. "agreements" on situations in places such as Burma or Sudan to the successes of unilateral action by the United States during such crises as the 2004 tsunami in India.

Obama also continues to advocate these failed U.N. agreements for a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian problem. "Insanity," said Albert Einstein, "is doing the same thing over and over, and expecting different results." Nothing could be truer in this case.

If the United States desires to maintain its status in the world, it must be willing to lead. Leadership is not about hiding behind multi-national agreements and Security Council resolutions. It is about not only remaining firm in your principles, but also being willing to act on them, sometimes alone. If Obama truly wanted to affect some sort of peace in the Middle East, he would not wait for the smiling approval of the international community and the results of multi-national peace conferences and conventions. He would act.

Environmentalism, the green goddess, occupies Obama's third pillar. He claims, "The danger posed by climate change cannot be denied." Statements like this tend to cause problems for Obama, as they give evidence to the Birthers that he was born on another planet, where the subject of climate change apparently is not debated.

Climate change and its effects are still being debated, in the United States and around the world. Scientific evidence challenges the assertion that there is actually any climate change at all. So, Obama's statement is either very ignorant or very arrogant, neither of which is a desirable quality in a chief executive.

Nevertheless, he continues to predict "irreversible changes" in the future: wars over resources, drought, famine, fire and brimstone, etc. These claims are simply outrageous, as they have no grounding in scientific fact. Of course, he uses these apocalyptic prophecies to advocate for a war on industry and progress.

What he seems to forget is if these green initiatives were economically viable, they would already be in the market. While it might be useful to find alternatives to traditional energy sources, forcing them onto the market before they have been fully developed guarantees their failure.

Take the eco-friendly fluorescent light bulbs. These were forced on the market before they were fully developed (in part because of a mandate from Congress) and the result is light bulbs that occasionally work and burnout early. This is excluding the additional environmental effects that come from the high levels of mercury in the bulbs.

"The idea that a person can chart or plan economic development has been thoroughly debunked by the experience of the twentieth century."

As oil supplies dry up, more capital will move towards alternative energies, by which time technologies will exist that can efficiently take over the energy sector. Attempts to short cut this process will only result in failure.

The final pillar of Obama's grand plan is "a global economy that advances opportunity for all people." He describes his plan to "chart a course for growth" and set "new rules of the road and strengthen regulation for all financial centers." This is problematic on several levels.

The idea that a person can chart or plan economic development has been thoroughly debunked by the experience of the twentieth century. The collapse of the Soviet Union is the most obvious example. It is simply impossible for one person or committee to account for all of the choices and decisions that constitute a global or national economy. Attempting to do so only results in economic collapse.

The same holds true for regulation. The Community Development and Reinvestment Act is one example of regulation that contributed to the implosion of the American economy. Government regulations only serve to stunt growth and place unnecessary burdens on businesses. Obama believes they are the solution, when they are in fact the problem.

The most interesting part of this pillar revolves around his statement concerning trade. "Wealthy nations must open their markets to more goods and extend a hand to those with less." On first reading, he appears to be advocating free trade. However, his recent actions suggest otherwise. He recently imposed a punitive tariff on Chinese tire imports, which has sparked retaliation and a trade war. So, he likely is not advocating free trade. Read in context with the rest of the paragraph, he is in fact advocating for taking regulation from the national level to the international level. This of course would result in the magnification of the results of such regulation, leading to larger crashes.

These regulations have demonstrable, negative impacts on growth. Further and expanded regulation will only serve to place a limit on the development of the American economy. Freedom and unbounded imagination have enabled the American people to achieve their present level of development. Regulation of the economy kills innovation and impairs freedom.

Obama's four pillars for future development reveal a misunderstanding of reality and weaken the standing of the United States. Their adoption would ensure the onset of a more dangerous and fragile world. His nuclear and peace policy objectives threaten to undermine this country's very defenses against foreign aggression. His environmental and economic policies threaten to stifle and completely suffocate economic growth and development. These four pillars do not lay the foundation for the future; they destroy it. **CR**

TIME FOR A CHANGE



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Three candidates vie for mayoralty of Chapel Hill in close contest

To many students the UNC campus may seem entirely separate from the rest of Chapel Hill. UNC is its own city in itself. Students can eat, sleep, work, and play without even crossing from the streets with the blue street signs to those with green with the exception of occasional excursions to Franklin Street.

However, what happens in the city inevitably affects the campus, too. For instance, the mayor of Chapel Hill has a great effect on the lives of students on and off campus. He writes the budget to be approved by the City Council each year, which affects students' shopping and dining among other things. He oversees most of the city's day-to-day activities, which include rushing Franklin Street and Halloween activities. The mayor can also appoint the police chief and fire chief without approval of the City Council, which affects students' protection during these activities.



Matt Cjakowski
Photo by Yelena Pecheny

The city has a great effect on students, but students can have a bit of control by voting. The city is holding local elections on November 3 for Mayor and City Council members. Early voting is being held from October 15 through October 31 Students can vote early starting October 19 at the Morehead Planetarium.



Mark Kleindschmidt
Photo by Yelena Pecheny

As of late, there has been a constant spread of rhetoric around the country that there must be some "change" made. A change of attitude and focus is in order. In Chapel Hill's history there have been 33 mayors since the first in 1869, not one of which was conservative. It is ironic that Obama's pro change view is forgotten when there is already a liberal in office.

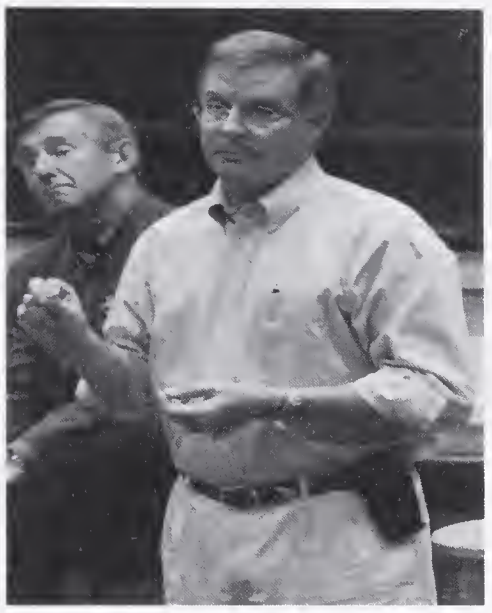
In 1993, Raleigh elected its first conservative Republican mayor Tom Fetzer. This was a win not only for him but also for the city. During Fetzer's three terms as mayor, Raleigh was named the #1 city for business by *Money Magazine* and the #1 place to live in America by *Fortune Magazine*. While in office Fetzer cut taxes four times equaling a 15 percent reduction and increased the size of the police department by 50 percent. He helped reduce crime and improve transportation, sanitation, and water quality among other things.

These changes may be made in Chapel Hillwith the election of the city's next mayor. A record four candidates are currently running a competitive race without an incumbent advantage, as Kevin Foy is not seeking a fifth term. The candidates include Independent Augustus Cho, Democrat Mark Kleinschmidt, and Republicans Matt Czajkowski and Kevin Wolff.

All of the 2009 mayoral candidates share views about issues that need to be addressed. It is clear that all four want to improve the downtown atmosphere and allow for growth in Chapel Hill, but they have different plans for achieving their goals.

Republican Augustus Cho, 50, was born in Seoul, South Korea and immi-

grated to America in July of 1968. He is a 1982 graduate of UNC-CH with a major in Economics and received a Master of Divinity from Westminster Theological Seminary. He was elected county chair for the Orange County Republican Party, but later decided that political parties can limit accomplishment and he could better serve by volunteering on the town board or commissions. He is currently chairman of the Chapel Hill Transportation Advisory Board and a member of the Community Design Commission.



Kevin Wolff
Photo by Yelena Pecheny

Cho's campaign theme is "Investing in Chapel Hill," and he plans to expand business by creating "Franklin Street Square" which would be a mall like University Square. The plan is to close off the 100 block of Franklin to build the mall. He claims this is a way to revitalize Franklin Street because rearranging parking cannot do it. He plans to put an end to panhandling on the streets by increasing the distance that panhandlers have to be away from businesses to more than 25 yards, but he believes that to end panhandling completely would be an infringement on free speech. Cho's plans also include allowing more flexibility for developers in the community by letting them to decide what they will do with the 15 percent quota they now have to spend on affordable housing. He suggests they could donate it to other organizations like Habitat for Humanity. He believes that this is a better alternative than forcing mixed use development.

Democrat Mark Kleinschmidt, 39, was born in Belleville, Illinois and moved to Goldsboro at the age of 10. He received a degree in education and a law degree from UNC-CH. He became the executive director of the Fair Trial Initiative in 2006 and has worked with the North Carolina American Civil Liberties Union, the International Network of Lesbian and Gay Officials, and the Center for Death Penalty Litigation as a staff attorney. He has been a member of the town council for the past eight years.

Kleinschmidt plans to improve Franklin Street by encouraging investors to increase residential density. He hopes this will make a "24 hour downtown" like Charlotte has. He believes that mixed use areas can work. Kleinschmidt claims that although students' are here for only four years, their opinions should be heard because "they will be replaced by a student with very similar if not identical interests."



Augustus Cho
Photo by Yelena Pecheny

Independent Matt Czajkowski, 60, originally from Massachusetts moved to Chapel Hill 11 years ago. He served in the Navy for four years before attending Harvard College and then Harvard Business School. He has served as a Town Council member since 2007.

As mayor Czajkowski believes that he will be more able to affect change than as a Council member whose requests have been greatly ignored. He hopes to be able to improve safety downtown by stopping panhandling completely and improving lighting. He also want to rethink the management of available parking places and possibly find ways to add parking. He also plans to ensure that taxes are not increased during the next two years and to increase the density of retail space for growing revenue.

Kevin Wolff (R) recently announced he was dropping out of the race. He endorsed Czajkowski, yet speculated Kleindschmidt would be the eventually winner and, therefore, requested that Cho also drop out to ensure a clear path for Czajkowski. This is his third mayoral campaign after losing to current Mayor Kevin Foy in 2007 and 2005. His campaign got off to a strong start as he had a wide name-recognition, but he failed to translate that momentum into a serious challenge for mayor. This leaves Augustus Cho as the sole Republican, while Czajkowski presumably gains the support of Wolff's supporters. This leaves Czajkowski in a good position as he also has the support of Gene Pease, who is running for town council and offered to be a moderate voice to support Czajkowski as mayor if he is elected. Often when asked about things that continue in the same vein, people say "Well, we've always done it this way." Past precedent alone is not reason enough to continue with the status quo.

With all of these improvements that are still to be made in Chapel Hill, it is time to try a new method. We will allow for change if only we vote for it. **CR**

IMPORTANT DATES FOR VOTING

October 19th-
One Stop (Early) Voting begins in Chapel Hill

Vote at Morehead Planetarium 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM weekdays.

October 31st-
One Stop (Early) Voting ends

November 3rd-
Election Day.

Free Speech



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YWC protesters make mockery of unbridled discourse on campus

Youth for Western Civilization (YWC) has managed to own the university's political news cycle for months now. This is fascinating for a myriad of reasons. Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the media fiasco is the plethora of arid, dreary alternative headlines. The pedantic discussions of Student Congress are not sexy enough, at least not comparatively.

However, basically none of the publicity for YWC can be honestly attributed to its club's leadership. YWC's first event involving Bay Buchanan, preceding the Tom Tancredo event last spring, had a grand attendance of nearly eight persons.

Nevertheless, an incestuous confederation of protestors involving the Black Student Movement, the Carolina Hispanic Association, Students for a Democratic Society and Feminists United took care of that.

On April 14, a mix of student protestors and nostalgic adults made the UNC chapter of YWC famous. Their antics were viewed tens of thousands of times on YouTube. Regional newspapers covered the incident as did various other news outlets. CNN had a story regarding it, and Bill O'Reilly subjected UNC to his scrutiny during a prime-time [illegible] news segment.

[illegible] another speech involving Virgil [illegible] was greeted by protesters in like manner.

The story was locally filtered to become a drama that boiled down to the fate of one UNC student: Haley Koch. Koch was arrested for disturbing the peace at an educational institution. Specifically, according to video of the event, Koch held up a sign that read "NO DIALOUGE WITH HATE" and chanted the said phrase repetitiously, preventing Tancredo from speaking.

> Miss Koch's experience sums up all that has been wrong with this disturbing chain of events from the beginning

But, the simplicity of the hullabaloo was not to last. Events during the usually mundane summer holiday and happenings during the first several weeks of this semester have thickened the plot considerably.

The original sponsor, Professor Chris Clemons, stepped down as the club's sponsor. Without a sponsor, a UNC club cannot function as a student organization. This forced the new leadership to search for an alternative sponsor to be secured within thirty days of the other's resignation. They found him in Elliot Cramer, Professor Emeritus of Psychology.

> The consequences of their ideas will be the suppression of students' ability to speak

While disagreeing politically with YWC, Cramer did not want YWC to succumb to the forces beyond their control that had oppressed their right to free speech. But, controversy never seems to stray far from the club, and when brochures implicitly threatening Elliot Cramer surfaced on campus along with posters insinuating he was a white-supremacist, conflict erupted.

Cramer sent an e-mail, in response to someone having published his photograph and address, to Nikhil Patel, current president of YWC, Haley Koch, and Chancellor Thorp. In this e-mail, as a postscript addressed to Patel, he said, "I have a Colt .45, and I know how to use it. I used to be able to hit a quarter at 50 feet seven times out of 10." Koch said that she felt threatened, and the chancellor agreed with her sentiment. Therefore, Thorp asked Cramer to step down as the advisor to YWC because his e-mail was "highly inappropriate and not consistent with the civil discourse we are trying to achieve."

Cramer claims that the comment about guns was meant as a joke. Patel concurs. No matter whether it was a joke, Cramer was essentially forced to give up his place, and yet another crisis was born.

Soon, however, not merely one, but a triune of advisors stepped up, and all was well again except for one little detail: Haley Koch.

Koch's experience sums up all that has been wrong with this disturbing chain of events from the beginning. She was absolved from all charges and was found not guilty in a court of law, she maintained her Morehead-Cain Schol-

FIASCO

arship, nor was she reprimanded in any other fashion by anyone. Not only that, but Chancellor Thorp met her to discuss "free speech" issues. In other words, she was rewarded for her actions.

At this point a digression is necessary. Koch was singled out by the Department of Public Safety among dozens of students who were involved in similar actions. This was not fair, and the author sympathizes with her complaints regarding the episode of her arrest. Even so, a lot of people break speed limits and not everyone gets a ticket. Koch chose to commit actions that disturbed the peace and she should take responsibility. But it must be made clear that the following commentary is not meant as a personal attack of any kind (a courtesy that Koch did not afford Tom Tancredo or the YWC membership).



Prostestors at the Virgil Goode speech last spring.
Photo by Justin Crowder

In my understanding of the relevant case law, Koch and the other protestors are guilty. North Carolina's statute regarding disorderly conduct in an educational institution states that, "Disorderly conduct is a public disturbance intentionally caused by any person who: takes possession of, exercises control over, or seizes any building or facility of any public or private educational institution without the specific authority of the chief administrative officer of the institution, or his authorized representative; or refuses to vacate any building or facility of any public or private educational institution."

It also says other damning things. It states: A person has committed a crime if he makes "any utterance, gesture, display or abusive language which is intended and plainly likely to provoke violent retaliation and thereby cause a breach of the peace." One could argue that their collective actions led to a brick being thrown through a window very close to where an aged professor was sitting with his wife.

Furthermore, at a panel discussion on First Amendment Day, involving both Koch and Patel, Koch was not apologetic in the least. When asked about the upcoming speaker events sponsored by the YWC, Koch replied, in a most amazing soliloquy, that she hoped "there would be a protest next week" and that (referring to protests) "sometimes things get a little messy." When questioned as to what exactly she and other protesters had in mind for the upcoming occasions she responded: "I can't give it all away." In summary, she threatened the rather stoic Patel seated to her immediate left.

This attitude and lack of respect for other's right to express their beliefs which is held by Koch and others is quite discouraging. Their vice is not mere rudeness. It is a systematic censoring of dissenting perspectives. The consequences of their ideas will be the suppression of students' ability to speak. People who are more conservative, traditional, or radically-minded will feel unwelcome and vulnerable.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill should be ashamed of the entire, sickening ordeal. Incompetence as regards the DPS and blatant favoritism when it comes to Koch combined to produce a circus of what should be an otherwise insignificant bureaucratic process. If the university is going to continue to uphold its policy of not discriminating based upon creed, the administration should make it immediately clear that adolescents who believe in the continuance of Western Civilization are welcome. **CR**

The Life of Jefferson

A quick biographical sketch



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The problem with the popular conception of Thomas Jefferson isn't that what we know is false. Rather, as with most of the Founding Fathers, our knowledge is just too simplified.

Clare Booth Luce, the noted journalist, diplomat, Congresswoman, creator of bon mots, etc., once said that each man would be summed up in one sentence. For example, we just remember that Lincoln freed the slaves, disregarding the complexities of the Civil War.

For Jefferson, we would probably just say that he wrote the Declaration of Independence. If prodded for more information, we might also mention some vague idea that he was something of a Renaissance Man or comment on the Sally Hemings controversy. But, of course, this is an entirely inadequate view of Jefferson.

Early Life

Thomas Jefferson was born on April 13, 1743 in Shadwell, Virginia. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a successful planter and surveyor from whom he inherited the estate that would eventually become Monticello. His mother, Jane Randolph, was a scion of one of Virginia's most distinguished families from whom he inherited an elevated social standing.

He began studying French, Greek and Latin at age nine, and received a classical education while boarding with the Reverend James Maury, who also taught James Madison. At the age of 16 Jefferson enrolled at the College of William &Mary. He studied philosophy and was introduced to the writings of John Locke, Isaac Newton, and Francis Bacon. He was known to study up to 15 hours a day and received highest honors upon graduating in 1762.

After leaving William & Mary, Jefferson studied law under George Wythe, who also taught James Monroe, Henry Clay, and John Marshall. In 1767 he was admitted to the Virginia bar and went on to represent many of Virginia's elite families.

Jefferson married Martha Wayles Skelton. The two of them had six children, though only two of them, Martha Jefferson Randolph and Mary Jefferson Eppes, survived passed infancy. Jefferson's wife died in 1782 after the birth of their final child and Jefferson did not remarry.

Jefferson the Statesman

It's hard to describe Jefferson's career in government in a concise way, because he held so many posts over his four decades political activity.

Jefferson was elected to the House of Burgesses in 1769 and went on the serve as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, which would eventually adopt the Declaration of Independence. In September 1776, Jefferson was elected to Virginia's newly formed House of Delegates. His legislative accomplishments included passing a ban on the importation of slaves, a statute establishing the freedom on religion, and reforms to William & Mary. Jefferson then became governor of Virginia, serving from 1779 until 1781.

After the Revolutionary War, Jefferson was appointed to the Congress of Confederation, and then became Minister to France in 1785. He followed Benjamin Franklin at the post, though he notably said, "I succeed him, No one can replace him."

When Washington became President, he appointed Jefferson as the first Secretary of State.

As Secretary, Jefferson maintained American neutrality towards Britain and France as hostilities between the two intensified, despite the machinations of Genet, the aggressive new French Minister, and despite his own deep sympathies towards the French.

Of course, he famously split with Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists, saying that the "Hamiltonians were panting after...and itching for crowns, coronets and mitres," and formed the Democratic-Republican Party along with James Madison. In 1793, the tensions between Jefferson and the Federalists came to a head, and Jefferson retired from the cabinet. He then became Vice President, having come in second in the Presidential election to John Adams.

Jefferson was finally elected President in 1800. Frankly, his record as President was mixed. On one hand, he repealed federal taxes, directed America to victory in the First Barbary War, established West Point, pardoned those who had been imprisoned because of the Alien and Sedition Acts, and signed a bill banning slave importation.

But, on the other hand, he thoroughly mishandled the hostile situation between the French and British by signing the onerous Embargo Act of 1807 into law. This act suffocated American trade and failed to resolve the conflict between Britain and America. He also made the constitutionally dubious Louisiana Purchase. Though it served a strategic purpose and we look back on it favorably, the Purchase was simply not constitutionally sound based on Jefferson's own strict-constructionist standard.

Jefferson the Writer

Jefferson is best known for articulating many of the beliefs which lead to the founding of America. But he wasn't a terribly good speechmaker and he only published one book in his lifetime. His reputation, then, is built mostly on just a few, short works.

In 1774, Parliament passed the Coercive Acts, Britain's draconian response to the Boston Tea Party. Jefferson responded with A Summary View of the Rights of British America, a pamphlet which argued that the British Parliament had no legislative authority over the Americas and that Americans had the natural right of self-governance.

Then, of course, came the Declaration of Independence. During the Second Continental Congress, Jefferson was appointed to the committee designed to write what would become the Declaration of Indepen-

dence, though at the time this wasn't considered a great responsibility. He was chosen to write the first draft, which the committee revised and submitted to the Congress, which approved the draft after further revisions.

In 1781, Jefferson wrote his only full book, Notes on the State of Virginia, a compilation of responses to questions asked by Francois Barbe-Marbois, the Secretary of French legation, about the New World. A wide-ranging book, it presented Jefferson's data on everything from the rivers, to the climate, to the law and religion of his home state. He also described his image of the good society, moved by yeoman individualism. He also argued that, contrary to the beliefs in the Old World, life didn't degenerate in the New World. Rather, it flourished. He saw agrarian Virginia as almost a utopia without government. This work was one of the first assertions of American exceptionalism.

Jefferson also maintained an extensive correspondence with many of the intellectual luminaries of his time. In total, we still have about 70,000 letters that he wrote during his lifetime. Many of his most succinct statements on good government and the good life were written in this voluminous personal correspondence.

Jefferson the Architect, Inventor, Father of a University, etc.

Even had Jefferson never enter the political fray, he would have still been one of the more extraordinary characters in American history.

Jefferson was the celebrated architect of the Virginia State Capital, the original buildings of the University of Virginia, and his home, Monticello, which helped inspire the early American architectural tastes. He filled Monticello with dozens of practical but nonetheless brilliant inventions, such as the first swivel chair, automatic doors, and a machine which copied letters as he wrote them.

Jefferson founded the University of Virginia in 1819 (but, then again, everyone makes mistakes). Founding the University had long been an aspiration, and he built it to follow his academic vision. UVA was the first American college to offer a full range of elective courses and was also the first college not to be formally associated with any religious institution.

Jefferson was also the President of the American Philosophical Society, which was originally founded by Benjamin Franklin, from 1797 until 1815. Finally, he is considered by some to be the father of archeology because he pioneered modern excavation techniques.

Conclusion

Jefferson died on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1826. He will always be known to elementary school pageants as the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence. But the Declaration was not his first or last assertion of America's founding ideals. Jefferson life and ideas embodied the Enlightenment philosophy's assertion of the importance of the individual. **CR**

Decisive Action

Jefferson's deployment of overwhelming force proved his pragmatic stance on foreign affairs



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In his inaugural address in 1801, President Thomas Jefferson asked Americans to seek "peace, commerce and honest friendship" with other nations. That phrase later became the title of a Ron Paul book and a rallying cry for disgruntled civil libertarians on the American Left who were upset about American intervention in Afghanistan after 9/11. For the seemingly limited number of Ron Paul fanatics who believe 9/11 actually happened and that foreign terrorists perpetrated its horrors, Jefferson's address marks the beginning of a presidency largely dedicated to principled pacifism and isolationism (for the rest, the interventionist mentality that Jefferson adopted with regard to the Barbary States marked the beginning of the controlled demolition of American agrarianism).

A proper historical perspective yields a different narrative: before Jefferson's eight years as President ended, he took decisive action against not only the pirates in the Mediterranean who disturbed American and European commerce, but also against the nation-states that harbored them. Jefferson annihilated the threat to American shipping in that region through overwhelming force.



The USS Philadelphia burns after U.S. Marines boarded her and denied the enemy access to the captured ship's cannons (Edward Moran, 1897)

In fact, Jefferson convinced a wary Congress to authorize and fund America's first overseas military offensive. The President dispatched a handful of American naval vessels to the shores of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli. Those ships blew a Tripolitan corsair ship out of the water, dispatched a contingent of U.S. Marines to deny the enemy the use of the crippled USS Philadelphia as a shore battery and provided fire support for U.S. General William Eaton during his raid on an enemy garrison.

Eaton led 500 Arab mercenaries on a long trek through the Egyptian desert to capture the city of Darnah in Tripoli (in present-day Libya) in support of a U.S.-favored prince. And much to the dismay of Eaton, the hippie-equivalents in the State Department nullified the efforts of General Eaton and his troops by returning control of the captured city to some other favored despot, in a concession that ended the war and helped defeat the hijacking of American shipping in the Mediterranean, but that disappointed the U.S. forces in the region who fought alongside a different prince named Hamet Karamanli.

This surprisingly interventionist foreign policy actually corresponded to Jefferson's views on the proper response to piracy. Long before he delivered his first inauguration speech in 1801, Jefferson wrote to his colleagues to describe his revulsion towards

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Restoring Thomas Jefferson

Understanding Founder's vision vital for recovering America's libertarian spirit



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Americans are a mysterious people. Known around the world for bravely and successfully experimenting with democracy and limited government, initiating the greatest worldwide movement in the history of Western civilization, we are intensely proud of the abstract values for which we stand and the history that developed them. Yet myths live on in our political culture at the expense of credible history and often at the expense of our founding principles

One of the greatest of these no doubt is that Thomas Jefferson would be a modern Democrat. Modern politics has grossly discredited the saliency of this question; whose side Jefferson is on is not merely a rhetorical point useful in propaganda, it offers much more than just a simple feel good about fulfilling the dream of the Founding Fathers.



As historian Joseph Ellis observed in his bestseller "Founding Brothers," our political culture was intentionally authored by the central figures of the Revolutionary generation; the abstract values that guide our elections do so because of their real presence in the minds of those leaders – to improperly understand them is to rebel against their vision without an intellectually honest admission of doing so, and to leave them in the form of abstract rhetorical buzz words, as we do today, leaves us extremely vulnerable to such an offense.

The proposal of this article is two-fold: that Thomas Jefferson's political vision has been heinously perverted by Democratic politicians seeking to advance their agenda – historians are nearly unanimous in the view that Jefferson was a radical libertarian – and that the restoration of Jefferson's vision is imperative because of its place as the defining and ultimately victorious vision that came out of the ideological wars of America's first 25 years.

In 1800 the American people elected Thomas Jefferson president of the United States, not because he was the next in line of the succession of Founding Fathers, but because they were actively rebelling against the attempts by Federalists George Washington and John Adams to author a very different political culture. In doing so, they chose a vision that trusted individuals more than government and championed liberty, and most importantly they set America on the course it still sails today where such values in theory guide our decisions. Our pride in this American experiment mandates that we recover them in practice, and dispel the myth that Thomas Jefferson somehow would have favored today's course toward a more active government.

Counting in favor of this myth is, of course, that Thomas Jefferson was the founder of the political party that still exists today by the name Democrat. To suggest that this settles the matter is about as intellectually shallow as one can get; the Democratic Party in the South has altered itself dramatically in the last 70 years, and as will be demonstrated, it has made a complete about-face in the last 200.

Franklin Roosevelt championed the fable of Thomas Jefferson when he dedicated the Jefferson Memorial; in his insufferable arrogance he even had the gall to use Jefferson's name in defense of his New Deal. If Jefferson's written statements about his contemporary political rivals offer any hint, Roosevelt's reputation would have been severely harmed had Jefferson been aware of the usage; the man who called George Washington a political heretic and John Adams an apostate of the American ideal would not have been kind to our country's greatest usurper of economic and political authority.

President Obama referenced his party as the Party of Jefferson during his campaign, and a recent TIME magazine article about early American politics remarked that Jefferson's party, the Democratic-Republicans, were difficult to place in terms of modern labels, but nonetheless were "like a Democrat today but slightly different."

The way in which one arrived at such a conclusion is not immediately obvious – the core tenets of Jefferson's ideology, which informed the vision of the political movement he launched, were individual liberty centered on absolute property rights, unwavering distrust of government, and absolutely supreme in his distinction from his opponents, states' rights and radical decentralization of government. Contrast his

platform with that of the modern Democratic Party: a philosophy that declares property rights not to be absolute, but subservient to the established majority's collective good, unwavering faith that government can be an efficient tool for good and a seemingly insatiable lust to centralize government to the extent that it is possible.

The manner in which such a mistaken view came to prevalence is tantalizingly telling of the manner in which Jefferson has been misused, and of the rebellion against our founding principles. Typical of today's political discourse, especially on the Left, is that battle lines are drawn and certain entities or interest groups are placed on one side or the other, and eschewing principle or philosophy, one's ideological affiliation is determined by one's alignment with any number of these groups. Just as a UNC student does not need objective philosophy to determine his disdain for Duke, any political thinker who, like Thomas Jefferson, aligned himself on the opposite side of Alexander Hamilton and the big-business Federalists, must be on the side now occupied by the anti-big business Democrats.

There is a serious logical problem with the above reasoning, and it is that the assumptions have entirely changed, producing an incredible irony exposing modern Democrats as nothing less than transparently ignorant.

It is true that Jefferson valued equality as an end worth achieving, even a natural state of society. His own ownership of slaves is more complex than the simple hypocrisy of which he is often accused – it was a mental quandary he battled his entire life, and he most certainly knew that slavery was incompatible with the principles he viewed as the essence of the American experiment. It is unquestionable that Jefferson would accept social justice and equality as worthwhile aims, two goals of the modern Democratic Party often attributed to him; the wide acceptance of these aims and the Democrats' preference for omitting the relevant political philosophy make this portrayal of Jefferson a simplistically easy task.

The Democrats would be disappointed, however, if they noticed that political philosophy, and its basis in Jefferson's complicated but clear anthropological and moral values. These are the values that have rooted American political thought for two centuries, that every man is his own master by the dignity bestowed on him as a product of the Creator. Jefferson went one step further: that the only logical conclusion of this premise is that a state cannot compel a man to do anything without violating that's man's right, and his *privilege*, of doing it himself.

Jefferson's libertarianism is different even than our modern view of rugged individualism; it was not that he demanded of every individual to pick themselves up off their own bootstraps, as we would say, but that he thought the privilege of acting of your own accord in doing so outweighed all else.

Jefferson was, in a sense, the exemplary visionary for the common man ideals he is often said to be; his own preference for the simple agrarian life pitted him against the emerging elite of the Federalists in New England, and his republican values found opposition among even the elites of some Southerners, particularly the wealthy families controlling politics in South Carolina.

Jefferson's vision, however, was not only separate from his vision of government – the mere absence of government intervention in creating his ideal life is not surprising, for modern conceptions of welfare and entitlement programs did not exist. What is telling is that Jefferson's vision *depends* on the absence of government intervention.

Throughout his life Jefferson longed to retire from the labors of political office to a life of maintaining his farm and pursuing his various intellectual interests; crucial to these pursuits was that they were undisturbed – he ought not to have to worry that any others, or a government representing those others, would disturb him. This was the vision he had for every individual American, even the vision that despite his flawed inability to realize it he believed in theory belonged to those of every race. To violate it was a blatant violation of natural right, but more than that it was just plain indecent. Perhaps most offensively, it undid everything the American Revolution and the American experiment sought to establish on this continent. This was the point which led him to opposition toward George Washington and John Adams; they did not properly understand the Revolution.

At some point, the spirit that propelled Americans toward this love for freedom turned to an affinity for coercion; this represents a stark departure from the reasons for which the country was founded, and it puts the Democrats in defense mode to offer compelling reasons why we should abandon this spirit, especially when this spirit, in an abstract sense, still guided our thought and rhetoric.

In Jefferson's version of history, America was the final destination of the course charted by Western Europe for centuries, one of escaping archaic social structures which deprived the individual of its role as the locus of worth and the driver of social movement. This is not to say that he ignored the value of unity and the collective; the Revolution itself was a great united effort. He believed, like the Puritans who first arrived in America, that collective units drew their worth and flourished by the power of consenting individual wills, not compulsory membership.

Jefferson's history was sometimes suspect – his insistence on the so-called Whig history, that pre-Norman England was inhabited by people living freely as sovereign owners of private property, was discredited even in Jefferson's time, and he lost much trust from more pragmatic leaders such as Adams for his praise of rebellion, both the brutally violent revolution in France and those offered by Americans in the two notable protests of early American history, the Whiskey and Shay's rebellions. This idealism was a product of a mind operating on a highly theoretical level at the expense of practicality; this exposes the radical nature of Jefferson's vision, but it does not devalue its credibility.

He chose to see society as it ought to be based on his clearly refined view of humanity; he also understood that his values had never truly been implemented, but that was the purpose of the Revolution – to be the place in which they were finally tried.

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Restoring
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That the author of this vision was chosen by the increasingly statist Democrats as their hero is ironic, but it is also embarrassing. They have equated actions of great moral value with actions that are therefore justifiable functions of government in a way that would have offended Jefferson; Jefferson could not have supported them – he would have saw them as his own personal enemies.

In 1800 Jefferson was elected president largely because he carried the state of New York; this was possible because of the state legislature elections held in the spring prior that determined how New York would choose its electors. The demographics of that election should give Democrats chills should America ever rediscover this spirit. Jefferson won the election because largely immigrant and significantly less wealthy districts of Manhattan turned out in his support; the wealthy power structure supported Alexander Hamilton's Federalist ticket.

Just as it was when the Puritans first came to America, the sectors of society that the Democrats so often claim to be "looking out for," the ones not among the wealthy elite, were the ones screaming for the government to stay out of their lives.

At some point, the spirit that propelled Americans toward this love for freedom turned to an affinity for coercion; this represents a stark departure from the reasons for which the country was founded, and it puts the Democrats in defense mode to offer compelling reasons why we should abandon this spirit, especially when this spirit, in an abstract sense, still guided our thought and rhetoric.

The Democrats will say that Jefferson's vision in a strict sense cannot be relevant today, for it was two hundred years ago when it was conceived, and the modern struggles of class, race, and equality of opportunity were lost to him. That point is granted, but it is worth serious consideration whether that itself is relevant to our political vision – Jefferson's philosophy was never based on how difficult life's struggle were. Even if they were, Jefferson would have welcomed it, just as he welcomed "a little rebellion now and then."

The reason is that Jefferson's libertarianism is different even than our modern view of rugged individualism; it was not that he demanded of every individual to pick themselves up off their own bootstraps, as we would say, but that he thought the privilege of acting of your own accord in doing so outweighed all else. To deny mankind this privilege, a privilege we have surrendered in exchange for compulsory morality, is to violate an essential trait of man's character; it demonstrates a fatal trust in government and a total distrust in the compassion of individuals.

That is a spirit that can meet the challenges of any era – perhaps it is time to renew that "American experiment" of which Jefferson was so proud. **CR**

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the Europeans' consistent policy of paying ransom to the Barbary States to mollify the North African privateers who disrupted European commerce on the Mediterranean Sea.

The saga began 1786 when Thomas Jefferson, then ambassador to France, sent an emissary to Morocco to buy off the Moroccan leaders at a cost of $30,000 per year in "tribute" and an initial payment of some jewelry and gold. Jefferson felt uneasy about the policy of buying safety for American shipping because he knew that North African privateers might begin attacking American vessels at any time – at which point the pirates would simply ask for more ransom.

The concerned Jefferson thought the Europeans ignoble for their acquiescence to the pirates' demands. In a 1785 letter to James Madison, Jefferson wrote: "It is impossible I fear to find out what [tribute] is given by other countries [to the piratical States]. Either shame or jealousy makes them wish to keep it secret." Jefferson tried to negotiate a coalition to defeat the threat to shipping but failed; in his autobiography, the former President wrote: "I accordingly prepared, and proposed to their ministers at Paris, for consultation with their governments, articles of a special confederation. [...] The object of the convention shall be to compel the piratical States to perpetual peace." But the articles "fell through."

Jefferson decided that the best course of action would be to form a small navy. In 1786, he wrote to John Adams: "It is proper and necessary that we should establish a small marine force." The onset of the Quasi-War with France led to the revitalization of the United States Navy just in time for Jefferson's tenure. In 1794, Congress authorized the construction of six frigates. And in 1798, Congress created the Department of the Navy. Soon, a couple dozen American frigates became available to counter French harassment. In 1801, Jefferson deployed several of those frigates to defeat the Barbary Pirates.

This seems at odds with Jefferson's thoughts on standing armies. Jefferson thought that the United States could raise a militia if a domestic invasion warranted it, but did not see the purpose of a standing army other than to impose federal policy upon Native Americans. In an 1800 letter to Samuel Adams, Jefferson reaffirmed his consistent position that a domestic standing army posed a danger to the republic: "Bonaparte has transferred the destinies of the republic from the civil to the military arm. Some will use this as a lesson against the practicability of republican government. I read it as a lesson against the danger of standing armies."

Jefferson was no pacifist; he sought peace, but thought that affirmative, overwhelming force would sometimes be the best way to counter an opposing force. In that way, Jefferson loved peace, but the Left cannot claim him as an anti-violence pacifist. Even early on in his political life, Jefferson thought force better than withdrawal, as he indicated to John Adams in a July 11, 1786 letter: "I acknolege [sic] I very early thought it would be best to effect a peace thro' the medium of war."

Neoconservatives cannot claim him as a bona fide war hawk: in his policy towards piracy, Jefferson resisted the temptation to exploit nationalism in order to justify his foreign entanglements. But he also rejected the ignoble and ineffectual defeatism of the Europeans and the American pacifists, justifying intervention in one 1791 letter to the American ambassador to Morocco on the purely rational grounds that "our determination to prefer war in all cases to tribute under any form, and to any people whatever."

Modern conservatives should look to Jefferson's actions during the First Barbary War to learn an important lesson about classically liberal foreign policy: we should choose our battles carefully, but deploy enough force to get the job done and bring the other side to our negotiating table, like General Eaton did at Darnah. Modern liberals can learn an important foreign policy lesson from the Europeans that they so often seek to emulate: words without force will only encourage marauding pirates, conspiring terrorists or nuclear-missile builders to carry on their nefarious activities. **CR**

Thomas Jefferson on...

His political views in his own words



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What Thomas Jefferson Has to Say About ...

States' Rights vs. Federal Authority

"About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration [...] the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies."

- Jefferson's 1st Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801

Thomas Jefferson was strongly in favor of limits on the power of the federal government; he reposed much greater confidence in the ability of individual states' governments to protect the rights of the populace without overstepping the bounds of their authority. Thomas Jefferson is likely turning like a rotisserie chicken in his grave at the gargantuan size of the federal government and the ever-increasing scope of its power in this day and age.

Were he alive today, Jefferson would probably beat us over the head with the words of the Tenth Amendment: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Jefferson would surely have believed that to even consider ceding control of large sectors of our nation's livelihood, like the healthcare, banking and auto industries, to a bloated and incapable central bureaucracy would mean the obliteration of the sound principle of decentralization for which he was a staunch advocate.

In fact, Jefferson believed that the federal government's only major purpose was as "the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad." In other words, he saw the federal government as a guarantor of national security, rather than as the main origin and enforcement mechanism of domestic policy.

Religion

"[...] enlightened by a benign religion, professed indeed and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude and the love of man, acknowledging and adoring an overruling providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here, and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people?"

- 1st Inaugural Address

"To do [H]im [Jesus] justice, it would be necessary to remark . . . that [H]is system of morality was the most benevolent and sublime probably that has been ever taught, and consequently more perfect than those of any of the ancient philosophers."

- Letter to Joseph Priestly, April 9, 1803

Jefferson was an unyielding advocate of freedom of religion. He believed that the unrestrained expression of thoughts and ideals of all varieties was a necessary condition for a free republican state. However, while he was certainly wary of the abuse of religion as a means of oppression, Jefferson did adhere to an undeniably Judeo-Christian perspective, regarding God as the origin of all individual freedoms.

Today, his support for the free exercise of religion would probably be directed toward the protection of religious groups from secular forces in the government and in society. Attempts by the government to regulate or altogether proscribe various types of religious expression, from prohibiting prayer in schools to requiring the removal of religious scenes from public and private property, would surely be seen by Jefferson as an incursion on the First Amendment.

If Thomas Jefferson were here today, he would likely say that there is a world of difference between refraining from the establishment of state religion and forbidding private expressions of religious devotion. The former is necessary for the furtherance of republican principles, but the latter is a means of destroying them.

Government Welfare

"To take from one, because it is thought that his own industry and that of his fathers has acquired too much, in order to spare to others, who, or whose fathers have not exercised equal industry and skill, is to violate arbitrarily the first principle of association, 'the *guarantee* to every one of a free exercise of his industry, and the fruits acquired by it.' If the overgrown wealth of an individual be deemed dangerous to the State, the best corrective is the law of equal inheritance to all in equal degree; and the better, as this enforces a law of nature, while extra taxation violates it."

- Letter to Joseph Milligan, April 6, 1816

Continued on page 28

Stolen History

Exposing the myths of Vietnam



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In the popular memory of America's wars, one stereotype has always stood distinct from all the rest: The bedraggled, scruffy, guilt-ridden Vietnam veteran. Drafted at age 18 and trained to kill, he is now haunted by the memories of war crimes and suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. Unable to hold a job due to PTSD, he is quite possibly homeless and has a heroin addiction he picked up in Vietnam.

While trying to raise money for a veteran's memorial in Texas, Vietnam veteran B.G. Burkett kept running into people who believed stereotype. He began investigating the popular image of the Vietnam veteran which was popularized in the media and in movies. As Burkett says, he found "a massive distortion of history." As a result, he (along with co-author Glenna Whitley) wrote the book Stolen Valor: How the Vietnam Generation was Robbed of its Heroes and its History.

Burkett begins by attacking all of our popular myths about Vietnam veterans and dismantling them one by one. First up is the oft-repeated canard that frontline soldiers in Vietnam were primarily poor, uneducated 18 year olds who couldn't avoid the draft. Burkett shows that the average age of a soldier killed in Vietnam was 22.8, not 19 as is commonly reported.

Burkett then debunks the myth that poor, un-educated draftees served as cannon fodder. In fact, casualties were evenly distributed across all income levels. Soldiers with a higher income and education level were more likely to hold extremely hazardous jobs such as pilots or infantry officers. And 80 percent of soldiers in Vietnam had at least a high school diploma, at a time when the national rate was 65 percent.

Despite the popular belief that conscription provided most of the military manpower in Vietnam, two-thirds of soldiers who served in Vietnam were volunteers. Volunteers were also more likely to be killed than draftees, making up 77 percent of the dead.

Although there is a persistent myth that black conscripts were more likely to be killed in Vietnam, 75 percent of black soldiers were volunteers. Black soldiers made up 12.5 percent of Americans killed in Vietnam, while making up 13.5 percent of the troops.

Despite the image of the callous officer ordering enlisted men forward to their deaths, infantry officers in Vietnam had a highly hazardous job which they performed with great bravery. Officers made up 13.5 percent of those killed in Vietnam, while making up only 12.5 percent of the troops. Although fragging, or the murder of unpopular officers, has been featured numerous times in fiction, it was extremely rare. There were only 230 murders of soldiers by their comrades in ten years in Vietnam, out of 3.7 million soldiers who served.

> Vietnam veterans are no more likely to be homeless or be in prison than the general population. In fact, Vietnam veterans are more likely to be employed.

Likewise, the rate of drug use by the troops has also been overstated. Troops stationed in other parts of the world during the conflict were more likely to use drugs than troops deployed in Vietnam. In 1967, at the height of the war, the drug use rate in Vietnam was 25 men out of 1000. The Army-wide rate was 30 out of 1000. Half of all Army drug users used drugs before entering the Army. After the war, only 12 percent of men who used drugs in Vietnam continued using drugs when they returned home, and Vietnam veterans are no more likely to use drugs than the general population. According to a 1988 Center for Disease Control study, less than one percent of Vietnam veterans were current drug abusers.

Very few war crimes were committed by American troops in Vietnam. It is often assumed that the infamous massacre at My Lai was just one of many atrocities. But Burkett shows that the incident at My Lai was a tragic aberration, a product of a unit made up of exceptionally poor soldiers who should have never been sent into the field. As Burkett points out, thousands of soldiers saw far heavier fighting than the men at My Lai without snapping. Reports of atrocities by American troops in Vietnam were extremely rare.

Despite reports that post-traumatic stress disorder is widespread amongst Vietnam veterans, the same 1988 CDC study found that 15 percent of Vietnam veterans had at one time suffered from some form of PTSD, while 2.2 percent still suffered from the disorder in 1988. Burkett is skeptical of those who claim much higher rates of PTSD, noting that only 15 percent of soldiers in Vietnam served in combat units.

At the height of the war in 1967, the rate of psychiatric casualties amongst soldiers in Vietnam was 10 out of 1,000. By 1970, this had risen to 38 out of 1,000. This was still far below rate of 102 per 1,000 found in the European theater of World War 2.

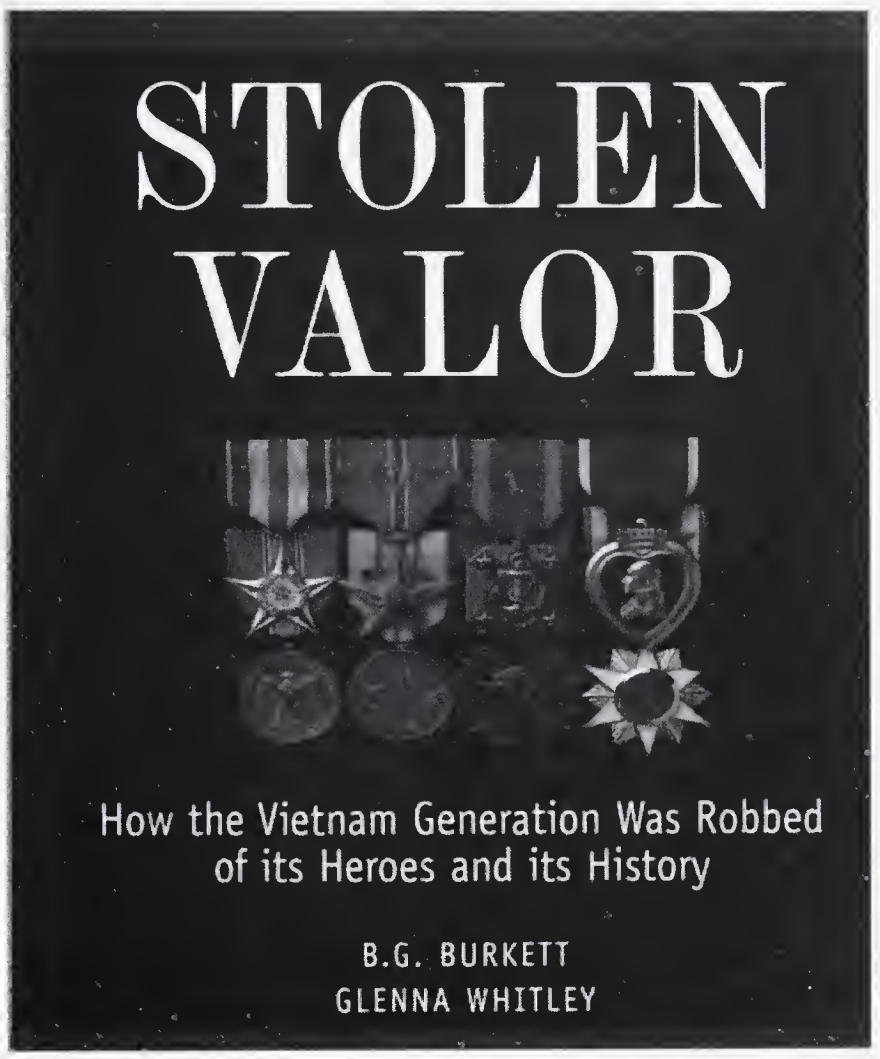
The myths fall throughout Stolen Valor. Suicide rates amongst Vietnam veterans are the same as amongst the general population. Vietnam veterans are no more likely to be homeless or be in prison than the general population. In fact, Vietnam veterans are more likely to be employed. And an overwhelming 91 percent of Vietnam veterans say they are proud of their service.

Of course, this does not mean that there are no Vietnam veterans who were homeless, drug abusers or suffering from PTSD. But most were not. Yet, the focus of the media, Hollywood and popular culture has been on the ones that were.

How did we end up with such a distorted view of history? According to Burkett, the perception that Vietnam veterans were the victims of a government who turned them into war criminals began with the anti-war movement. In 1971, the protest group Vietnam Veterans Against the War held a convention known as the Winter Soldier Investigation. At Winter Soldier, soldiers who had served in Vietnam recounted stories of torture, rape and murder of civilians.

Yet, it was a fraud. Many of the men at Winter Soldier who claimed to be veterans had not even been to Vietnam. Others served only in rear area units, while claiming to be combat veterans. Still others were false witnesses who assumed the identities of real veterans. In fact, many of the leaders of Vietnam Veterans Against the War lied about being Vietnam veterans. Yet, Winter Soldier is still cited today as evidence of widespread American war crimes in Vietnam.

In 1988, CBS aired a documentary hosted by Dan Rather titled The Wall Within. The film profiled six Vietnam veterans who were living in the woods in Washington state, unable to re-adjust to society after the horrors they claimed they had witnessed. One of these men even claimed to have been involved in skinning Vietnamese civilians.



Burkett acquired the military records of these men through Freedom of Information Act requests. Of the six men profiled in The Wall Within, only one of them had seen combat in Vietnam. The rest held rear area jobs where they did not see fighting. One veteran claimed to have been a Navy SEAL, when in fact he had been a communications repairman. The man who claimed to have skinned civilians had a history of schizophrenia. He may have thought that he had committed war crimes, but they existed only in his head.

Many of the men at Winter Soldier who claimed to be veterans had not even been to Vietnam.

Burkett uncovered hundreds of fake veterans using Freedom of Information Act requests. Some invented their service as an excuse for failed lives, blaming their marital problems or criminal records on Vietnam. Others thought that a military background would help their business or political careers. Many others sought to de-fraud the Department of Veterans Affairs by claiming a PTSD-related disability. Others lied to give credibility to their false stories of war crimes. Still others made up stories in order to use war trauma as a defense at their criminal trial or custody hearing.

Actor Brian Dennehy claimed for years to be a Marine Corps veteran who was wounded in Vietnam. His records show that while he was in the Marine Corps from 1959 to 1963, he was never in Vietnam. He was never wounded and never saw combat.

John Cable, a history professor at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, claimed to have been a Marine officer who took part in covert missions. In fact, he was never in any branch of the military. He resigned from UNCW after Burkett's findings came to light.

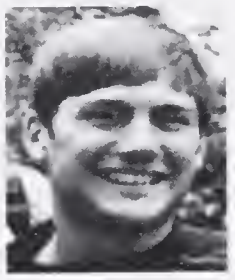
Many popular non-fiction books about the Vietnam war contain a mixture of fake and real veterans. Books such as 'Nam by Mark Baker, Bloods by Wallace Terry, Everything We Had by Al Santoli, Red Thunder, Tropic Lightning by Eric Bergerud, Conversations With Americans by Mark Lane, House of Purple Hearts by Paul Solotaroff and Home Before Morning by Lynda Van Devanter all contain stories by people who either lied about being veterans, or who lied about being in combat.

Partly as a result of the book, in 2005 Congress passed and the Stolen Valor Act. This act made it illegal to claim or wear military medals which the wearer has not earned.

Continued on page 28

Truth and the Freeing Arts

An Interview with Dr. Larry Goldberg



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Walking through campus, you might come across the phrase *Lux libertas*, our school motto, which means "Light and Liberty." Lux libertas was the belief that laid the foundation for free academic inquiry and exploration for truth which led to UNC being hailed as the premier liberal arts institution in North Carolina.

Yet are we still fulfilling our school's guiding principle? *Carolina Review* recently sat down with Larry Goldberg, PhD to discuss the affect of post-modernism on the search for truth and whether the UNC curriculum reflects a true understanding of the liberal arts education.

Professor Goldberg earned his bachelor's degree in English at the University of Chicago and went on to earn two master's degrees at Indiana University and the University of North Carolina in the Letters and Greek Literature, respectively. Prior to the latter master's degree, he obtained his doctorate in English, then taught at various institutions before coming to Chapel Hill.

In the first part of this two-part series, we address academia and its view on truth and whether UNC is upholding the basic tenets of the liberal education:

CR: In academia there are now raging debates on this idea that there can be something called objective truth. Do you think there can be such a thing as truth that is not subject to our own emotions and perceptions?

LG: I'm not sure there is a raging debate over that any more. This debate, at least for most intellectuals outside of the hard sciences, is settled--there isn't such a thing. And, let's put it this way, I think the debate shouldn't be settled. Now, does that mean that I think there is a truth by which we can orient ourselves? I lean in that direction. But, mainly, I just don't believe that the contrary case has been settled once and for all. Moreover, there are certain consequences of making that assumption which seem to me to come into conflict with the way we live. In particular, the hypothesis that we can approach truth, that we can know more at some point than we did before about what we are up to, is a necessary hypothesis for all education. The simple question is unavoidable--do you know more now than when you were ten years old? Or is it just that you have a different perspective?

I mean, to take the avant-garde view, you would say that a ten year-old has a different perspective, a ten year-old can see some things that you don't (which is true by the way; there's obviously some truth to this, that a ten year-old sees things that we don't see), but in terms of being able to understand the world, the consequences of our actions, it seems to me that most people don't want to give up on the notion that there's such a thing as one person knowing better than another or your present self knowing better than your former self how to proceed in certain matters. I don't see us giving up on seeking guidance or abandoning elections and resorting to a lottery, however tempting it may seem at times.

> There is a difference in spirit and intention between what C. S. Lewis terms indoctrination as opposed to initiation.

Now, of course, I can't here get into the subtle and nuanced responses post-modernists would give to this; it gets too involved. They have answers, dreadfully clever ones (I am thinking of the deina that are referred to in the great Antigone chorus), but the landscape is not clear of those who see problems with the post-modernist position. To go back to what I said in the beginning, the matter has been less settled than many seem to believe.

From the point of view of education, the effect of assuming that the matter is settled is to preclude students arguing through this matter for themselves. Because, even if it's true (that there is no truth that we can obtain or even approach) students need to see this in all of its clarity by beginning with an open-mind about the matter and looking carefully at those who are profoundly opposed to this view and listening to what they have to say. And you may end up being a good, deep post-modernist, but you'll be a more deliberate post-modernist if you've done this.

The thinkers who established post-modernism are principally, in my view, Nietzsche and Heidegger, followed by a variety of people who are now popular, such as Foucault and Derrida and a whole raft of others. These later figures were all saturated in Nietzsche, but Nietzsche and Heidegger were both saturated in the ancients and the whole philosophical tradition. So, to bypass all that and not take it seriously strikes me as stunting your growth. Nietzsche and Heidegger, their growth was not stunted.

CR: Are we starting to see some of the consequences of, as you say, "the debate being settled"?

LG: Yes, I would argue that we've already settled in fairly firmly. It should be admitted up front that the kind of education that has always predominated (this is just characteristic) is a dogmatic, not an inquiring, education. Not one which begins by looking at the basics. The current advanced belief is that some sort of orthodoxy is inevitable since there is no neutral position, no set of unbiased basics, from which to begin. You always begin with a point of view, with built in assumptions.

Yes, I understand all that, but there is such a thing as a point of view in which you inquire into your own point of view

as well, and you encourage such inquiry. There is a difference in spirit and intention between what C. S. Lewis terms indoctrination as opposed to initiation.

All this, of course, can be very disorienting for young people. Many students long to be told what's what. This has always been the case and always will be the case, and it's understandable. A large number, perhaps a majority, aren't in a position to resist the kind of dogmatic approach in which they are given a bottom line. It orients them to what is the doctrine of the day, and young people are understandably anxious and overwhelmed by all there is to know. It's just overwhelming—Bellow calls it the "burden of culture"; so they're grateful to be oriented towards what promises to succeed.

Fortunately—at least this has been my experience—the young are feisty and want to see things for themselves. They have an instinct for that, a stubbornness. But this reticence can only provide a disposition. Without the proper cultivation, their disposition remains a starved thing. And the dynamic of laying-it-all-out tends to carry on right through grad school, which is, of course, professional school.

Consequently, the tendency in our undergraduate schools is to eliminate liberal education or to water it down to the point where it's not really a liberal education. It's infiltrated by professionalism. In other words, everybody is presumed to be headed towards grad school. That's the desire. The serious part of undergraduate teaching guides you towards a profession, and the graduate schools, of course, are professional. This term doesn't imply, necessarily, lawyers or doctors or chemists; it could mean the "intellectual life," but it's a professional intellectual life, with all the fairly well-defined rules, duties and measures of success stipulated by a profession.

So I think we're settled into that. This arrangement is hardly new. Its origins can be traced back to the great new authority of science that gets a head of steam after our Civil War. You can see Nietzsche satirizing the tendency and William James deploring it (in his brief essay, "The Ph.D. Octopus," 1903, in which he shockingly [to us] refers to the doctorate as an "academic bauble").

But by now this modus operandi has grown quite uncontroversial. Everyone welcomes and seems to profit by it. There is something wondrous in its accomplishments, and it is openly lauded and cultivated. To be sure, it is a fine thing, but it is not a liberal education.



Universities have, in truth, set themselves against liberal education, though, curiously enough, they hold on to some last ghostly remnants of it and are eager to claim that they offer a newer, better version of it. But its authentic energy, spirit and content are gutted. I mean, nominally, you're covering--what do they call it here?--they used to call it perspectives. And they talk about interdisciplinary work and so on and so forth, but all of this, really, is a kind of highly attenuated liberal education. From the point of view of a genuine liberal arts education, the currently respectable order is really leading you into professional activity of various sorts.

CR: At UNC, would you describe the education we receive as somewhere in between liberal arts and vocational?

LG: Is all professional education vocational? One could make that case, sure. A few years ago, they introduced and began to promote vigorously freshman seminars. My understanding is that these courses are designed to introduce freshmen immediately to research. Research into what? Well, into the particular subject that the professor is interested in.

Research used to be reserved for grad school or for the very highest levels of undergraduate study. But there is an effort to initiate students in it as soon as possible. You'll see this in the various academic fields; they're anxious to get you to publish.

It used to be, even in the modern era of research, that publication was required as soon as you got out of grad school–after you got your doctorate. Then they wanted you to publish while you're in grad school to prepare you for your professional duties. So, now you're publishing in grad school.

Next they want you to publish as an undergraduate if possible. This is all an outgrowth of the same ethos.

Now, is this vocational? I would say, in a way, yes. It is vocational. And I'm sure people will object to that, but they think of vocational instruction as teaching how to be a carpenter or some such. I think that's too narrow a view of the matter.

If you're mastering a method (Descartes got us going with method, not only Descartes, but he emphatically; and for a technological science such as he advocated, it makes a great deal of sense; but it is now considered a universal desideratum), you're following in the footsteps of some path laid out for you. And that, in the broadest sense of the word, strikes me as being vocational--your call to a beaten path.

> "...A liberal education frees you for wild thinking, for challenging all underpinnings."

On the other hand, a liberal education frees you for wild thinking, for challenging all underpinnings. To prepare you for that,

Continued on page 28

The Women of the Conservative Movement



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The importance of radio host and national best-selling author Laura Ingraham

Laura Ingraham is without question one of the most influential conservative women in American history. From her days at the *Dartmouth Review* to her current position as one of the top talk radio show hosts in America, she has arguably done more than any other woman involved in American politics to promote conservative ideology in the social, fiscal, and national security arenas.

Her no-nonsense attitude regarding national politics and family concerns alike provides a unifying voice for conservatives of all stripes. Her commentary is always witty and sometimes bitingly sarcastic, but it does not approach the caustic nature of the humor employed by, for example, another tall, blonde, female conservative commentator who could be here named. As a constant advocate of traditional morals and democratic ideals, Ingraham supports the rights of regular people who are often exploited or drowned out by political elites.

Laura Ingraham's political career had unsurprisingly promising beginnings: she wrote for and eventually became the first female editor of the *Dartmouth Review* during the 1980's. Interestingly (for anyone concerned with prominent conservative pundits' personal lives, at least), she was engaged to her fellow Dartmouth Review alumnus and conservative political analyst Dinesh D'Souza for a time, but the two were never married. Much less impressively, she also allegedly dated Keith Olbermann.

After graduating from Dartmouth, Ingraham served in the Reagan administration as a speechwriter. She wrote speeches for the White House, the Department of Education, and the Department of Transportation.

Ingraham later received a law degree from the University of Virginia in 1991; she edited the *Law Review* during her time there. She went on to clerk for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, and then later went into private practice.

In recent years, Ingraham has become a prominent analyst and has successfully used several types of media to spread her message of commitment to conservatism. She was a cable television host and is now a regular guest on *The O'Reilly Factor* on Fox News. She is also noted as one of the most highly-renowned radio talk hosts in the country. *The Laura Ingraham Show* has received extremely high ratings for the last eight years, and Ingraham is now the sixth most influential talk radio host in America. She has interviewed, among others, Larry Kissinger, Bono, and one of the munchkins from The Wizard of Oz.

Furthermore, she has written three books espousing conservative values: one attacking Hillary Clinton, one specifically condemning liberal elites for suppressing the voices of mainstream Americans, and her latest, *Power to the People*, which emphasizes the importance of family values.

Power to the People, which became an instant #1 New York Times bestseller, stresses the importance of patriotism and education. It encourages the American public to get involved in politics on the national, state, and local level; she wrote the book with the goal of reversing the growing trend of political apathy in this country. She argues that the erosion of tradition values, which she calls the "pornification" of America, will only be stopped and reversed if parental authority and involvement is emphasized. That involvement can consist of anything from going to PTA meetings or town halls, or informing others about what is happening in the community, or even running for office.

She argues that the erosion of tradition values, which she calls the "pornification" of America, will only be stopped and reversed if parental authority and involvement is emphasized.

Throughout her impressive legal and political careers, Laura Ingraham has distinguished herself as a staunch advocate of quintessential American ideals. She serves as an inspiration not only to conservatives generally, but also more specifically to other female conservative analysts who can learn from her methods for success and admire her hard work and determination. **CR**

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Great Speeches in Western History

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The Sermon on the Mount

When discussing the origins of western culture the topic of Jesus cannot be absent fromthat discussion. However, Christianity occupies an awkward place in the contemporary west. Itis an integral part of the west, but by no means the whole.



Christianity is undeniably the historical vehicle by which everything was transmitted to our own culture; whether it be Greek, Roman or the Hebrew traditions. In light of this, what type of relationship does it have to the secular republics of the west? For Americans in particular, a study of the Sermon on the Mount can shed light on what Thomas Jefferson called the "philosophy" of Jesus. A philosophy centered on an egalitarian universalism that ultimately tints the rhetoric of everyone from Billy Graham to Richard Dawkins.

The Sermon on the Mount was a speech incubated in the Pandora's box of ancient Judea, a politically hostile enclave of the Roman Empire, a crucible where Roman, Greek and Hebrew ideologies where in perpetual competition for the minds of the people. Local communities objected heavily to Roman rule and revolted several times.

In 6 AD, Jesus' own childhood, there was a revolt put down with 2,000 crucifixions. Supposedly the Romans ran out of wood with which to make crosses so they just began hanging people from the walls of Jerusalem. The locals where divided on how to deal with this type of Roman oppression. There were Zealots looking for a Messiah to lead a military revolt against the Romans, the Pharisees just wanted to satisfy the Romans to keep them at bay, the Sadducees cooperated directly with Roman rule and the apocalyptic Essenes left for caves in the mountainsides to practice monastic worship. Into this cocktail of political strife came Jesus with a very alien and radical message.

The Sermon on the Mount is comprised of a set of impossible demands set before all humanity. The famous proclamations of "turning the other cheek" and "loving your enemies" just so happen to be impossible proclamations. Looking on with lust at someone who is not your spouse is also condemned, yet not avoidable for any human.

Jesus therefore sets a very high standard, a standard so high that it is not possible to reach. But spurring people to reach was Jesus' ultimate goal, knowing that inevitably everyone would fall short.

In the Sermon Jesus introduces a demand for internal perfection and non-resistance. These themes were not, at this time, entirely unfamiliar to the west. Aristotle had taught long before that a person who does not enjoy doing good, is then not really good, and

that evil thoughts themselves are evil. All of these sentiments are echoed in the Sermon.

The "Beatitudes" that initiate the Sermon serve as a way to bring those once thought worthless in society up to the same level as everyone else. Telling the "poor in spirit," "the meek," and those "persecuted "persecuted for righteousness sake" that they are "blessed" was fairly radical in a time when intense social hierarchy was the norm.

The west is now also arguably the most secular place on Earth. In fact recent statistics show that people who profess no faith are the largest minority in America, coming in at 14 percent of the population.

Thus in the Sermon on the Mount Jesus fully develops a theory about universal good will toward all; one that had been lacking in most of his Classical progenitors. Such an expression of universal good will is not found in such a concrete form in the ruminations of the Greeks, Romans, or the Hebrews. Not even Plato in his Symposium, where he attempts to lead us from passion to wisdom, develops this idea of universal good will.

As exhibited in the prior article in this series on Pericles, those proceeding Jesus gave tremendous insight into subjects that are debated time, in memoriam: truth, justice, liberty, and beauty. But these are all different from general good will. Jesus preaches specifically in the Beatitudes that everyone has inherit worth, and not even in the democratic Athens of Pericles was this regarded as true.

This is the most basic setting of Western civilization: the acknowledgment that one should strive to foster universal good will. It can be seen in all aspects of history from Mark Twain's mission to end slavery in King Leopold's Congo (the first international human rights campaign of all time) to America being the largest annual monetary contributor to the United Nations, and in the founding documents of modern republics.

We now have an apparent irony. The entire base of western civilization is derived, in some form or another, from the teachings of Jesus, particularly from the Sermon on the Mount. The west is now also arguably the most secular place on Earth. In fact recent statistics show that people who profess no faith are the largest minority in America, coming in at 14 percent of the population.

As usual we need only to examine the annals of the past for the negation of this irony. The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth, better known as the "Jefferson Bible" is probably Thomas Jefferson's most important work (save the Declaration of Independence), but is seldom ever discussed. Jefferson consulted the King James Version of the Bible along with Greek, French and Latin versions and fashioned another version of the Gospel story.

The twist? All references to miracles, dogma or supernatural events were taken out altogether. The last line of the Jefferson Bible tells of the great stone being rolled in front of Jesus' tomb after his crucifixion; the resurrection loudly absent.

The Gospel according to Jefferson is not concerned with the existence of God, much less Jesus as his son. It is concerned with the code Jesus lays out in the Sermon of the Mount, and showing that, virgin births and resurrections aside, the code is still worthy.

The Jefferson Bible was an execution of tremendous forethought. It was an attempt by Jefferson to reconcile the foundation of the west with the new society he had just helped create. A society where religion was, as Jefferson thought it should be, a matter of personal conscience and not a state affair.

Jefferson was by no means a Christian, saying once "I am a Christian in the only sense in which he [Jesus] wished any one to be." That said, Jefferson acknowledged his admiration for the philosophy of Jesus and argued that "a system of morals is presented to us which, if filled up in the true style and spirit of the rich fragments he [Jesus] left us, would be the most perfect and sublime that has ever been taught by man."

The Gospel according to Jefferson is not concerned with the existence of God, much less Jesus as his son. It is concerned with the code Jesus lays out in the Sermon of the Mount, and showing that, virgin births and resurrections aside, the code is still worthy. Jefferson recognized that the philosophical basis of the west was not complete without the universal benevolence detailed once by Jesus on a mountainside. That before then philosophers fell short: "Still less they inculcated peace, charity, and love to our fellow-men, or embraced with benevolence the whole family of mankind."

Jefferson realized early on what our society is in need of understanding now. That America was and is still the first secular republic in the west. That much blood was shed so that citizens could exercise their individual sovereignty to choose or not choose faith. This being true, it must be conceded that the very compulsion to make faith free stems from Jesus' preaching to a harshly divided society, a long time ago, about how they were "all endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights." **CR**

CLASSIFIEDS

Franklin Street
Come for the empty storefronts,
stay for the awkward panhandlers.

VOTE FOR AUGUSTUS CHO



He used to be a bouncer at Players.
Enough said.

WANTED

Well-spoken, hopeful caddy for the King of Norway's annual golf trip. 12 days experience in being hopeful required. Compensation: one Nobel Prize in Golf Course Management.

SEE MICHAEL MOORE'S NEW MOVIE!



... or don't.
All of his films are basically the same thing.

WANTED

Sexuality Studies professor. Previous experience in copulation preferred.

Come to UNC's Homecoming Parade!

Apparently that's a thing.

TEN COMMANDMENTS OF CAROLINA LIBERALISM

Let's face it: being a Liberal isn't as easy as it used to be. There are so many rules to follow, so many people to please. You want to be a strict observer of all things Left, but it's tough. Well, we here at the Carolina Review are all about making you happy, so we have decided to make things a little more bearable for everyone. If you obey these commandments, you can truly call yourself a good Democrat.

1) THOU SHALT NOT PUT ANY OBAMA BEFORE OBAMA.
The Chosen One deserves to be the topic of every conversation and the object of our greatest affection, not to mention the subject of half your Facebook groups. When you make decisions throughout the day, you should first reflect on what Obama would do. Those especially good lefties own shirts featuring His face, and even bracelets proclaiming "Obama is my homeboy" or "Real men love Obama."

2) THOU SHALT BE SO OPEN-MINDED THAT THY BRAIN FALLS OUT.
It is inherently sinful to not be open to all things. You're willing to try any drug? Good for you! You "love the female orgasm"? How commendable! You're a Christian? Sorry, we are not open-minded to close-mindedness…

3) THOU SHALT BE PC.
You Mac users are outraged right now. But don't worry, I am referring to being "political correct." To do this, think long and hard about all the people you will offend before speaking. Just as you should not say "you suck!" at football games because it might offend women, do not say "God bless you" when someone sneezes because that might imply you're a religious fanatic.

4) THOU SHALT NOT ADVOCATE THEFT, UNLESS IT IS FROM THE RICH.
It is a proven fact that no wealthy person has every worked hard for his or her money. We have the civic duty to take from the upper class and give it to those who have been less productive, because they really deserve it. Haven't those capitalist pigs ever heard of sharing?

5) THOU SHALT BE APPALLED WHEN SOMEONE HOLDS OPPOSING VIEWS AS YOU.
Although this one may seem contradictory to Commandment #2, you can rest assured. We are Liberals, and therefore not hypocrites. If you hear someone criticizing any of Obama's policies, your instinctive response should be to gasp. Then, you must cover your ears, scream curses at George Bush, and scurry away. For more creative reactions, see Haley Koch.

6) THOU SHALT JUDGE ONE REPUBLICAN A DAY TO BE RACIST.
This is especially true when they make a more logical argument. If they say anything negative about illegal immigration, or perhaps debunk our healthcare myths, let everyone know that they are racist. It is impossible to oppose law breaking and redistribution of wealth without being a xenophobic bigot.

7) THOU SHALT CONVULSE AT THE MENTIONING OF YOUTH FOR WESTERN CIVILIZATION.
One knows that they are indeed a true liberal when they visibly shudder whenever YWC appears in the news. Their leader is Indian and they defend Western thought, therefore they must be white supremacists. That's deductive reasoning too, so you know it's right.

8) THOU SHALT NOT QUESTION SCIENCE.
Science is not a method; it is absolute truth. Theories are constantly changing, but we must accept them in their current form as fact, teach them in school with no alternative, and have blind faith that one day the many gaps will be filled, while adamantly denying that such gaps exist.

9) THOU SHALT TREAT EVERY ACTION AS IT IS DETRIMENTAL TO THE ENVIRONMENT.
Did you know UNC uses coal to produce some energy? Jeepers! That must be raising the global temperature by an entire trillionth of a degree! Thankfully, the Sierra Club is rallying against it. No matter it emits substantially less nitrogen, sulfur, and carbon dioxides from the previous means of obtaining power- it is coal so it must be bad!

10) THOU SHALT READ THE DAILY TAR HEEL RELIGIOUSLY.
Much of our doctrine comes from the DTH. Every morning when you wake up, you should cross yourself, thank Obama for this daily bread, and recite passages to your peers. Beware of the editorials though- sometimes there may be a conservative column. In such a case, avoid making eye contact with it and blame the Carolina Review.

Jefferson on...
continued from page 19

"The poor, unable to support themselves, are maintained by an assessment on the titheable persons in their parish."

- "Notes on the State of Virginia"

The preceding quotes demonstrate Jefferson's aversion to the idea of government redistribution of wealth and his belief in private altruism as a more suitable means of addressing the needs of the poor. His strong convictions regarding each individual's right to the product of his own endeavors combined with his deep-seated distrust of centralized government would have led him to vehemently oppose all forms of socialism. He would not have deemed it appropriate for the government to overstep its bounds by attempting to replace churches and private charities as the caretaker of the poor, as it seems wont to do in this day and age.

"If we can but prevent the government from wasting the labours of the people, under the pretence of taking care of them, they must become happy." - Letter to Thomas Cooper, November 29, 1802

The 32 Czars

"...a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided..."

-Inaugural Address

Jefferson held "the absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority" as an essential characteristic of the American republic. In the above quotation, he references the violent response which a lack of democratic representation often produces as the precursor of chaos and eventual despotism. It is likely that he would have regarded the Obama administration's appointment of an unprecedented 32 policy-making czars (to be fair, the Bush administration had 31 by the end) as a grossly unwarranted increase in federal authority. The Czars' utter lack of electoral accountability and transparency violates the republican principles which Jefferson envisioned as the ultimate safeguard of human liberty. **CR**

Stolen History
continued from page 20

The false history of the Vietnam generation continues to hold its place as the commonly accepted history. However, cracks have appeared in recent years, and Burkett's book is one of the largest. The majority of men sent to Vietnam were not people too poor or stupid to dodge the draft. And the majority of Vietnam veterans are not homeless, drug-addicted or suffering from PTSD.

America's perception of the Vietnam veteran was planted by the anti-war movement, and watered by the media, Hollywood, anti-war authors and fake veterans. Over the years, this version of events came to be accepted by society.

Burkett writes that during his research he was often asked "what do you want?" Reflecting on this question, Burkett writes that:

"I do want something. I want an apology."

Three and a half million Americans our Vietnam veterans- have been unjustly disparaged, ridiculed and offended: An expression of regret is appropriate.

I want an apology from America to every man and women who served in Vietnam and to every family who lost a son or daughter, an apology not for their service or their loss, but for the indifference and disrespect heaped on Vietnam veterans, living or dead, after the war. **CR**

Freeing Arts
continued from page 22

you need the liberal arts, that is the freeing arts, the skills which enable you to investigate and inquire on your own with a good deal of skepticism.

That is, not the skepticism that believes there is no such thing as the truth or approaching the truth, but the skepticism which encourages you to draw nearer and nearer to the truth. That was the old idea of a liberal education which goes back to The Republic and Plato. And, not incidentally, you also need models of such inquiry from the master thinkers, again, such as Plato's Republic.

CR: So to use a more modern word, to approach truth with an "open mind"?

LG: One could talk about the problem of having an open mind nowadays, as Allan Bloom did in his book, The Closing of the American Mind. We constantly talk about open-mindedness as a virtue. We also talk about diversity all the time. And innovation. But, in point of fact, it's remarkable how uniform education is in this country at the university level. And it's remarkable how dogmatic, not open-minded, the professional orientation of the various departments is, despite the stress on innovation and discovery. The anger and annoyance with which Bloom's book was received by the academy is an indication of the accuracy of his charge. **CR**

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THE RUB

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

I would like to congratulate President Obama on his recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize. I plan to use this space to reflect on some of his achievements while in office and truly determine what has characterized his long and illustrious presidency.	*It's DYNAMITE!!!*
I am actually quite impressed that Obama was able to win the Nobel after just 37 weeks in office. I originally assumed that meant he had already achieved his stated campaign goal of saving the world.	*Been there, done that, got that T-shirt*
Upon further investigative journalism, however, I discovered that in fact, Obama managed to win the Peace Prize without really doing much of anything, which is impressive in and of itself.	*Money for nothing*
The Nobel committee stated that Obama's stance on nuclear disarmament was one of the primary reasons for his selection.	*A noble goal, to be sure*
I must say, I respect our commander-in-chief's view that nuclear weapons are bad.	*Would anyone argue they are inherently good?*
I also feel much safer knowing that he has told Iran that they shouldn't have nuclear weapons.	*Ask and you shall receive, right?*
However, somehow I am disinclined to believe that Iran stopped its nuclear production simply because the Great Obama told them to do so.	*Actually, it was one of Congress' non-binding resolutions that left them quivering in fear*
Given that, it is interesting that the Nobel committee seems to have lowered its standards from actual accomplishments to simply trying to do some cool stuff.	*Now giving out A's for effort, just like at UNC*
In fact, if the criteria for the award are just based on things I think and say, I could win a Nobel Peace Prize.	*Except for the part where I'm not liberal*
This does, however, significantly raise expectations for the rest of Obama's presidency.	*Based on the campaign, I was expecting only rhetoric*
He might, for example, have to ask Iran twice to stop nuclear proliferation, and possibly even a third time.	*If all else fails: Pretty please with sugar on top*
He will also have to figure out how to win two wars while still promoting peace.	*That's how Democrats fight wars, anyway*
That might involve politely asking the Taliban and al-Qaeda to stop attacking us and set up peaceful, democratic governments while we pull out all of our troops.	*We could calculate his odds for success, but he wouldn't like them*
He could also stop violence in other parts of the Middle East by asking the Israelis and Palestinians to get along.	*As he hits his Easy button*
Despite the inherent difficulties involved, however, I am now convinced that no matter what he does (or, more accurately, doesn't) do, Obama will do it with style and flourish. That is what I believe will define his presidency.	*Like a true celebrity*
Ay, there's the rub.	It's DYNAMITE!!!

PARADIGMS AND PRINCIPLES

Olympics Fail

During his October 2nd visit to the International Olympic Committee in Denmark, President Obama conveyed his desire for the Committee to select Chicago as the site of the 2016 summer Olympics. No previous U.S. President has made such an appeal. Mr. Obama would not have put his political capital behind the request if its success were not quite likely.

Only two narratives can explain the President's decision to court the Committee. The first and most likely narrative: our President is extremely inexperienced in the art of allocating political capital. The second, and more cynical, narrative: the President has rejected American exceptionalism, and in yet another attempt to 'level the playing field' of national power and influence, made his case before the committee without a clue as to how the vote might go, in yet another attempt to reshape the image of the President of the United States into an office with standing and prestige equal to that of a European prime minister.

Regardless of which scenario more accurately describes President Obama's real intentions, the President should seek to increase the international prestige and standing of the office into one that can exert influence over other countries when necessary. Obama must come to realize that there is good and evil among national interests in this world, and that all national interests were not created equal; thus, President Obama must take every opportunity to ensure that the value of his words are not diluted – so that his rhetorical failure before a sporting-rules body does not diminish the force behind his words elsewhere, like at a United Nations or Security Council meeting in the upcoming crisis with Iran. President Bush gave Mr. Obama the ultimate diplomatic weapon by backing up the office's words with force. Since that advantage could help prevent real-world conflict during Obama's tenure, our current President must not deflate the built-up value of the office's words.

Really, Norway?!

Certainly, the headline "Obama awarded Nobel Peace Prize" could only be satirical, something originated by The Onion. But no. The Nobel Prize Committee found something worthy in President Obama's first eleven days in office to bestow such an award upon him. It wasn't awarding achievement, but "efforts," overturning the precedent of the prize's 108 year history.

The award is, of course, in keeping with the past politicization of the Peace Prize which now focuses less on achieving peace and more on propagating a leftist vision for the world: Jimmy Carter in 2002, Mohamed El-Baradei in 2005, Al Gore in 2007, or even Mikhail Gorbachev in 1990 were all recipients of the Peace Prize, the justifications for which were tenuous at best.

By far the worse consequence of awarding Obama without any tangible achievement is that it denigrates the worth of awards in the past: Mother Theresa, Lech Walesa, Elie Wiesel, the Dalai Lama, Nelson Mandela, and Desmond Tutu. Placing Obama's lack of achievement towards world peace on the same plane as the sacrifices that these men and women made for a better world destroys the value of these past awards.

The years Mother Theresa spent in Bombay caring for the poor and destitute are the same as Barack Obama "changing the tone" while campaigning for president. Nelson Mandela's time spent in prison for the idea that blacks and whites are equal in an attempt to overthrow apartheid are as worthy as President Obama's first eleven days in office where he did...Well, what exactly? Lech Walesa best sums it up when he was asked his opinion on President Obama receiving the prize: "Who, Obama? So fast? Too fast – he hasn't had the time to do anything yet."

But where the Nobel Prize Committee truly erred was in awarding a man who has achieved nothing at the expense of those who have taken us one, tiny step closer towards world peace: Denis Mukwege, a Congolese gynaecologist who treats the victims of gang-rape by the Congolese militias; activist Hu Jia who sits in a Chinese prison cell for publicizing the plight of the Falun Gong; Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai who has been on the forefront of the fight against President Mugabe's tyranny; and an unnamed Afghani activist who has been fighting for women's rights since the fall of the Taliban. They and their causes deserve recognition, yet receive none due to the decided political bent of the Nobel committee. And that is the tragedy.

Carolina Review

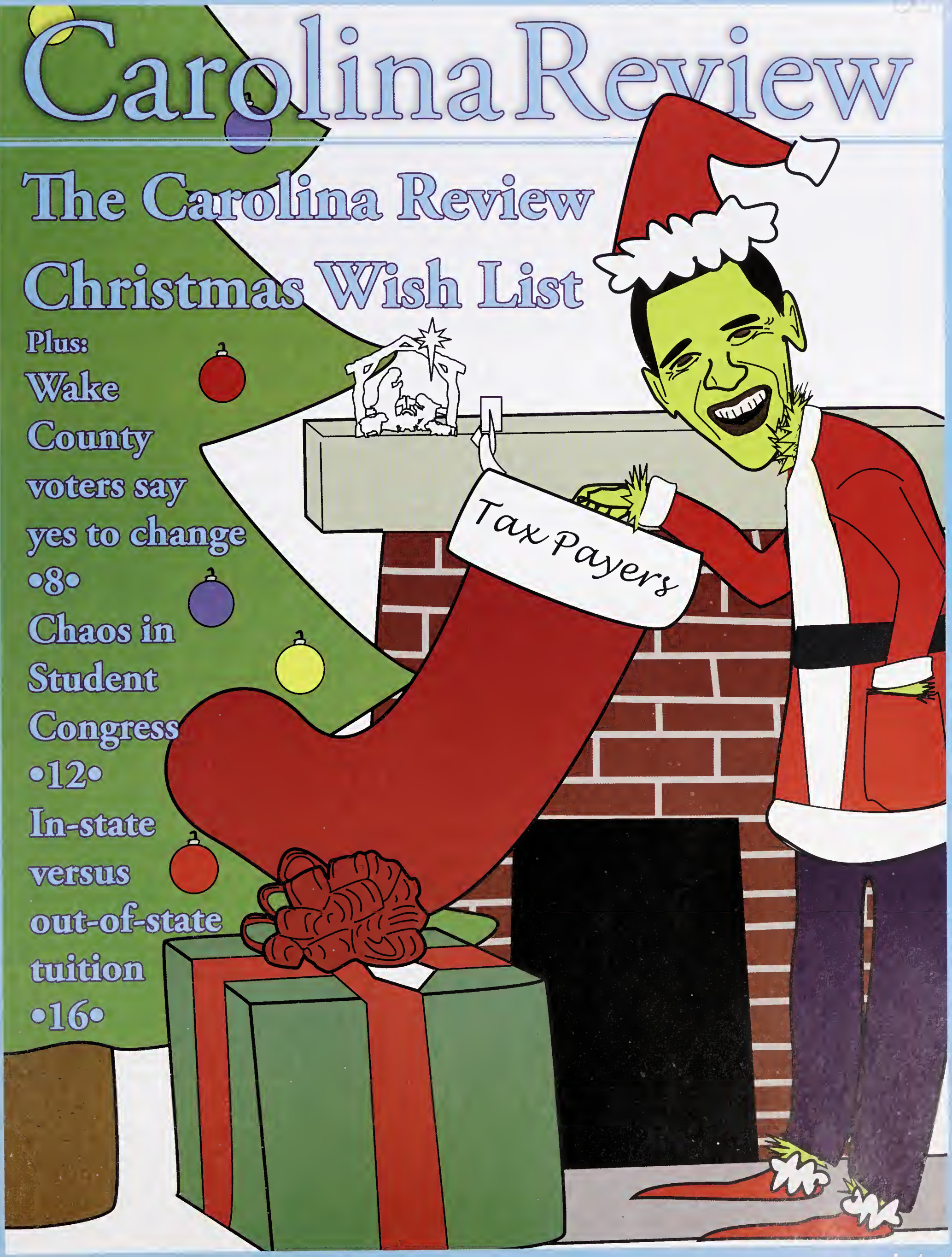
The Carolina Review Christmas Wish List

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Merry Christmas from the Carolina Review Staff!

CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

* We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.

* We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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The Carolina Review Web site includes staff information, our complete mission statement, and search tools. In addition, you can access our archives, special features, and blog. Just point your browser to www.unc.edu/cr/.

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Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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CHEERS AND JEERS

Comments From the Blog:

"Wow. Who knew criticizing der fuhrer would be so controversial?"
-Stephen E., in response to "Buchanan and the Nazis" by Christopher Jones

"Lessons from the hard court- success was the result of playing time being contingent on expressed ability alone, not excuses, allowances and special accomodations. Hummm!"
-Slip, in reponse to "WASPketball" by Nash Keune

"'Failure is Christian. Bailouts are pagan.' That may be the most ridiculous thing my little eyes have ever read."
-Shiers, in response to "Be Zulu" by Justin Crowder

"As to the title, it is misleading. I imagine, on a daily basis, how the DTH columnists can get worse. Haha, JK."
-Jlcrowde, in response to "When you thought they couldn't get worse..." by Bryan Weynand

Recently, it has come to our attention that many Carolina students are unfamiliar with both the traditional and modern political vocabularies. To remedy this problem, starting this issue, each copy of the Carolina Review will include a political glossary. Entries will appear in bold throughout the text, and definitions will be provided in the back. This issue they appear on page 30.

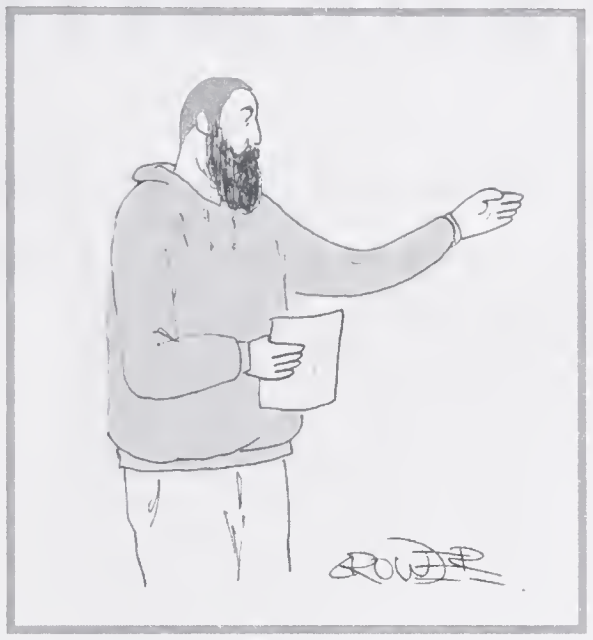
In the spirit of the Christmas season, and to combat the politcal correctness that runs rampant though campus, we have placed Christmas Trees throughout the magazine.

See if you can find them all!



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VIEWPOINTS



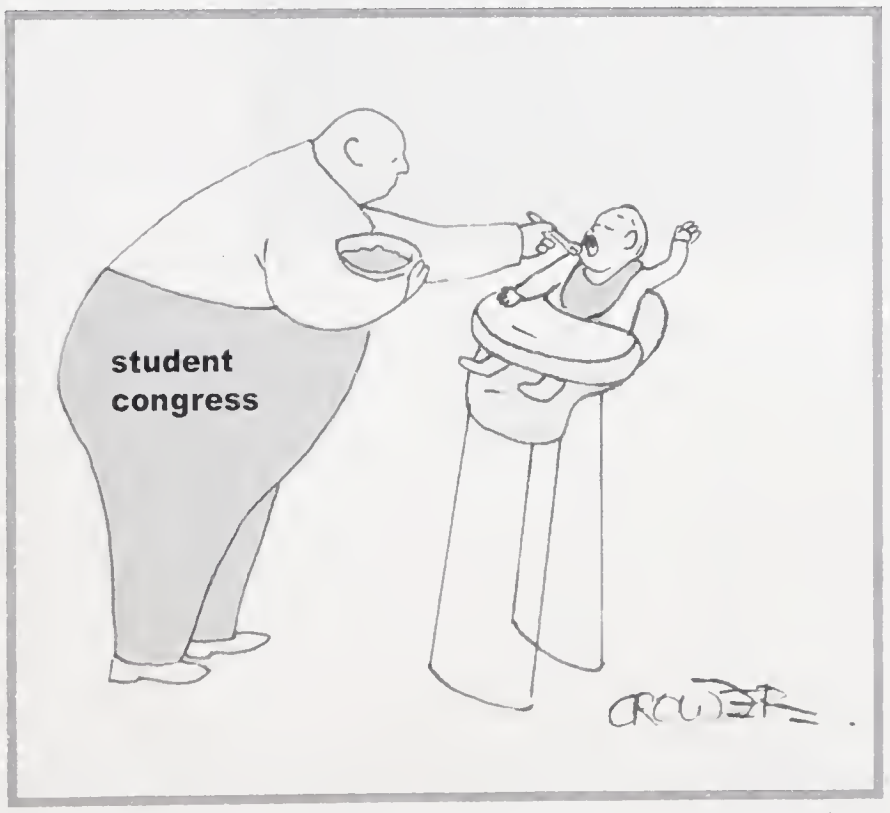
"The No Shave November Club wants $2,000 to bring three former UNC Ashville students to talk about their experience as bearded persons. They have not shaved for two months."

Quotes from the Left Side:

"In my wildest dreams, I never thought it would work this well."
Joe Biden referring to the stimulus package as unemployment crept up to 10%

"We had a specific deadline that was missed."
Barack Obama on closing Guantanamo Bay.

"The American people care a lot more about our success in creating jobs than our precision in counting them."
White House official in response to questions about jobs being created and money spent in non-existent House districts.



What Student Congress did to the student body regarding UNC's members in the ASG.

Quotes from the Right Side:

"He is a very shallow critic who cannot see an eternal rebel in the heart of a conservative."
GK Chesterton

"It's going to be a holy war."
Sen. Orrin Hatch on the health care bill debate.

"This was a self-inflicted wound on the part of the administration, completely unnecessary, and that's what has stopped the negotiations."
Charles Krauthammer on Pres. Obama's call for an Israeli settlement freeze.



Merry Christmas!

Quotes to Guide Your Life:

"Fallacies do not cease to be fallacies because they become fashions."
GK Chesterton

"Only those who will risk going too far can possibly find out how far one can go."
TS Eliot

"It is a general popular error to suppose the loudest complainers for the publick to be the most anxious for its welfare."
Edmund Burke

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

Scandal to Resolution



by ALEX MACEY
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English and Philosophy
Raleigh, NC
macey@email.unc.edu

The proper way to view the recent mishaps in the Greek community is a mean between two extremes

It is easy for non-Greeks at Carolina to dismiss the Greek system as, at best, unproductive, and at worst, disruptive and detrimental to the campus reputation. The incidents of the past three months have only reinforced this notion for Greek skeptics and supporters alike.

The Daily Tar Heel has alleged repeatedly that the incidents have "strained" relationships between the University and the Greek community. This is a stretch of the truth, as there are no pervasive animosities between the Greek community and University students and administrators. The DTH has also, however, complained of Greeks staging large-scale "pity parties" and blaming the paper for besmirching their reputation.



For Greeks, this is clearly the wrong approach because they should not take the issues in their communities lightly. The proper approach, then, is to view the situation through unbiased lenses, examining first the history of the Greek system and how its original goals correlate with its current activities. That is, it is crucial to examine the Greek conscience throughout time.

In evaluating the various purposes and merits of Greek life, it is essential to know the context in which it evolved. Secret societies have been known to exist as long ago as the early eighteenth century and were first recorded at the College of William and Mary. Founded on such ideals as truth, honor and personal integrity, the groups remained below the radar until the 1830s, when they were nationalized. Early on, these organizations had three purposes: creating a sense of community among its members, striving for higher scholastic achievement and seeing professional advancement after graduation.

The first official Fraternity, called the Kappa Alpha Society, was founded in 1825 at New York Union College when a group of five men wanted to form a secret society for literary and social purposes after their military organization had been dissolved. From then on, Greek organizations served several purposes. They allowed men to exercise autonomy and independence in their scholastic life, which at times could be very intensive; many men were expected to invest all of their time into their studies, and attempts to form social networks were often perceived as an irresponsible deviation from the pursuit of academic achievement. The formation of secret societies, though, provided a ready-made social circle for men as a healthy diversion from their demanding scholastic tasks. Moreover, the groups established networking opportunities that helped brothers secure jobs in an unstable economic time.

What we recognize as modern "sororities" or "female fraternities" came about later, in the mid-nineteenth century. At first, they were small literary societies, modeled after the men's fraternities. The difference, however, was that they all had a specific driving purpose. For instance, Sigma Gamma Rho was formed by a group of teachers who wanted to promote ideals of greater service and achievement through a commitment to education. Similarly, Sigma Sigma Sigma began when women aspiring to be teachers bound together for strength and support in a time in which female education was still highly debated.

Those who have scrutinized the recent mishaps in the Greek community must consider two points. Initially, it is crucial to note that the problems are not phenom-

ena of Greek life, but of youth in general – and, in fact, fragile human nature itself. The DTH, particularly in its Sept. 26 article ("How we cover the Greek system") has described Greek life as something close to cultish, emphasizing its separation from the rest of University life. This, however, is untrue.



Greeks are held to the same standards as the rest of the University community, and complaints that that they are not as strictly monitored are simply false; this is clear by the measures the University has taken in the wake of the recent calamities. Yet it is even more important to emphasize that misuse of the system through substance abuse and practices such as hazing are not, by any stretch of the imagination, exclusively Greek offenses.

In fact, many groups, such as athletic teams, bands and military groups, are notoriously guilty of such offenses. "The Company He Keeps" by author John Syrett provides a history of white male fraternities in American Colleges. Syrett wrote the book in the 1980s because he was disturbed by reports of sexual scandal in fraternities. He questioned whether this was a phenomenon of fraternities, because he had not heard of such allegations elsewhere. In the book, he established that it is untrue that Greeks are guiltier of substance abuse than other university students – they simply, by their nature, attain more publicity when such mishaps do occur. People tend to be predisposed to believe that Greeks will be guilty of such offenses, so that changes their outlook. Moreover, any large-scale use of a substance in a large organization will undoubtedly draw more attention than a few independent individuals engaging in the same activities. Thus, to claim that the recent mishaps in the UNC Greek community are yet another instance of the system's deterioration and moral corruption is simply an over-reaction. If one is to blame the problem on the Greeks, he might as well also scan the entire campus.

Secondly, a look at Greek history is evidence that the communities have evolved in tremendously beneficial ways. Just as the purpose of a college education has evolved, so has the nature of Greek life. The ideals on which Greek communities were founded stand to this day – they still uphold ideals of community, support, accountability and scholastic achievement. Today, however, they also possess a philanthropic dimension, each one adopting a specific cause or organization to champion and support. The abuses of the Greek system bemoaned today did not arise until quite recently. For instance, the first signs of alcohol abuse arose in the 1960s and 1970s, when college students began using Greek communities as a social fallback instead of seeking out their true purpose and value. The practice of "hazing," or cruel initiation rites that can be harmful or humiliating to new members, became a common practice during World War II. Yet such abuses and practices are closely monitored; the Panhellenic and Interfraternity Councils came about to manage destructive behaviors and unhealthy competition among Greeks. Moreover, 44 states have declared hazing practices a crime.

It is difficult to avoid getting sucked into the sensationalism of recent events, particularly during a time in which some serious problems arise. There are, however, two incorrect approaches in evaluating the situation. For Greeks, it is not acceptable to wallow in self-pity and play victim, because the issues that have arisen in the past few months are indeed serious. For Greek skeptics, though, it is not right to dismiss this as just another sign of overall Greek corruption. After all, not only were these communities founded on legitimate ideals, but they have also managed conflicts that have arisen throughout time and continue to contribute in numerous positive ways to campus life. People are imperfect, and conflicts will arise in any large-scale group. What matters more than the conflict, though, is the resolution, and Carolina Greeks are already far down that road. **CR**



Wake County Voters Say Yes to Change



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New School Board set to finally end diversity policy

Wake County's recent school board elections have sent shock waves throughout the county and chills down the spines of diversity proponents everywhere.

In a sweeping victory, the four candidates endorsed by the Wake CARES and Wake Schools Community Alliance parents' groups won the elections for the four open seats on the school board. These candidates ran on a platform advocating a return to neighborhood schools and an end to the absurd busing policies pursued by the current school board. Now with a majority on the school board, this coalition has promised to bring sanity back to one of the nation's largest school systems.

The Wake County Public School System is currently comprised of 159 schools educating over 140,000 students each year. Current policies mandate socioeconomic diversity in the schools. Since 2000, the school system has operated such that no more than 40 percent of the student population in a school is on the Federal Free and Reduced (F&R) Lunch Program.

This has had several consequences. One of the more obvious is the emergence of an annually changing busing and reassignment program with students quite literally being bused from one end of the county to the other (a two- to three-hour drive). There is also no guarantee that one's child will be in the same school from one year to the next.

The costs of this policy are enormous. There is the outright monetary cost of having to pay for the extra fuel for the buses and extra drivers. There is also a direct cost extracted from the student. The four to six hours he spends on the bus every day to satisfy some guilt-ridden liberal's feel-good diversity policy is time that he could spend doing homework, studying, playing sports, engaging in a hobby or spending time with his family. Under this diversity policy, he has lost this time. Spending an average of 720 to 1080 hours on a bus every year is an enormous price that the policy forces him to pay.

This policy also prevents the parents from having any meaningful input into the direction of the school. Aside from the fact that parents do not live anywhere near the place where their child goes to school, the constant reassignment prevents them from establish any sort of meaningful connection with the school. There is no reason for them to put any effort into improving the school if they know they stand a good chance of being transferred the next year.

From 2004-2009, the school board reassigned 38,940 students. With such frequent short-term changes, the parents are unable to invest in their child's education.

Historically, many school systems have operated under a racial diversity program. Wake County does not officially operate under a racial diversity policy. However, according to the school board's 2008-2009 Annual Report, the proportion of Hispanic students on the F&R Program was 68.3 percent; for blacks, the proportion was 55.2 percent.



There does appear to be a relationship between race and this program, which may explain why the NAACP has threatened to sue the school board if they should adopt a neighborhood schools policy. If Wake County is operating under a de facto racial assignment policy, it may even conflict with the 2007 Supreme Court decision Parents v. Seattle which made it illegal to use a student's race to make reassignment decisions. Regardless of the legality (or lack thereof) of Wake County's policy, it does present some interesting parallels to a similar policy in Charlotte.

In 2001, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County School System ended its racial diversity policy. Afterwards, it saw test scores rise across the board. In the 1998-99 school year, 30.5 percent of black students and 70.9 percent of white students attained satisfactory grades on the End of Grade (EOG) tests. In the 2008-09 school year, 65 percent of black students passed, as did 89 percent of all white students. The abolishment of a feel-good diversity program in favor of neighborhood schools saw a significant increase in the number of students mastering their studies in school.

In the 2008-09 State Report Card, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System reported that 46.7 percent of its Economically Disadvantaged (ED) students passed the reading and math tests, while 64.7 percent of all ED students passed the End of Course tests.

Compare that to Wake County, where the ED students comprise 30 percent of the population, well below Charlotte's 50 percent. In the same report, Wake County reported that 43.9 percent of its ED students passed the reading and math tests (2.8 points below Charlotte), while only 58.5 percent pass the End of Course tests (6.2 points below Charlotte). The Charlotte-Mecklenburg system is consistently outperforming Wake County in all areas of academic achievement.

In the county's progress towards its goal of attaining 100 percent academic proficiency by 2014 as stipulated in the

No Child Left Behind Act, 49.5 percent of elementary schools, 82.1 percent of middle schools, and 70 percent of high schools in Wake County failed to meet their annual targets. In short, the Wake County School System is broken.

A study by the SAS Institute on the Wake school system found that "schools with more low-income students do a poor job of helping those students make academic progress." In addition, "As students move across grades, they tend to lose ground academically so that fewer students are projected to be proficient in the middle grades than in the earlier ones."

All of this indicates the need to return to neighborhood schools, as was done in Charlotte. A neighborhood school policy would return the school system back to what its singular goal should be: education.

In discussing the group's endorsement of anti-neighborhood schools candidates, Jennifer Lanae, president of the North Carolina Association of Educators Wake County Chapter said, "We want to endorse candidates that have the entire system in mind." Of course, that is the whole problem. The implementation of this diversity policy has shifted the focus of the schools from educating and enlightening students so that they can go be productive members of society to a focus on what is good for the system or good for diversity.

The Wake County schools have ceased to be places of learning. They are instead hubs of political indoctrination. The individual student has become lost in a swirl of racial and socioeconomic politicking.

In addition to returning the focus to the individual student, neighborhood schools will allow parents to take a greater role in the education of their children. They will no longer have to spend hours driving across the county to meet with teachers, volunteer, attend PTA meetings, or go to their children's baseball games.

They will actually have an opportunity to play a role in the development of their children, and if Charlotte is any example, see test scores and academic achievement rise as a result. The current policy has done great damage to the relationship between the school and the parents. A neighborhood schools policy will help restore that relationship.

Abandoning the diversity policy will also allow the school system to focus resources on where they are needed most. Each community within the county has its own individual needs. When the school board breaks up these communities, it also has to spread its resources more thinly across the entire county.

For example, there are certain areas of the county where English is not the predominant language. The diversity policy takes the students from these areas and sends them all over the county. In doing so, it most also spread its ESL (English as a Second Language) staff across all 159 schools. A neighborhood school policy would allow these students to attend the school where they live.

Instead of having to send ESL instructors all over the county, the school board would only have to send them to a small handful of schools. It would be able to focus its resources in these areas. The schools in that area could even create a special curriculum to cater to these needs. The result of this neighborhood school policy is a situation where the schools are actually responding to the needs of their students.

Finally, the neighborhood school policy will bring stability. It will end the uncertainty and chaos that now characterizes the school system. It will return the focus to learning and allow students and parents to focus on the education, rather than the school assignment. The students will be able to attend school in a familiar environment with people whom they know and see regularly. This will help foster a greater sense of community and also security, and will help relieve many of the social problems that currently plague the schools. This policy will make it in the interest of the parents and students to address the crime and violence currently present in the school system. They will have an incentive to ensure that discipline is maintained and that crime is not allowed to disrupt learning.

Of course, the largest objection to a neighborhood school policy is that it will somehow "re-segregate" the schools and harm the so-called minorities. This claim is patently absurd. First, the data mentioned above proves that these diversity policies do in fact restrict the academic opportunities of minorities. These policies do more harm than good on a strictly objective level.

The argument regarding the re-segregation of schools is simply a red herring. The only thing a school needs to concern itself with is the education of its students. The whole discussion about diversity in the schools is simply a distraction from what the schools should be focusing on. The racial or socioeconomic make-up of a school is not important. In a country with a black president and in an area that overwhelmingly voted for him, concerns about racism in school assignments have no grounding in reality. Quite simply, this is an illegitimate concern, and a neighborhood school policy will finally relegate such discussions to the history books.

--BY THE NUMBERS--

- **159:** the number of schools in the Wake County Public School System
- **140,000:** the number of students educated in Wake County per year
- **780 to 1,080:** average hours a student spends on a bus each year
- **38,940:** the number of students reassigned in Wake County from 2007 to 2009
- **49.5, 82.1, and 70:** the percentage of elementary, middle and high schools that fail to meet their annual target under the no child left behind program



The Wake County School System, as it stands today, is an embarrassment. Because those charged with running the system have become obsessed with ensuring diversity, the schools no longer educate the students that walk through their doors. Of course, Wake County is not the only system like this; there are others like throughout the county.

However, it represents many of the problems that diversity planning brings. The system is dysfunctional and chaotic. It is tearing families apart and robbing children of the opportunities that they deserve. Neighborhood school systems, once implemented, correct many of these problems. They realign the schools, such that their primary concern is the education of students. They are more effective and efficient than the schools operating under a diversity policy.

So-called "diverse schools" rob children of their future and their opportunities, dooming them to mediocrity for the rest of their lives. Wake County's new slate of school board members promises to reverse these damaging policies and give the children of Wake County the opportunities they deserve. **CR**

Silencing Speech

University speech codes are an unconstitutional suppression of hate speech



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The rights provided by the First Amendment are being violated at universities across the country. Most students are not even aware of the infringement of their rights that they face daily.

One example is the creation of "Free Speech Zones", which exist at a number of universities. By creating a Free Speech Zone, it becomes implied that outside of said zone speech is not free. According to the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE), Texas Tech University (a public university of nearly 28,000 undergraduates and a campus comparable to UNC's) has only one free speech zone – an obscure gazebo somewhere on campus. This gazebo is only about 20 feet in diameter, less than a fraction of one percent of the campus. These zones are not the only issue however. Unfortunately, some of the other common problems affect the student body at UNC.

Shockingly, here at the equality seeking University of North Carolina, student's free speech rights are hindered by speech codes. In fact, according to FIRE's report, 77 percent of public universities have speech codes that violate the First Amendment. Recently, Greg Lukianoff, president of FIRE, gave a speech on the state of free speech in the country's universities. This event was a part of the recent First Amendment day held at UNC.

Lukianoff is an eight year member of FIRE and a Stanford law school graduate. He and his fellow FIRE members advise plaintiffs involved in cases across the country who have been victims of First Amendment violations. The organization determines if a university is in violation of First Amendment rights and pressures the institution to change policies if it is. Early in his speech, Lukianoff broke down the First Amendment into two simple rules: the government cannot censor the people and the government cannot allow mobs of private citizens to silence or censor others. These freedoms are in greatest need of protection at places of learning.

> Carolina is classified as a "yellow light" school. FIRE explains, "Yellow light colleges and universities are those institutions with at least one ambiguous policy that too easily encourages administrative abuse and arbitrary application."

Referring to the American people, Lukianoff stated, "We sink or swim together." Free speech for one means free speech for all and censorship for one means censorship for all. Elaborating, Lukianoff explained the true beauty of free speech. As someone has the right to say something that some may find heinous or offensive, their opposition has the right to publicly defend their position or decry what they found offensive. Case in point: the pit preachers. While Gary and Co. may offend their listeners, the First Amendment allows those listeners to retaliate. Not only does debate allow one to analyze and rethink their own ideas but those who present ideas which society finds absurd or offensive can be defeated in a civil manner.

Another important benefit of the right of free speech was touched on during the speech. Through debate, individuals are forced to deeply examine their own ideas. This statement was originally conceived by John Stuart Mill and recited by Lukianoff in his speech. Lukianoff called the state of the two-party system in the U.S. an "armed camp mentality."

People get so set in their ideas and so opposed to others that they do not truly understand why they support what they do. Free speech allows those ideas to be contested and through defending oneself those ideas can be fully explored and understood. In fact, minds can often be changed by the process of debate; subsequently, compromise and improvement can be reached. When people dig their heels in on a particular issue it becomes more like a prejudice than an idea. This unfortunate circumstance is widely present at learning

institutions, where it does the most damage.

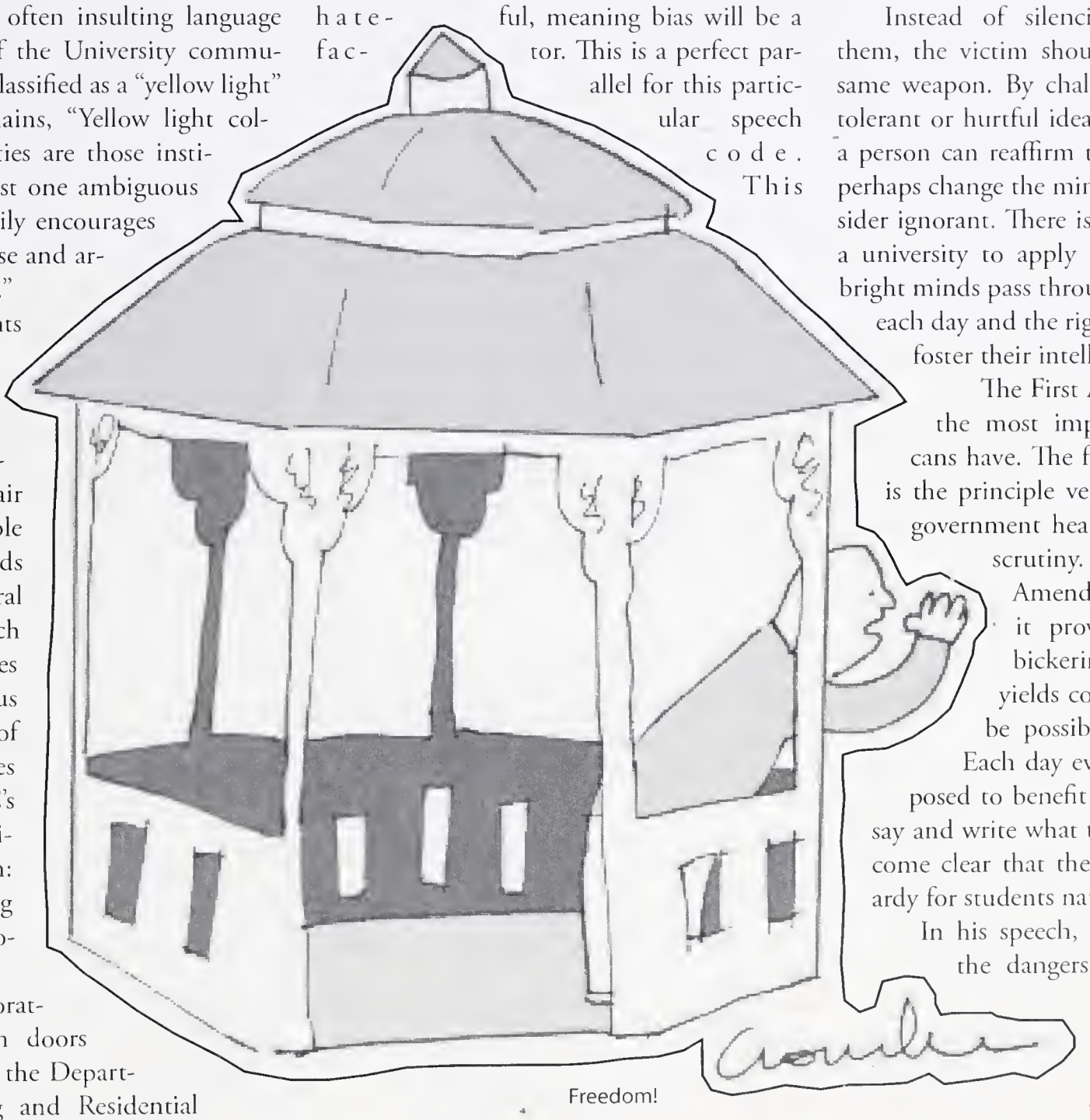
Lukianoff's speech prompted a quest to determine how UNC violates the First Amendment. FIRE's website provided the answer. The organization rates universities' speech codes on a three light scale (like a traffic signal). Red is a blatant disregard for the First Amendment, and green qualifies codes as perfectly acceptable. Red light universities include the aforementioned Texas Tech and Delaware State which has a particularly restrictive verbal abuse policy. "Verbal abuse: The use of harsh, often insulting language to any member of the University community." Carolina is classified as a "yellow light" school. FIRE explains, "Yellow light colleges and universities are those institutions with at least one ambiguous policy that too easily encourages administrative abuse and arbitrary application."

Most students are not aware their rights are in danger; UNC prides itself on being fair and equal to people of all backgrounds and beliefs. Several of UNC's speech and conduct codes contain ambiguous wording. One of the best examples is found in UNC's Housing and Residential Education: Community Living Standards – Decorations 09-10.

"When decorating exterior room doors or common areas, the Department of Housing and Residential Education requires that residents avoid posting materials with regard to race, gender, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, age or physical disability that may be considered offensive to fellow residents or guests."

The problem lies in the final line. The code is left open to interpretation by the individuals who govern the school. This is where the policy becomes open to abuse. It is not the right of an individual to decide what is best for all. What may be offensive to one may not be offensive to others. Although it starts small, censorship can rapidly spread. All it takes is one person to say they find so and so offensive and that image, word or idea will be banned. In an extreme scenario, someone could justify anything as being offensive and consequently anything and everything could be banned.

Lukianoff argued against use of the term "hate speech" because then it becomes up to someone to determine what is and is not hateful, meaning bias will be a factor. This is a perfect parallel for this particular speech code. This type of ambiguity is repeated in several other UNC codes.



Freedom!

Although they govern slightly different things, the codes in question (such as the harassment codes) leave open to interpretation whether or not something is offensive, which is inherently subject to bias. These ambiguous codes range from those governing an individual's verbal output around campus to the students who partake in student government (this information can be found at www.thefire.org).

Hate speech must continue to be protected by the First Amendment. Only through the public forum of debate can deep seeded misconceptions and prejudices be uprooted.

Although Carolina's speech codes are clearly made with the best intentions, what starts as innocent can become comething far worse. The main argument from those that support speech codes is that they intend to keep people from being offended. Again, bias is inherently present in this policy. While a group or individual is protected from something that might hurt their feelings, another party has lost its right to say what it wishes.

Instead of silencing those offending them, the victim should retaliate with the same weapon. By challenging whatever intolerant or hurtful ideas caused them harm, a person can reaffirm their own beliefs and perhaps change the minds of those they consider ignorant. There is no better place than a university to apply this method. Young, bright minds pass through the halls of UNC each day and the right to debate can only foster their intellectual growth.

The First Amendment provides the most important right Americans have. The freedom of expression is the principle vehicle for keeping the government healthy with continuous scrutiny. Without the First Amendment and the rights it provides, the interparty bickering that occasionally yields compromise would not be possible in the first place. Each day every American is supposed to benefit from the freedom to say and write what they please. It has become clear that these rights are in jeopardy for students nationwide.

In his speech, Lukianoff warned of the dangers of policing speech. Once you start down the path of banning offensive or hateful speech, it leaves the door open for abuse. Anything can be considered offensive. Anything can be considered hateful. UNC does not have far to go to reach green light status and thus fully protect the First Amendment rights of its students.

Rather than censoring students, the school should encourage student's rights to debate ideas they disagree with and by doing so challenge their own ideas. It is not the duty of the school to silence speech but rather the community to fight unwanted speech with speech. An informed, thoughtful argument is far more effective at changing a person's mind than a law. **CR**



CHAOS in Congress



Student Congress sets a historical precedent with SDS funding decision



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In one of the most highly anticipated congress meetings in school history, Student Congress passed legislation giving Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) $2,095 for three totally unqualified speakers. Never before and probably never again will any of the congressional representatives see an official protest within the congressional chamber; however, for those present, the spectacle produced by the protesters will not be what is remembered. Rather, what will be remembered is the perhaps lethal precedent established in this meeting: the precedent that any speaker, so long as he is "original," is worthy of an honorarium fee.

For those unfamiliar with the situation, here is a basic overview: SDS, the student organization whose members famously allegedly tossed a brick through a window to stop Representative Tom Tancredo from speaking on campus , asked for $6,095 to bring in three speakers who have spent two months each in Colombia. The proposal immediately enraged many members of the student body, particularly as all attempts to look up these three speakers came up empty. After hours of searching on the internet, all I could find on the three speakers was that Sarah Buchner had just graduated college, Jeremy Miller works in what appears to be a factory. Nothing about the third speaker, Angela Denio, could be found on the internet. As such, we could only speculate as to what possible experience these speakers could have that would make them worth $2,000 a day, a salary which if earned on a daily basis would constitute a $600,000 a year salary.

Such concerns led over ten students to visit the finance committee meeting where Student Congress was to make its initial inquiries. There, SDS presented little information about the speakers. Though SDS stated that these speakers had gone to Colombia and spoken to farmers, fishermen and other local inhabitants, nothing was divulged about these speakers' actual credentials. Nonetheless, the committee, after reducing the fee to $2,000 (a fee which the speakers still eagerly accepted) approved the bill and passed it on to congress.

At this point, many students decided to take a more active role and began petitioning congressional representatives to consider the full implications of passing this bill. Traditionally, the speakers to whom the University of North Carolina gives the honorarium fee are tremendously qualified. This year has been no exception. All the speakers this year have received the honorarium have either books published or over ten years work experience in their particular field. The reason for this precedent is simple: the University is consistently able to bring in great speakers with the honorarium fee, and considering the limited budget, bringing in an unqualified speaker would necessarily entail rejecting a more qualified one.

Even more outrageous is the fact that all three speakers were members of SDS. Why do members of SDS need an honorarium fee to speak at an SDS sponsored event? Already associated with the group, it seems clear that these speakers would come with or without an honorarium. However, this association could mean far more than wasteful spending. Giving money to another member of one's own small organization to speak is not, as one congressman said, as natural choosing to give money to a member of one's own political party, or someone of a similar political ideology. While it may be natural to choose to give money to those of similar political ideology, this situation is far beyond that. These people are far too closely linked to the members of SDS for the organization to be able to decide in an unbiased manner that these speakers are in fact the best available speakers. Furthermore, this seems like the first step on a very slippery slope. If we can now pay fellow members of an organization to come and speak, who is to say I cannot give my friend from Princeton an honorarium fee to speak here. He has spent far more time in South America, is also a college graduate and has had some tremendous experiences actually writing for a large South American newspaper. The fact is, by not drawing the line here and demanding that organizations look beyond the people they already know and find the best possible speakers, the Student Congress has set a precedent which can only lower the quality of speaker here.

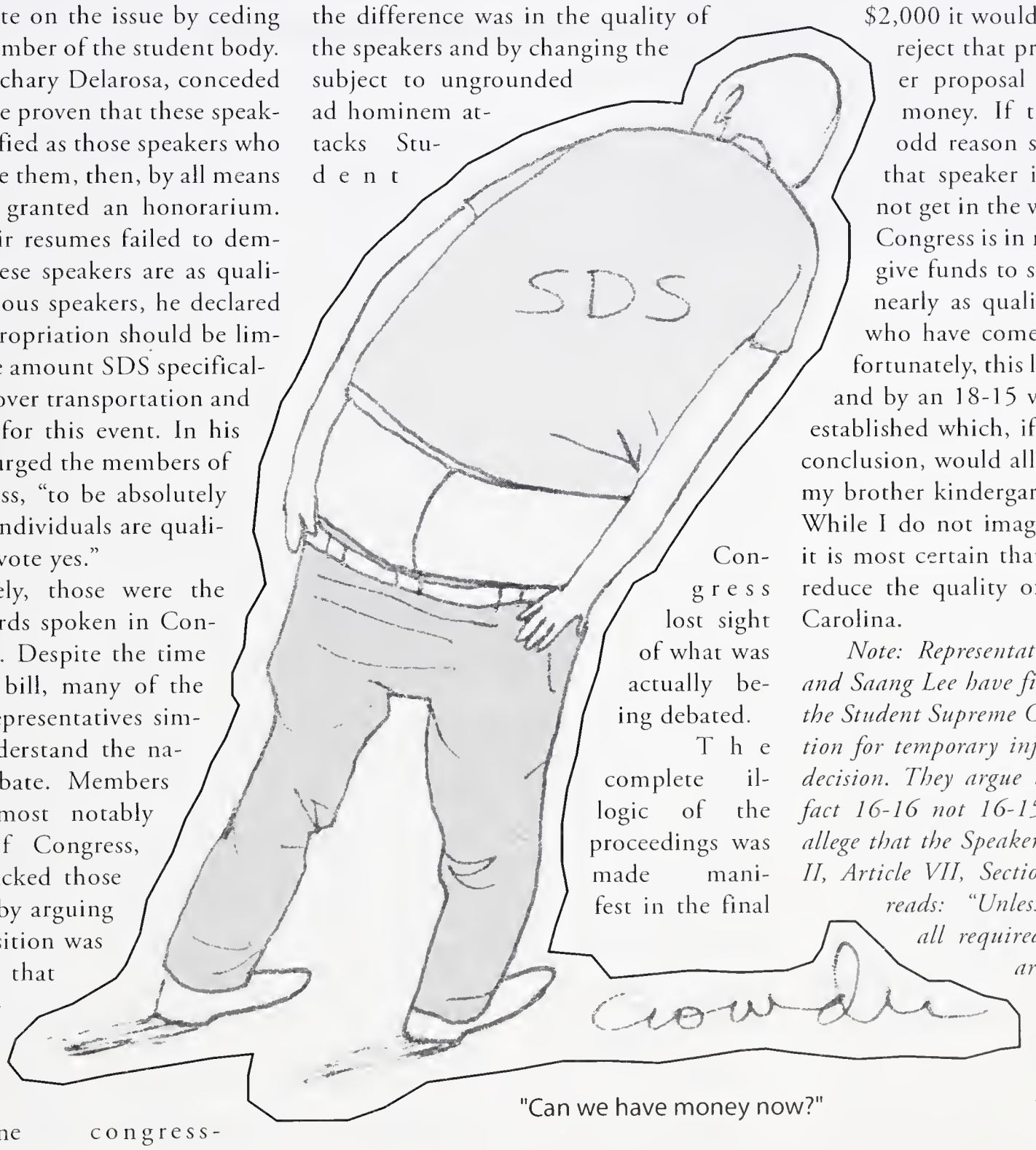
> As the congressional representatives pressed the members of SDS for answers, they divulged that they did not know these speakers' exact age, profession, how many times they had spoken, or the honorarium fees that other Universities had given. All they knew was that they had spoken at UNC-Charlotte and UNC-Ashville.

In all fairness to Congress, the representatives clearly took this matter seriously. The resolution to limit debate was voted down, and the congressional representatives took their time questioning the spokesmen for SDS, asking some very relevant questions. They asked for the speakers' precise experience in Columbia, for the number of times the speakers had already spoken on this subject, as well as for the honorarium fees the other Universities had given them. The first time they were asked, the representatives from the SDS simply did not answer these questions. Instead, they repeated how

brave these speakers' were for risking their lives and going to Colombia. However, as the congressional representatives pressed the members of SDS for answers, they divulged that they did not know these speakers exact age, profession, how many times they had spoken, or the honorarium fees that other Universities had given. All they knew was that they had spoken at UNC Charlotte and UNC Ashville.

Following the initially inquiry, Congress also continued to demonstrate a deep level of interest in the matter, and allowed for further debate on the issue by ceding the floor to a member of the student body. The student, Zachary Delarosa, conceded that if it could be proven that these speakers were as qualified as those speakers who have come before them, then, by all means they should be granted an honorarium. However, if their resumes failed to demonstrate that these speakers are as qualified as the previous speakers, he declared the school's appropriation should be limited to $95 – the amount SDS specifically asked for to cover transportation and adverting costs for this event. In his final words, he urged the members of Student Congress, "to be absolutely sure that these individuals are qualified before you vote yes."

Unfortunately, those were the last sensible words spoken in Congress that night. Despite the time devoted to the bill, many of the congressional representatives simply did not understand the nature of the debate. Members of Congress, most notably the Speaker of Congress, continually attacked those against the bill by arguing that their opposition was due to the fact that they were conservative and simply did not like SDS. For example, one congressman stated that the only reason those who had supported funding the Carolina Students for Life were protesting funding SDS was that they hated SDS. This is simply not true and was certainly not based in anything said by either Mr. Delarosa or any other congressional representative. Their accusations were simply ad hominem attacks which are truly ridiculous as Mr. Delarosa and many of those protesting with him are registered Democrats. The reason no one protested against the Carolina Students for Life was not that people liked them better. In fact after last year's demonstration, if there is on group on campus that people dislike more than SDS it is probably Carolina Students for Life. Rather, the reason people did not protest their speakers was that one was the former head of the ACLU and the other a professional speaker with years of experience and several books published. The difference was not in the organizations; the difference was in the quality of the speakers and by changing the subject to ungrounded ad hominem attacks Student Congress lost sight of what was actually being debated.



"Can we have money now?"

The complete illogic of the proceedings was made manifest in the final speech before the vote. In this congressman's speech, he argued that as SDS was an official organization which had properly applied for funds and moreover was offering a "unique" service offered by no other organization, Congress would look foolish if they did not give them the funds. This speech based on the congressional guidelines for funding student organizations was given with much authority, and I believe it turned many votes in Congress. However, when you think about it does not make any sense. Those may be the general guidelines for allowing speakers to come to the school; however, they are certainly not the guidelines for appropriating funds to speakers. Just because a group has followed all the guidelines and has a "unique" speaker does not give that group the right to unlimited funding or any funding at all. If a group decided that they wanted my kindergarten brother to come speak and they wished to pay him $2,000 it would be Congress' job to reject that proposal and any other proposal which offered him money. If the group for some odd reason still wished to bring that speaker in, Congress should not get in the way. That being said, Congress is in no way compelled to give funds to speakers who are not nearly as qualified as the speakers who have come before them. Unfortunately, this logic was disregarded and by an 18-15 vote a precedent was established which, if taken to its natural conclusion, would allow Congress to give my brother kindergarten brother $2,000. While I do not imagine that happening, it is most certain that this precedent will reduce the quality of speakers at North Carolina.

Note: Representatives Zachary Dexter and Saang Lee have filed a complaint with the Student Supreme Court as well as a motion for temporary injunction on Congress' decision. They argue that the vote was in fact 16-16 not 16-15. Furthermore, they allege that the Speaker misinterpreted Title II, Article VII, Section 191. Section 191 reads: "Unless specifically noted, all required votes in this Title are votes of the Congress members present and not of the entire membership." As such, the congressional vote of 16-15 (even if that were the actual vote) should not have allowed the bill to pass as there were 33 members present. The Supreme Court issued a summons to speaker Joe Levin-Mannin, but later dismissed the case. SBP Jasmin Jones vetoed the original bill, with Student Congress sustaining the veto, yet passed a bill appropriating $1,032 for an honorarium of $300 for each speaker and travel and publicity expenses. **CR**

Celebrating Kwanzaa

A discussion of extreme nationalism, communism, and torture with soldering irons.



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Forty-three years ago this December, Ron Karenga of Los Angeles, California, founded Kwanzaa. Today, a 2008 survey by the National Retail Federation reveals, around 2 percent of Americans celebrate the holiday.

Many of us think of Kwanzaa as a celebration of traditional African-American culture or as a fusion of traditions designed to supplement existing cultural practices, religious beliefs and economic hopes. Its proponents claim that it is a non-religious 'cultural holiday'; the official one-line description is "a celebration of family, community, and culture."

Since the holiday's inception, its founder has published annual reports reinforcing the supposedly benign nature of the holiday. Those reports and other publications by the holiday's founder reveal that Kwanzaa is actually an arbitrary social construct created by a convicted torturer in an attempt to convince African-Americans to break with their own cultural traditions, religious beliefs and economic hopes.

The saga began when Black Nationalist Ron Karenga founded the "Us Organization" – the United Slaves - in 1965. Writing in the Journal of Black Studies in 1997, Scot Ngozi-Brown, then a Cornell graduate student, explains that Karenga opposed what he thought was the integrationist attitude of the Black Panthers. Karenga embraces a Pan-African ideology that seeks to unify what Brown calls the "African Diaspora" – that is, all people of African heritage - into a single global community.

Strange and violent things mar the history of United Slaves. In 1969, two members of United Slaves shot and killed two Black Panthers. The victims, John Jerome Huggins and Alprentice Carter, had opposed the Black Panthers' preference for the chairmanship of the Afro-American Studies Center at UCLA.

In 1970, Karenga tortured two female members of United Slaves. In court, the victims testified that Karenga and two accomplices first ordered the women to strip naked. Then the men beat both victims with a baton, placed a hot soldering iron in the mouth of one of the victims, and whipped both of them with an electrical cord. Karenga was convicted, went to prison in 1971, and was released in 1975.

In 1966, Karenga founded Kwanzaa.

The holiday asks African-Americans to break with capitalism and espouse the very economic doctrines that have most extensively failed them. This article will show that Karenga seeks to commit what many of the Left might call 'cultural imperialism' by imposing his own cynical, secular worldview on people he feels should be a part of his collective.

An investigation into Kwanzaa's origins – and even a cursory look at its official website - reveals a strange and somewhat perverse set of principles and instructions. On the "celebration procedures" page, Karenga lays out specific instructions for his followers.

Karenga directs celebrators to spend December 26th through January 1st celebrating "our Kwanzaa," but warns revelers that they "should not mix the Kwanzaa holiday or its symbols, values and practice with any other culture. This would violate the principles of Kujichagulia (Self-Determination) and thus violate the integrity of the holiday." Karenga wants followers to dedicate those five days to the procedures and principles he thought up in 1966.

He first instructs revelers to take what Karenga describes as a "Unity cup" and "pour libation to the ancestors in remembrance and honor of those who paved the path down which we walk and who taught us the good." This quasi-pagan ritual contradicts Karenga's claim that Kwanzaa is a "cultural holiday, not a religious one."

Next, Karenga instructs revelers to use a *Kinara*, or candle holder, to display the *Mishumma Saba*, or seven candles. Each represents a tenant of Karenga's Marxist philosophy.

For each of the seven tenants, Karenga has found a Swahili word and created a description of his philosophy as it relates to that tenant. Each principle instructs those of African heritage on how to live. The principles culminate in a nationalistic and communistic call for those of African descent to adopt Karenga's philosophy as the guiding principles of their lives.

The first tenant, unity (*umoja*), encourages revelers to find their identity in their inherent characteristics; Karenga instructs his followers to "maintain unity in the family, community, nation and race." Karenga constructs each of the six subsequent principles around a race-centric community, with himself at the ideological head.

Self-determination (*Kujichagulia*) asks revelers to "define ourselves, name ourselves, create for ourselves, and speak for ourselves." Karenga (who switched his first name from Ron to Maulana in the 1960's) has the audacity to claim that non-Africanized name violate the principles of blackness. With this principle, Karenga asks African-Americans to subjugate naming conventions to an idealized culture in what he calls the "Motherland," instead of

passing down African-American names from generation to generation.

"*Ujima*," or collective work and responsibility, asks people of African descent to "build and maintain our community together and make our brother's and sister's problems our problems and to solve them together." This principle essentially asks people of African descent to surround themselves with others of African descent – something that more progressive black voices have derided as self-segregation.

Ujamma (cooperative economics) asks people of African descent to forego the profit motive and maintain a collective equality. Karenga instructs those celebrating Kwanzaa to "build and maintain our own stores, shops and other businesses and to profit from them together." This is probably the least sensible of all of Karenga's social demands; he is asking a diverse group of people, often connected only by race and geographical origin, to shut themselves out from the goods and services of the 'outside world' (that is, the non-black world).

But in America, the goods and services of that 'outside world' *include* the goods and services of African-Americans. All groups of people greatly benefit from participation in the modern market economy, where the greatest variety of goods and services ever produced are available for reasonable prices. These goods and services improve our lives, make us healthier, and make life less strenuous. There is no reason that any group of people should shut themselves off from the market and establish a collective where race is the qualification to join.

With *nia*, or purpose, Karenga seeks to "make our collective vocation the building and developing of our community in order to restore our people to their traditional greatness." But Karenga's community is much more diverse than he is willing to admit. On a continent of 53 countries and over 2,000 languages, millions of communities each have their own definitions of greatness.

Karenga's holiday represents a campaign against genuine African diversity; Kwanzaa seeks to unite all African communities into one community – "our" community - characterized by his arbitrary and meritless social constructs and not by the more-meaningful traditions of each of those communities.

Kuumba, or creativity, again slams the diversity of African cultural traditions by promoting a single "community" for people of African heritage. Karenga asks Kwanzaa revelers "[to] do always as much as we can, in the way we can, in order to leave our community more beautiful and beneficial than we inherited it." But all people should work to leave the whole world, not merely the standing of some racial subgroup of humans, more beautiful.

The last of Karenga's seven social constructs, *Imani*, which is Swahili for faith, offers a substitute for faith in a deity and appeals instead to a humanistic sense of faith in the collective. Karenga directs Kwanzaa celebrators "[to] believe with all our heart in our people, our parents, our teachers, our leaders and the righteousness and victory of our struggle."

Karenga makes his ignorance of the diversity of African cultural traditions readily apparent in his seven principles. He adds insult to injury by simultaneously asking African-Americans to adopt his constructs as their 'true heritage' and choosing to describe his ignorance of their own unique heritages in a language few African-Americans have any meaningful connections to: Swahili. The ancestors of most African-Americans today came from West Africa, but Swahili is a distinctly East African language. Karenga probably chose it out of his desire for a common African language, not out of respect for the actual heritage of African-Americans.

The holiday's Seven Principles instruct people of African heritage to reject all non-African influences, even beneficial ones, isolate themselves in communitarian economic co-ops, and maintain a constant struggle with no end in sight.

Karenga's economic prescription has even less merit than his cultural prescription. For the 24.3 percent of black Americans whom the Census Bureau reports live in poverty (as of 2006), Karenga's instruction amounts to a directive for those Americans to stay in the ghettos and inner cities and shut themselves off to outside economic activity.

Karenga claims sovereignty over all matters Kwanzaa. He calls himself "the authoritative keeper of the tradition." Karenga clearly aims to use that authority to steamroll traditional African-American values and traditions with his own made-up values and traditions. In his welcome to website guests, Karenga delivers this self-serving argument in favor of his prerogative to regulate the holiday:



"Given the profound significance Kwanzaa has for African Americans and indeed, the world African community, it is imperative that an authoritative source and site be made available to give an accurate and expansive account of its origins, concepts, values, symbols and practice."

Clearly, though, Karenga deserves no place instructing either African-Americans or all people of African descent. His status as a convicted torturer and a Marxist ideologue may taint the holiday's reputation, but Kwanzaa's core values (extreme nationalism and communism) will cause lasting damage to people of African heritage if actually adopted.

Kwanzaa recognizes that past oppression of African-Americans has resulted in lasting harm, but it offers no hope for an end to those effects. Instead, the holiday's Seven Principles instruct people of African heritage to reject all non-African influences, even beneficial ones, isolate themselves in communitarian economic co-ops, and maintain a constant struggle with no end in sight. The only real struggle with regard to Kwanzaa is the struggle against the destructive totalitarian ideology hidden behind a thin veil of seemingly innocuous revelry. **CR**

Tuition and Better Alternatives

UNC needs to replicate the model created by the University of Michigan in increasing private funding



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As our economy continues to stagnate in the recessionary doldrums, no one should have been surprised when the university announced plans to increase tuition. The debate that ensued has many questions that need to be separated to fully understand the big picture.

First, there is the question of how large the increase should be. The two proposals before the Board of Trustees were to increase tuition by 5.2 percent for all undergraduate students and 3.7% for all graduate students or to increase tuition 6.5 percent across-the-board. Secondly, there is the question of out-of-state students facing a far larger increase (in absolute terms). Finally, how should the university distribute the funds raised from the increase?

The size of the increase is one of the simpler questions. Basically, it was a matter of balancing between keeping college costs down for families that are already hit by the economic downturn and the constraints placed upon the university by that downturn. To maintain academic excellence and retain top-notch faculty, UNC needs funds to do so. Chancellor Holden Thorp weighed the two choices and opted for the 5.2 percent increase to keep the increase in line with a North Carolina General Assembly cap on in-state tuition increases and keep the financial impact on students at a minimum.

> [O]bviously, no sentient being would argue that one should increase the cost of a good to thereby be able to give money to people to buy this good.

While this may keep the university funded in the immediate future, both Thorp and Bruce Carney, interim executive vice chancellor and provost, recognized that this increase may not meet future obligations, mostly in the area of needs-based scholarships where the number of students who now qualify for financial aid increased by 23 percent this academic year.

But that raises the question, as the number of students qualifying for financial aid keeps rising, is a tuition increase really the proper solution? The October Report by the Raynor Administration determined that about 35 percent of all tuition increases go to pay for financial aid, but at some point, one reaches a logical fallacy: "Let's raise tuition to increase the amount of financial aid we can disburse."

Thorp seemed to echo this sentiment in tuition committee meeting, but does this claim really hold water? What it comes down to is a redistribution of wealth because, obviously, no sentient being would argue that one should increase the cost of a good to thereby be able to give money to people to buy this

good. Just keep the cost lower in the first place. Cut our tuition by 35 percent and the number of students who could afford it would go up. Allow private charity and market forces to contribute the remainder to deserving students who may need additional financial support to attend university.

A worse danger to keeping costs of attending university low is the current level of state subsidies. These subsidies hide the true cost of attending college– creating a system comparable to the current third-party-payer health care system– which then leads to over-consumption for the current level of supply. But this also means that otherwise disinterested or unqualified can more easily access higher education, which leads to some students who are more willing to sacrifice (either time or capital) not being selected for open slots while students who are less willing to sacrifice are given these slots.

But what can provide a better model for funding a public university? In recent decades, the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor may be the best example of a university being funded through an alternative way. In 1965, Michigan's financial position stood very much the same as UNC's current financial position: the state provided about 70 percent of their general revenues (in NC, that figure stands at about 63.7 percent according to the 2008 UNC Comprehensive Annual Financial Report).

Yet starting in 1992, Michigan was able to raise $1.4 billion in a five-year campaign, eventually doubling its budget to $4 billion even as state funding dropped five percentage points to ten percent of general revenue. Michigan continued to achieve academically, today being on par with some of the nation's greatest private universities, yet at one-third of the overall cost. Other universities followed suit, like the University of Virginia where state funding now stands at only 6.9 percent of their operating budget.

Carolina First, the endowment campaign spearheaded by Chancellor James Moeser was a step in the right direction, but with the current economic environment, such plans will undoubtedly be held in stasis until the funds begin to flow again, increasing from the current trickle.



But Thorp and other administrators have indicated that they wish to stick to the current model of public funding of the university. Even if they were to countenance such a move, the endowment would have to increase almost five-fold to maintain UNC's current stature and fill the void left by a significant decrease in state funds.

According to NC Senator Richard Stevens (R-Wake) in an interview with the *Daily Tar Heel*, UNC's endowment would have to be close to $11.4 billion whereas it currently is around $2.36 billion.

In acknowledgment of these facts, we need to recognize that tuition has to go up and take the bitter pill with grace. We should not sacrifice the long-term viability of UNC as a premier institution for higher education in favor of a short-term decrease in the pain by not increasing tuition.

In the meantime, however, the university must do what it can to cut costs. Included in this must be a full implementation of the proposals made by Bain & Co, the consulting firm enlisted by the university to find areas to streamline and cut costs. One of their main findings was that the administration was bloated as there was, on average, one supervisor for three employees in the departments in the university. Growth in administrative costs had, thus, far outpaced other university costs.

As the economy forces the university to deal with the economic reality of scarcity, perhaps some of these unnecessary layers can be shed and the costs associated with administration decreased. Yet the university must remain vigilant in more halcyon days or else students will perennially deal with costs never fully realized in the classroom.

Michigan continued to achieve academically, today being on par with some of the nation's greatest private universities, yet at one-third of the overall cost.

In the short-term, the university needs to cut costs by reducing administrative costs and, most likely, increase tuition to retain faculty. Yet in the long term, the university needs to question its commitment to the William Davie model of public funding and decide whether to change to the model so successfully pursued by the University of Michigan and University of Virginia. The decrease in costs and reduced taxpayer burden make this the far more attractive model that UNC needs to replicate. **CR**

The CR Christmas List

As children across the world begin writing their wish lists for Christmas, Carolina Review decided to write our own list of requests for Santa Claus, since we didn't make the cut for any "stimulus" funds. Our list comes in anticipation of President Obama's own wish list, which includes more of his fellow citizens' money, a conservative-media czar, and more "sustainability measures" (which makes us wonder whether Santa will even be able to make a visit. Those reindeer do release a lot of greenhouse gases....)

It was after examining his list and all that he is doing for his constituents that we learned his true identity: the Grinch. With Obama taking all of our money and giving it away for us, it became clear: he is replacing Santa Claus. There just wasn't enough regulation of Santa's budget.

We at the Review are refusing to let this happen, so we submit our list to Mr. Claus. We still believe in generosity of the spirit, and we don't need a government program to do it. Here are our requests:

1. For people to respect the free speech rights of the Pit Preacher (since people like him make CR seem so sensible in comparison).

2. For liberals to respect human life as much as animal life (but I guess Santa can't help us much there...).

3. For Barack Obama to receive a birth certificate for Christmas

4. For more flattering neck-scarves for Nancy Pelosi

5. A bowl win for UNC would be nice...

6. A sack of coal for each congressman who voted for cap-and-trade or the health care "reform."

7. Maybe more flattering pantsuits for Hillary?

8. White House Spokesman Robert Gibbs really needs some new suggestions for long and patronizing analogies.

9. Botox gift certificates for Joe Biden and Nancy Pelosi would probably be greatly appreciated.

10. Child locks for Biden. The Naval Observatory has some real potential for danger...

11. Obama should bring back the 'fro.

12. That I had a minute for the environment.

13. For the government to show the rest of us where to find these money trees they've apparently discovered.

14. Michael Moore should get a real job. As soon as possible.

15. Teleprompters for everyone! (So we too can dispense with thinking on our own, just like Obama!)

Tuition

In-state versus out-of-state tuition increases

Point



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On November 19th, UNC's Board of Trustees approved a 5.2 percent tuition hike for all undergraduates, siding with Chancellor Thorp, Student Body President Jasmin Jones and Student Body Vice President David Bevevino. It now awaits the approval of UNC-system President Erskine Bowles, the Board of Governors and the North Carolina state legislature

From the perspective of out-of-state students, this is a better proposal than alternative suggestions that would have increased tuition for out-of-state students at a greater rate than that of their in-state peers.

However, though it is equitable in that it raises tuition by an equal percentage for all students, this proposal will disproportionately burden out-of-state students in absolute numbers. Out-of-state tuition stands to increase by $1,127, while in-state tuition will only increase by $200.

This unequal increase runs against the underlying logic for lower tuition rates for in-state students. In-state students deserve to pay less than non-residents because they've already contributed to the University through their taxes. Out-of-state students make up for not paying in-state taxes by paying a higher tuition rate.

Following this logic, tuition increases should be the same in absolute numbers for all undergraduates. After all, the disparity between in-state and out-of-state tax revenue devoted to the University has not suddenly grown. In fact, given the recession, most in-state families are probably paying less to the state in taxes than they did last year, so they should actually be made to bear a greater increase. **CR**

Counterpoint



by Anthony Dent
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The North Carolina Constitution includes a section on education which begins by saying "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools, libraries, and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Education has always been a primary aim of the citizens of North Carolina, including higher education, which the Constitution directs be, "as far as practicable,... extended to the people of the State free of expense." The framers of the NC Constitution understood the positive externalities that education provides and thus deemed it an appropriate goal of the state government to provide to the fullest extent possible.

With that in mind, we have to understand that the first and foremost duty of our university system is to serve the people of North Carolina. That's why it was created. So, necessarily, in-state students will receive far more preferential treatment than out-of-state students. The question isn't about who pays more in taxes, or whether income tax receipts in this economy have declined; taxes are tangential to the issue at hand.

The University of North Carolina and the other schools in the system were established to educate North Carolinians. The fact that out-of-state students are here is nice, but unrelated to the core mission of the university system. So it is only proper that out-of-state students should pay more in tuition and that tuition increases are greater for them (in absolute terms) than in-state students. **CR**

The Women of the Conservative Movement

Phyllis Schlafly, the underrated yet "indefatigable" warrior



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Phyllis Schlafly is perhaps one of the least well-known of the great conservative women in American history, but few have had even close to the impact on American politics that she has had during her nearly sixty year career.

Considered to be either a great female role model or the most dangerous woman in America, Schlafly is beloved by her supporters and despised by her enemies. Reagan called her "darned effective," while Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*, once said at a debate in 1973 that she would like to see Schlafly burned at the stake. Despite this polarization, all must admit that she is, as the *New York Times Magazine* called her: "one of the most relentless and accomplished platform debaters of any gender to be found on any side of any issue."

Born in 1924, Schlafly was extremely well educated for a woman of those times. She earned her B.A. from Washington University in St. Louis in 1944 at the age of 19 and went on to receive a Master's in Government from Harvard the next year. She worked her way through college as a model and ammunition tester at the St. Louis Ordnance Plant. Schlafly later earned a J.D. from Washington University Law School in 1978.

After an unsuccessful Congress campaign, Schlafly burst onto the national stage in 1964 with the publication of her first book, *A Choice Not an Echo.* Written in support of Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign, the book was an inside story of the backroom dealings of moderate Republicans that prevented true conservatives from becoming presidential nominees.

Now a leader of the national conservative moment, Schlafly continued to stay involved on a national level with the Republican Party, serving as a successful campaign manager, playing an active role in the Republican National Conventions, and holding leadership positions in the Illinois and National Federation of Republican Women. At the same time, she kept writing and publishing books and even found time to raise six children.

A vehemently anti-feminism and pro-family activist, she began her greatest battle when the Equal Rights Amendment was approved by Congress and sent to the states for ratification in 1972. The ERA stated that: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." This meant that accusations of gender discrimination would be given the same level of scrutiny as charges of racial discrimination by the courts.

> ERA advocates were unable to show any way that ERA would benefit women or end any discrimination against them.
> -Phyllis Schlafly and the Eagle Forum

To become part of the constitution, the ERA had to be ratified by the required 38 states within 7 years. This seemed a likely reality when 30 states passed the amendment within a year of its approval by Congress. By this time however, Schlafly and the pro-family movement began to gain momentum in their fight against the amendment.

Schlafly founded the group "Stop ERA," which was later renamed the Eagle Forum in 1975. Arguing that the amendment

would take away many of the benefits and family rights enjoyed by women in America, Schlafly and her supporters claimed that the ERA would lead to, among many things, unisex bathrooms, women being drafted by the military, and weaker punishments for sexual crimes committed against women.



Ronald Reagan thanking Schlafly for her service to the conservative movement

Schlafly and the Eagle Forum argued that "the ERA advocates were unable to show any way that ERA would benefit women or end any discrimination against them…[and] that women already enjoy every constitutional right that men enjoy and have enjoyed equal employment opportunity since 1964"

Schlafly's efforts as the most visible and vocal opponent of the ERA became apparent as the ratification process quickly slowed after 1973. Only five more states passed the amendment while five more voted to rescind their ratification. As the 1979 deadline approached, supporters of the ERA scrambled desperately to save the amendment and were forced to turn to President Jimmy Carter for an extension of the ratification deadline after a similar resolution failed to pass in Congress. Despite the three extra years granted, no more states ratified the ERA. Schlafly, the Eagle Forum, and the rest of the opponents were able to claim victory after a ten-year battle when the ERA officially failed on June 30 1982.

"She won in part because she is one of the country's best speakers and debaters and its best pamphleteer since Tom Paine," wrote economist George Gilder about Schlafly's fight against the ERA. "She won because of her indefatigable energy and will power, mobilizing women in state after state."

After the defeat of the ERA, Schlafly transformed the Eagle Forum into a pro-family, multi-issue conservative organization with a mission to: "enable conservative and pro-family men and women to participate in the process of self-government and public policy making so that America will continue to be a land of individual liberty, respect for family integrity, public and private virtue, and private enterprise."

Some of the main issues that the Eagle Forum has focused on have been the pro-life movement, same-sex marriage, English as the official language of the United States, and opposition against the formation of a North American Union and currency. Schlafly also created the Eagle Forum Education and Legal Defense Fund in 1981 as a sister, non-profit organization.

After the success of her first book, *A Choice Not an Echo,* Schlafly has continued to write and has published over twenty books on topics such as family, feminism, nuclear strategy, education, child care, foreign policy, and even reading skills. Her most recent book, *The Supremacists: The Tyranny of Judges and How to Stop It,* was published in 2007.

> "She won because of her indefatigable energy and will power, mobilizing women in state after state."
> -Economist George Gilder

The activist started a monthly political newsletter, *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*, in 1967 which she continues to publish today and can be found on the Eagle Forum's website (www.eagleforum.org). Schlafly's weekly syndicated columns can be found on over 100 newspaper and websites and her daily radio commentary is heard on 500 stations.

Despite being in her mid-80s now, Schlafly is still as active as ever, running the Eagle Forum, speaking on college campuses, and appearing before Congressional and State Legislative committees.

Schlafly has also continued the fight against the ERA. Since it's failure in 1982, the amendment has been reintroduced to almost every Congress, championed by politicians such as Senator Ted Kennedy and Representative Carolyn B. Maloney. The most recent attempts have been in March 2007 and July 2009. One noticeable difference between these versions and the 1972 ERA is the lack of a deadline for ratification.

"It's very retro. It had 10 years of debate, very passionate debate for 10 years, and it was defeated," Schlafly has said about these new attempts to get the ERA passed. "Anytime you get a fair forum where both sides are heard, we win."

Schlafly's opponents have been very vocal in their criticism of the conservative activist and have attempted to bury her achievements. Few, if any, history books mention Schlafly and the effect she has had on the political landscape of America. This is a woman who has been influencing politics for almost 60 years, who helped forge the modern Republican Party and almost single-handedly created the pro-family movement. And what all of this shows is that Schlafly is a woman who refuses to be ignored and now it is time for history to acknowledge that as well. **CR**

Phyllis Schlafly after one of her lectures



So That the "Moral Lights" Burn Brighter Still



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The liberal arts education is vital for the preservation of our repulic

We continue our interview with Professor Goldberg on the importance of the liberal arts:

CR: Looking at the average student going through UNC, would you argue they are not receiving what used to be considered a liberal education?

LG: I don't think the university helps you a great deal just because they require you to satisfy various requirements. There's no order to things–as I've said before, heaven forbid someone should suggest that reading Plato or Shakespeare is more important than anything else. Nonetheless, students do retain an instinctive sense of rank, of difference in importance. I've always found it encouraging that Shakespeare has maintained his authority amongst virtually everybody.

But, that's the exception. For example, is there any authoritative indication that everybody should study the Founding and what leads up to the American Founding–I mean, is that required? No. Are you even urged to do this? How many people graduating from college–many of us are Americans, and many more who are not Americans are going to live in America–have read *The Federalist Papers* or studied the Constitution? These subjects are offered for those who seek them out. But, then, one might ask from what perspective are they offered–are they taught with respect, much less veneration, as though they are founts of understanding of our origins? Or is there a sophisticated contemporary position that many professors (by no means all; there are many individual exceptions) have taken vis-à-vis the founding, which is then what they project in the classroom? In the end, it's up to the students, who sometimes manage to patch together a liberal education on their own, shoring up fragments against their ruins.

CR: But do you view some people attaining a liberal arts education as necessary–I don't want to be extreme–for the continuation of our country and for future generations?

LG: It is not an extreme thing to say that in a republic, such as ours, education in at least the basics of republicanism is essential for people to be intelligent and effective citizens. It is interesting that there has been a spate of popular books written on our founding, read, I don't know how widely, but bought certainly; not just on George Washington and even Franklin and Madison, quite properly, but on Hamilton. This is wonderful! I mean, Hamilton? Of course, John Adams, as well. But is this happening in the universities? It seems to me that this happened, for the most part, outside the universities.

> "We're Americans! 'Show me the bottom line!' This is characteristic. It's quite endearing and very fruitful. But it can also be stultifying."
> - Larry Goldberg

It's very encouraging that the American people haven't completely abandoned concern for our political tradition, but it wouldn't hurt the American people as a whole to have more students who have pondered the founders, their principles, and what they did and furthermore to have these youngsters carefully search into and ponder the origins of those principles and those deeds.

You know, at Tiananmen Square, they had the Statue of Liberty. The story goes that there was a question as to whether–in good ethnic or nationalist perspective–Lady Liberty should be Chinese. And these young people said no, it wasn't necessary. She is a symbol of something which is not embedded in any particular ethnic group's culture. But that notion of an *eidos* of freedom is pretty much moribund in the academy–it was fresh at our founding. It's worth considering what the academy has to say about this, but then again one should at least consider that there may be something universal about liberty or at least some particular conceptions of liberty.

In any case, as the Tiananmen drama suggests, this view is by no means blotted out. And it can be quite incendiary. However, in a republic such as ours, to the extent that you don't investigate this hypothesis with some loving care and with an open mind, you contribute to the blowing out of "the moral lights"–when Lincoln talked about Douglas's view of slavery (Douglas didn't care whether people voted it up or voted it down, as long as people had their way), he spoke about blowing out "the moral lights." He acknowledged that public sentiment is all important in a republic–with it "nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed." So *not* to argue for, as Lincoln ar-

gued for, a proper understanding of our position on slavery is to blow out "the moral lights around us." But not to study Lincoln is to blow out "the moral lights" that are our inheritance! And do we study Lincoln? That should be expected of every American citizen.

CR: So, given that the liberal arts education is so important to a republic, do you think the university should take a more paternalistic view and gently nudge students in that direction?

LG: Well, this is a real problem in our day and age, and it's been a problem actually forever. There were student revolts on curricular requirements, evidently, back in the colonial days. In part, the "letting-students-do-whatever-they-want" attitude taken by university administrators is a reasonable response to demands from a very free-spirited student body. It is a serious question as to how much, in our free-wheeling, wide-open world, you can corral students in a way that would be successful for the students. Required courses, every teacher will tell you, are always much more painful to teach than courses in which people are there voluntarily. When Samuel Johnson's high school teacher took to whipping his pupils for inadequately mastering their Latin, he would cry out, "I do this to save you from the gallows." That was a former England. Not much after that time at the University of North Carolina, disgruntled students took to stoning an unpopular professor's home. Neither of these examples, however appealing at first blush, seems to me ultimately acceptable.

Instead, I would rather (this is merely a pipe dream) the university be truly diverse instead of uniform, having various colleges, though differing from the Oxford system in this respect: the colleges would offer diverse programs, one of which would be a true liberal arts program. Let the students choose whether they want it or not. The universities aren't about to do that for a lot of reasons, but the University of North Carolina could do that if it set its mind to it. For, whom would it hurt? Well, if the students didn't show up, then you fold the program. But, in truth, very, very few really want this, and there are reasons that I won't go into that people would be dead set against ceding even a portion of the university to such an enterprise.

CR: But UNC is hailed as *the* liberal arts school in North Carolina.

LG: Yes, as I said before, the liberal arts have been reinterpreted, redefined to bring them up to date in response to the demands of the modern world. Liberal arts education today is understood as requiring a smattering of courses in a variety of disciplines, including the humanistic professions; the latter are set off against the sciences, hard and soft. Now, by way of contrast, NC State was designated as the "sciences" university. So what educators mean by liberal arts is a cross-section of courses with a good deal of stress on the humanities with a wee bit of science and a fair amount of social science; but, in my view, as I said before, the humanities have become a profession. That's not new; it's been going on for over a century, well over one hundred years, back to the end of the 19th century. It's not a new idea. So you can use the term "liberal arts" while "gutting it" of its primary significance–I mean, is it stressed that people should read Plato, the originator of the liberal arts? Is it stressed that people should read Shakespeare, who is a perfect subject for pursuit of the trivium?



Professor Larry Goldberg

A lot of people choose to read them, but they're not especially encouraged to do so. At the University of North Carolina, I think as recently as the seventies, every entering student had to take a course in Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton. That's a holdover from the old liberal arts days. That was dropped in favor of an amorphous, contentless composition course that everyone loathes. Now, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton, by many people's measure, are the three greatest English poets. Everybody should have read them early on; it would provide you with a common ground of discourse for the next three and one-half years and indeed for the rest of your life. They're authors who help you to orient yourself since they thought deeply and wrote beautifully. And Shakespeare, in my view, sums up the entire tradition, at least until his time, and prophetically beyond it. If you read him carefully, everything is there–you get Plato (obliquely), Aristotle, Virgil, the Bible–you get the whole tradition rendered in stunning poetry. Same with Milton and Chaucer. If you're saturated in these poets, you've come a long way; you've made a strong beginning towards a liberal arts education. It's a salient fact that today, *nobody* would suggest re-instituting that class now. There would be a cry of furor over this. In the meantime, does any student years later look back on his composition course with fond memories, something to reflect upon as the years roll by?

> "[D]oes any student years later look back on his composition course with fond memories, something to reflect upon as the years roll by?"
> - Larry Goldberg

CR: But at the end of the day, what is the practical utility of these studies?

LG: I would first say that the aim of liberal arts education is not practical in the first instance. It's supposed to free you from your presuppositions in order to interrogate the fundamentals. To take just one example, what is, properly speaking, ecology? Where does it come from? Why are we interested in it?

Continued on page 28

FOR VENDETTA

Story highlights truth about what is wrong with our political culture



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On November 5th, 2009 the Carolina Review hosted a viewing of V for Vendetta to demonstrate our remembrance of lost liberty and to spark dialogue about the implications of the movie on both the Bush and Obama Administrations.

For many it was a difficult concept to grasp, and understandably so. The movie is admittedly not the libertarian manifesto that it could be, and it is decidedly not the sort of film one would expect a bunch of conservatives to excitedly claim for their side. Corrupt mixing of state and religion and oppression of homosexuals are presented as obvious themes, both of which are attributed to the modern Republican Party.

Moreover, the story was intended by its authors to criticize Margaret Thatcher, conservative Prime Minister of Great Britain in the 1980s, and it was adapted into a film in 2005 as popular criticism of the Bush Administration in the United States. Let it be understood that in no manner was this character or story meant to espouse libertarianism. The proposal of this article is that the themes and philosophy of V for Vendetta can be used to articulate the libertarian ideal and, in fact, it is its logical conclusion.

The story tells of the rise to power of High Chancellor Adam Sutler of the United Kingdom. Sutler holds this dictatorial position in a future time after the former governments of both the U.K. and the U.S. have dissolved.

His administration is portrayed as a typically fascist regime. He manipulates the press to adjust and in some cases completely fabricate what is presented as the truth in the media. He punishes political dissidents and those such as homosexuals and Muslims who do not conform to the standards of the majority. He was elected as a popular restorer of order and security and is shown speaking at mass political rallies demonstrating the extent to which his persona dominated the culture of his time. The government also entered the business of censoring, banning, or rationing certain food products, music, and books, and it imposes a curfew over its citizens.

The portrayal shows that the administration not only brutally oppresses its citizens, but it has become a domineering presence in their personal lives, leaving little for individuals to do themselves. That V is characterized as an intelligent, philosophical, and cultured individual with a passion for the arts is an intentional contrast aimed at highlighting what is lost in a society governed by this sort of state.

On November 5, after having bombed the Old Bailey at midnight, V breaks into the government facilitated television network to broadcast a message to the entire nation. He blames his fellow citizens for what he says is "terribly wrong" with his country, essentially that they depended on their government more than they trusted freedom.

V's character represents everything that society gave up when it surrendered itself to the state, and he represents the manner of independence that is impossible when one is dependent on a coercive force such as government. It is this point that is relevant to our current political state.

"V's character represents everything that society gave up when it surrendered itself to the state, and he represents the manner of independence that is impossible when one is dependent on a coercive force such as government."

There is a critical difference between President Obama and High Chancellor Sutler that is necessary to establish. Sutler, as the movie eventually reveals, actively created fear of chaos and the need for dependency on the government, and he did so in morally reprehensible fashion. The movie tells that Sutler used several disguised accidental disasters to murder thousands of his citizens, creating a chaos that he used to convince his citizens of their need for a centralized and unified power.

Obama has done nothing remotely of the sort and is not of sufficient moral depravity to even consider it. But his aim is identical,



to capitalize on disaster and fear in order to create dependency masked as service of his constituents. The President's routine stump speech followed unwaveringly a structure of extensively detailing the currently disastrous state of affairs followed by cursory remarks regarding the country's need of him to fix them.

His speeches call to a mind a particularly poignant moment of the movie, when Sutler is commanding his staff to end growing unrest. He yells to them that they make known to the citizenry "just how much they need us." To attribute this to Obama would be unfair to the rest of modern American politics – this is the message communicated by much of our political philosophy today, and politicians have been more than happy to oblige.

To speak of dependency one could reference the modern welfare state, but a minority of the population is dependent on entitlement programs. A much larger percentage of the population has become dependent on government in more indirect ways, as the government has assumed, and we have allowed it to assume, its role of corporate moral conscious.

Americans are increasingly less comfortable allowing private society to work for good in our country, and they are increasingly more trusting of government. This is best illustrated in that what is right is now equated by our political culture to what government ought to do positively, and vice versa, what is wrong government ought to negate.

Both sides of the political spectrum demonstrate this affront to liberty: conservatives in their insistence that behaviors such as sodomy, prostitution, and drug use be illegal and liberals in their zealous quest to save humans from their own bad health habits such as trans fats and smoking. This mode of thinking abdicates the responsibility and privilege of humans to exercise their own will, and it creates a dependence on the government that removes the need that humans act responsibly of their own accord.

In all of these one sees the common principle of a government "working for you" which Obama popularly proclaimed in his campaign.

This mantra of government serving its citizens' needs is thought of positively in the minds of most Americans, in many to the extent that it seems strange to suggest that it is perhaps what is wrong with our political culture. But this is precisely what V for Vendetta portrays, and it fits exactly into our transformed political values.

It is easy to identify the motifs of the fictional future which we currently do not share: there is no government controlled press, no curfew, no internment camps and no kidnapping of dissidents and minorities. But the problem described is much larger philosophically, and it is the end of which these motifs are the means: to place government in the role of controlling and guiding society. This is accomplished through the subversion of individual liberty and submission to a collective unified identity.

The Democratic agenda seeks the same goal, and they accomplish it by the same general means; disaster is used to create dependence, which is used to justify ceding individual responsibility to a government acting collectively.

"The Democratic agenda seeks the same goal, and they accomplish it by the same general means; disaster is used to create dependence, which is used to justify ceding individual responsibility to a government acting collectively."

When the government is the controller, and its end is security, the means by which the government seeks this end can be limitless if the people begin to cede their rights, a process which has begun in this country. It is for this reason that Americans ought to be skeptical rather than trusting of the president who claims to be the ultimate interventionist problem-solver. This principle is heard when V speaks of government fearing its people, not people fearing their government.

V for Vendetta need not be taken as a literal warning for things to come, but Americans ought to consider the characterization of this fictional future, and the ways in which both sides of the political spectrum are contributing to progress in that direction. They should find that our current politics are creating the same effect on the individual as the Sutler regime did, just in a less obvious and over, but no less damaging, manner.



Great Speeches in Western History

John Milton's Areopagitica: The classic defense of free expression

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It is hard to think of a better speech in the annals of rhetoric that encompasses what the west is then John Milton's Areopagitica: For the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing. John Milton is probably know to most as the writer who gave us the last epic poem of the modern age, Paradise Lost. However, before he wrote his chronicle about the "war in heaven" he was known largely as a political polemicist.

Printed at the height of the English Civil war in 1644, Areopagitica was a judgment on what Milton believed had become of the revolution he supported and primarily an argument against the suppression of free speech. In this speech the age old paradigm of what the role of the individual is in the state comes out with all the force Milton can muster, synthesizing Classical and Christian civilization into one demand for all the west.

The English Civil War can best be put in layman's terms as a revolution of middle class Puritans, who aimed to uphold the authority of Parliament over that of King Charles I. Once the revolutionaries had gained a level of control (although the conflict would last for about 9 years) they began to implement reforms to snuff out the remnants of oppressive monarchy.

Some of the most drastic reforms being the abolition of the Star Chamber, a clandestine court the monarchy used to prosecute political dissidents and religious undesirables. The Star Chamber also happened to control the publishing industry, specifically what could be published and what could not be.

This much reviled system was put to an end during the war, however the revolutionaries (called Presbyters) had eventually hardened their own ideas into political orthodoxy rivaling that of the monarch. an irony not lost on Milton who wrote that "new Presbyters are but old Priests writ large."

The Presbyters began to fear that they had created a monster in their own revolution. The printing industry under the new regime took off. The number of pamphlets published in 1642 was 2,000, up from the meager 22 in 1640. This new freedom gave rise to new religious sects of all philosophies from the now defunct Ranters to the Familitsts, to many that are still with us today including the Quakers and Baptists; all served to erode official church authority.

The free press had created what some



politicians considered to be an anarchic situation. In a stunning role reversal, the Presbyterian controlled Parliament issued the "Licensing Act of 1644," to halt what they considered the metastasisation of these sects. The mechanism for the enforcement of this act was the called "licensing," a process by which anything that was to be published had to be approved by the state.

Milton's name came up numerous times as one of the persons, how would you say, too revolutionary for the revolution. His tract written in support of divorce had ruffled many feathers and alienated him among his contemporaries. In a sermon given to Parliament by Herbert Plumer in the spring of 1644, Milton was identified as someone highly dangerous to the state. Milton, never afraid to ruffle more feathers, decided then to illegally published Areopagitica.

It remains one of the most rousing manifestos on the free press ever written and has been referred to as one of the founding tracts in Libertarian thought. Milton presents his argument in a dialectic between external force and internal conscious.

He invokes the authority of the Classical world with the title. The Aeropagus was the supreme court of Greece, where the orator Isocrates famously attacked the judges for their lack of wisdom. Milton's drawing from every authority in the west is one of the highlights of the tract itself.

He argues that everyone can assume inner authority, having a "licenser" in themselves. In one of the most famous quotes Milton posits "A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believes things only because his pastor says so, or the assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy." This statement is fairly radical in that it carries the implication that truth itself is not good enough, youmust know why something is the truth for yourself.

Indeed, Areopagitica is one of the first instances in which it is argued at length that the individuals right to read and write, to discern for themselves, outweighs the states right to limit what is written; that no text can ever be as dangerous as a bureaucracies desire to stop its production.

He makes this point in typical Miltonian rhetorical style, using the story of the Egyptian goddess Isis and her journey to find and reassemble her husband

Osiris, who has recently been torn into pieces. Although usually perceived as a mournful tale, Milton uses it as a metaphorical celebration of the working of the human mind, intimating that Isis received more happiness in the process of piecing Osiris back together than in actually having him. This is meant to parallel the human pleasure of reasoning through something for oneself, a religion, philosophy, theory or idea.

So when the state denies individuals the right to sort through life's questions for themselves, as the "licensing" process did, that state is not in line with what Milton believed was Gods intention that humans exorcise free will. To the devout Milton, the conflict of ideas was paramount to salvation: " what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without knowledge of evil?...I cannot praise a cloistered virtue, unexorcised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary but slinks out of the race...that which purifies us is trial, and trial is what is contrary."

For Milton, light cannot exist without heat. The "licensing" process extinguishes the opportunity for conflict in people's souls, thereby halting their progress toward purity. To many of those reading this, Milton's argument, although radical 300 years ago, probably sounds reasonable.

"In our complacency, citizens of the west have let the spirit of Aeropagitica slip"

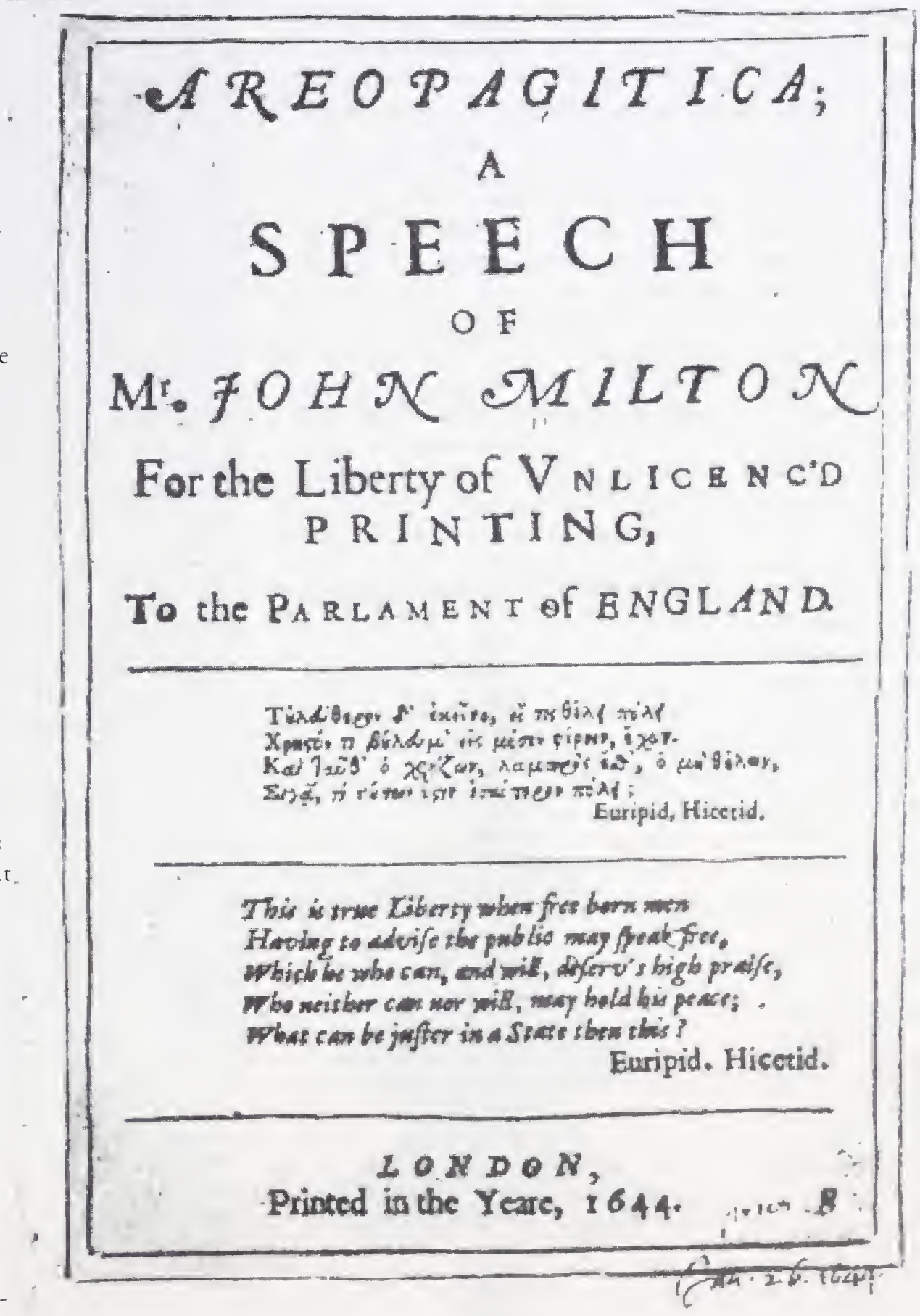
To many who live in democratic Republics the idea of freedom of speech is understood. In fact one might ask: aside from pleasure reading, is Areopagitica still really relevant? Have we not moved on? Are we now not secure in our ability to speak freely? It would seem though in our complacency, citizens of the west have let the spirit of Areopagitica slip.

In 2006, it may be remembered that the west was collectively held hostage by theocratic bullies when some Danish political cartoonists decided to depict images of the prophet Muhammad in their newspaper. In Muslim countries, embassies were set on fire, buildings of European bearing were stormed. Religious leaders like Mahmoud al-Zahar called for the deaths of those involved. An economic attack in the form of an international boycott was leveled against the small Republic of Denmark.

However, when the Vatican issued an official statement concerning the incident the Holy See opted not to defend the right to speak freely, or condemn the outrageous violence (it is estimated that the rioting took over 100 lives) or destruction of property; in its cross hairs were the cartoonists themselves, calling their action "an unacceptable provocation."

In the US, Canada, and the UK none of those nations major publications choose to reprint the cartoons, out of the fear of violence. The incident still haunts the west. Yale University Press announced that the cartoons would not be reprinted in a book, supposedly and academic study of concerning the incident, called "The Cartoons That Shook the World" by Jytte Klausen, yet again out of fear of retaliation.

How do we answer when we ask ourselves: what would have UNC done if posed with the same problem as Yale? What do we make of the given nature of Areopagitica now? This of course is simply one example, but if the west retreats from its founding principles in this situation, and capitulates to intimidation, what is to stop the creep of the "licensing" process in broader aspects of our society? The answer is nothing.



AREOPAGITICA;

A

SPEECH

OF

Mr. JOHN MILTON

For the Liberty of VNLICENC'D PRINTING,

To the PARLAMENT of ENGLAND.

Τὰ δ' ἐκεῖσε, εἴ τι θεῖαι πύλαι
Χρηστὸν πρόβλημ' εἰς μέσον φέρει, ἔχομεν·
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ χρήζων, λαμπρὸς ἐν, ὁ μὴ φθόνος,
Σιγᾷ, τί τούτων ἐστὶ τοῖσδε πρόσφορον;
Euripid. Hicetid.

This is true Liberty when free born men
Having to advise the public may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserv's high praise,
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State then this?
Euripid. Hicetid.

LONDON,
Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

Continued from Page 23

What is the deepest context in which you would discuss a sound ecology and how to realize it? What alteration in the human condition, as discussed by Hans Jonas, for instance, does this concern reflect? Can you really pursue ecology without understanding economics? Who would make that connection? Do ecologists make that connection? Not if you're dedicated narrowly to ecology–in that case, you're more or less indifferent to economics. But in order to understand economics properly, you must understand politics properly–it was "political economy" originally. But then you have to discuss the difference between the Greek *oikonomia* which meant household management and the modern understanding of economics which grew out of Locke and Smith. And Marx? He was steeped in the ancients and in Smith, took these formidable predecessors into consideration. All this must be contemplated before you make a decision about what you will spend your life doing. Does it behoove the dignity of man to have some understanding of what you are about? Or do you just pick up some fashion or whatever is hot at a particular time? Ecology is boiling now. Who knows if it will be so forever. Though you might think it will be–it may not be. But if it has truly become a permanent concern, why so?

Maybe if you're born into a situation without a choice, there's not much point in fundamental inquiry. If you are compelled to farm, then you're destined to a farming life, which is not a bad destiny, depending on the circumstances. Most people, historically, have lived their lives as farmers. They didn't have the leisure to inquire, although farmers are a thoughtful people and have taken an interest in relevant matters as they have arisen. As Adam Smith said, you could converse with a farmer much better than with a factory worker in his day. A desire for larger scope percolated beneath the surface. But we, for the most part, are not destined to a specific life. Under our circumstances, we are free to consider what it means to fulfill our humanity. That's basic, though I wouldn't call it utilitarian. Horace termed good poetry sweet and useful, but by "useful" I believe he meant morally instructive and bracing. That is not what we usually mean by the word.

CR: So we're just overemphasizing the practical aspects–

LG: We're Americans! "Show me the bottom line!" This is characteristic. It's quite endearing and very fruitful. But it can also be stultifying. All through our history, we have focused on "making it," though from our beginning we were also intent upon founding institutions of higher learning. But we're so rich now that we can afford to sponsor those who wish it in letting utility go for four years, or at least two years, and in allowing for exploration. Some people, to a high degree fashion this path for themselves in college–even as things are now. Unfortunately, many, however well motivated, are frittering their time away on random topics that seem attractive to their momentary curiosity. They'll dip into some foreign culture, some quirky theme or some area of technology; we have this potpourri of courses, and what students are trying to do is explore. There's a sort of random grazing, like a herd left to itself to forage. The young can hardly be faulted for not knowing where to go in their seeking. They suffer from an inchoate *eros*. If you're not seeking when you're eighteen, you're probably never going to seek–but a lot of people are. That's why it would be a fine thing if the university had a program in the trivium and the quadrivium for students to enter if they so wished, so that, after some of them had given it a go, they could talk to other students–that's the way young people learn, they talk to one another. So, it's not that I'm averse to utility; I just wish we could set it aside for the time being, given our leisure-bestowing wealth. **CR**



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Carolina Review
North Carolina's Collegiate Journal

Bierstadt and Western Civilization



by CHASE McDONOUGH
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A defense of contemplation, the basis of our society.

If asked to define the word majestic I would probably define it as Albert Bierstadt's *Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains California.* The twelve by seven foot masterpiece is simply one of the most striking paintings ever created. Everything in the painting, from the glimmering water to the climbing Sierra Nevada Mountains clothed in ethereal light, work towards creating the most majestic of images. Anyone graced enough to visit the painting located at the National Museum of American Art in Washington D.C. cannot help but be taken captive by the magnificent sight. Staring up from the tiny deer in the foreground, the eye is taken up to the streaks of light shining across the clear reflective water. From there, the waterfall slowly draws the eye upward. Though not gigantic, this thin stream of water rushing down from the front most mountain manages to raise the viewer's eyes without destroying the familiar theme of light and water. By doing so, the waterfall seems to bare the very radiance of the water to the mountain top while simultaneously introducing the new scene on the left mountain range where storm clouds are gathering. The viewer then realizes this tumultuous scene is only the beginning; the mountains continue rising. In fact, stretching so high, much of the mountains are hidden within bright billowing clouds, and, though the sun is never shown, the mountains become so illuminated that the viewer knows the sun is just beyond the mountain peak. This journey complete, the viewer can finally step and witness the whole picture come together. The scene I can only describe as that of majesty incarnate has left more than one viewer speechless.

Bierstadt was a member of the Hudson River School (1825-1870). Contrary to what the name might suggest The Hudson River School was not directly associated with the geographical area surrounding the Hudson River. In fact, artist of the movement came from all over America, as the name *Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains California* might suggest. The name Hudson River School simply refers to the picturesque Hudson River, where the first artists of the movement were inspired to paint the scenic beauty of America. The first artistic movement originating in American, it is interesting to note that much of the Hudson River schools philosophy came from the European Romantic Movement. The Romantic Movement was in favor of both epic landscape scenes, as well as quainter scenes and as a result of this influence the Hudson River School saw American artists painting a variety of landscapes. In some cases, these artists' search for beauty attracted them to quaint forest scenes. Durand, one of the most famous of the Hudson River school, specialized almost entirely in these scenes. Others, such as Cole and Bierstadt, responded to the Romantic Movement by searching for the grandest scenes America had to offer and traveled all the way to the West Coast in their quest.

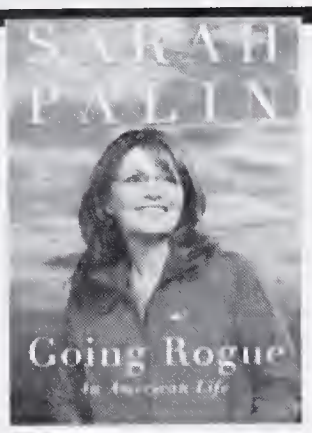
If *Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains, California,* were the only work to have come out of the Hudson River School I would argue the movement was a success. With its streaming light, towering mountains, glassy waters, and lush vegetation, it is a work of exceptional beauty which I would argue few could see and remain unmoved. Yet, one question still remains: why does it matter? Why should we at the University of North Carolina care that some piece of art in Washington DC is beautiful? The answer I believe is this. Art is essential for both our society and us as individuals to understand who we are. Man is made to contemplate the beauty that surrounds us. Without devoting time to understand and appreciate this beauty, our existence devolves into one similar the animals. Without contemplation, the time we spend between work serves not as a vehicle to fulfill and enhance our humanity but rather as an escape from our humanity. Activities such as watching television, getting drunk, or pursuing any other pleasure may pretend to be ends in and of themselves, however, the truth is the only meaning these base and mindless activities can have is in preparing us to work. By nature, these activities cannot satisfy that which makes us truly human as they are but the activities of the animals. As such, the only purpose our rest serves is to prepare us for work, which remains a decidedly higher end than mindless pleasure. But here, the true horror of the situation becomes apparent. The only purpose to our rest is that we may work, yet, we view work as only a means to rest. The resulting cycle sees life degrade into a meaningless succession of work and rest in which man is but an animal tossed between unfulfilling activities. All this is the consequence of a life devoid of art and contemplation.

Within this understanding of mankind, art then takes on an incredible significance. It means that our political, social and economical structure, mean nothing without the understanding that they exist to create a culture which allows for and promotes contemplation. It is this contemplative culture that many scholars such as Joseph Pieper argue to be the basis of western civilization. If view history we will find this holds true. If one looks closely at a system such as Communism, which we have always seen as a direct affront to our western civilization, one will realize that it is based in direct opposition to the principles of a contemplative society. In the communistic world view, work rather than contemplation is man's greatest purpose. As we all know, the result of this misconception of man's purpose was devastating. So, to answer the initial the question more concisely, we study and admire Bierstadt because we are not communists. We understand what it is to be human. We understand the meaning of our existence, and as such we know we must seek to preserve and strengthen that understanding which is the very foundation our society. **CR**

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GLOSSARY

Areopagitica (TWEEN-key) conjunction: 1) Political tract written by John Milton and published November 23, 1644 on the subject of government censorship. Most scholars believe the word is allusion to a speech given by the great Athenian orator, Isocrates, although recently discovered evidence suggests that the word is Scandinavian in origin and was intended to mean "The Prime Minister has a funny looking nose." 2) Popular name-brand retail store for fashion-savvy libertarians.

Christian Right [kris-chuh n rahyt] noun: Political ideology defined by interpreting the American Constitution and legal system via an extreme reading of the Bible. Fundamental beliefs include, but are not limited to, the importance of traditional, family values, a distrust of government, and a belief that Ronald Reagan was a prophet. Curiously, they appear to believe the Sermon on the Mount to be inapplicable with respect to political discourse.

Christian Socialism [kris-chuh n soh-shuh-liz-uh m] noun: Religious ideology defined by interpreting the Bible via an extreme reading of the New York Times. The movement is characterized by strong belief that, among other things, poverty, global warming, racism, obesity, and acne should be remedied through government intervention. Curiously, they appear to believe the Sermon on the Mount to be inapplicable with respect to political discourse.

Expert [ek-spurt] noun: 1) an individual who possesses above average skill or knowledge in particular discipline. 2) legal - honorary title attributed to individuals by political action committees, trial lawyers and the SDS in an effort to fool court juries, congressmen, and the UNC allocation committee.

Kwanzaa [kwahn-zuh] noun: Politically contrived, non-religious holiday invented by radical, black revolutionaries in the 1960's in an effort to support black solidarity, support the creation of an independent black nation in the western Hemisphere (you know, other than Haiti), and increase the number of presents participants receive each December.

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

The Rub

My fellow North Carolinians, you are now free.	***On Parole***
From what are you free, you ask? You – and the Tar Heel state in which you reside – are now free from the reign of terror of Tony Rand, the former N.C. Senate majority leader from Fayetteville.	***Putting away the guillotine***
Rand resigned in early November, ostensibly to head the state parole board.	***Ironic? I think not***
The parole board seems like it's a bit of a step down from Senate majority leader, however, and the public has only been able to speculate as to the true reason for his resignation.	***My guess: embarrassment over an incriminating Carolina Review article published last spring***
Regardless, we at the Carolina Review won't complain. In fact, we're commemorating his resignation this issue with a list of all the things we can do now that Tony Rand no longer runs this state.	***Starting with replacing his monarchy with a democracy***
At the top on that list is finishing the I-485 loop in Charlotte. Rand has been diverting funds that should have gone to that project into I-295 in Fayetteville instead, which even in future years will carry only a tenth of the traffic that 485 currently carries.	***Fayetteville is just not as big as Charlotte. Sorry.***
State legislators should also now be able to pass a bill that would give a student representative a vote on the UNC-system Board of Governors.	***One vote of 33, anyway***
Rand used his position as the chairman of the Rules Committee to keep that bill from ever making it to the Senate floor.	***Oppressing students since 1995***
It is expected that had the bill been able to make it through committee, it would have passed with a large majority.	***A truly representative democracy we have***
I don't know where Tony Rand is bound for next, and I don't really care. Maybe he's planning a run for the U.S. Senate.	***He'd do less damage there as he loses all his political influence***
I'm just looking forward to driving my new stretch of 485.	***FREEEEEEDOM!!!!!***
Ay, there's the rub.	*On parole*

PARADIGMS AND PRINCIPLES

Inveighing We Will Go...

While there's been marked improvement in the Daily Tar Heel's coverage of campus issues (with the exception of their poor cover stories: tattoos, Christian transgenders, and nude posing for art class come to mind), their editorial page still disappoints. In their choices of columns and letters to the editor, they have abdicated their responsibility to be a source for accurate and serious dialogue on campus in favor of frivolity and inaccurate information.

It is almost unnecessary to recount the numerous columns that were published by the DTH on inane and trivial topics: access to condoms in one particular store (just don't shop there!); baby-changing stations (in which Miss Caldwell refuted her own thesis); and the belief that women should dress nicer for men (Wow. Sexist maybe?). Or just the factually incorrect assertions made in the column on the Middle East and Israel.

But the worst decision by the DTH is to neglect their letter to the editor section. They do not edit letters for facts or even potential libel. Yash Shah's letter comes to mind, in which he accused two of our staff members (who also serve on the Finance Committee in Student Congress) of using subterfuge to pass funding for Carolina Review (it is "salient" that they serve on Finance Committee). Nor did they bother to note the fact that all members of Carolina Review abstained from voting or even debating the funding proposal in both committee and full Congress.

Fortunately, the DTH printed a letter refuting Mr. Shah on those points, but they chose not to print a letter written by Co-Editor Bryan Weynand defending the funding of Carolina Review itself, which Mr. Shah questioned and suggested Congress cut. Instead, they chose to print replies to the column claiming women need to dress better.

On the flipside, the DTH decided it was worth refusing to publish Dr. Elliott Cramer's letter responding to inaccuracies about the YWC made in one of their columns because he "appear[ed] to have [his] facts wrong." In fact, it was Editor Harrison Jobe who was in the wrong, but whereas Mr Shah's letter was printed unscrutinized, the same luxury was not afforded Professor Cramer.

More recently, the DTH printed a letter by a student miffed at the scrutiny a funding request by SDS received. In it, Julia Etter claimed this was orchestrated by Carolina Review (which it was not) and that the primary organizer was on staff (as a registered Democrat, the protester Zack de la Rosa was insulted by this claim). The DTH needs to clean up its act and become worthy of its reputation as the "newspaper of record" at UNC.**CR**

Thanks for the Publicity, Black Ink...

When not singing an anthem to their race or promoting a promiscuous "hook-up" culture, the Black Student Movement members spend their days complaining about the Carolina Review. This is specifically tied to the fact that we spend our days complaining about them.

The newest issue of the Black Student Movement's magazine, Black Ink (the only self proclaimed "revolutionary" media source on campus), featured at least six pages of direct consequence to white persons. Five of the six involved a tit-for-tat with the Carolina Review. It all began when Bryan Weynand, Caucasian editor of the Carolina Review, wrote a critique last February that prompted a volley of Martin Luther King quotes.

The all white staff of the Carolina Review simply does not understand the entirety of Martin Luther King's dream. Because, naturally, "A White man will never understand a Black man's oppression." Because, the premise that "being a different race is being different" is undoubtedly true. Perhaps this is also because, as one of the articles in the recent issue suggested, we have always wanted to be black.

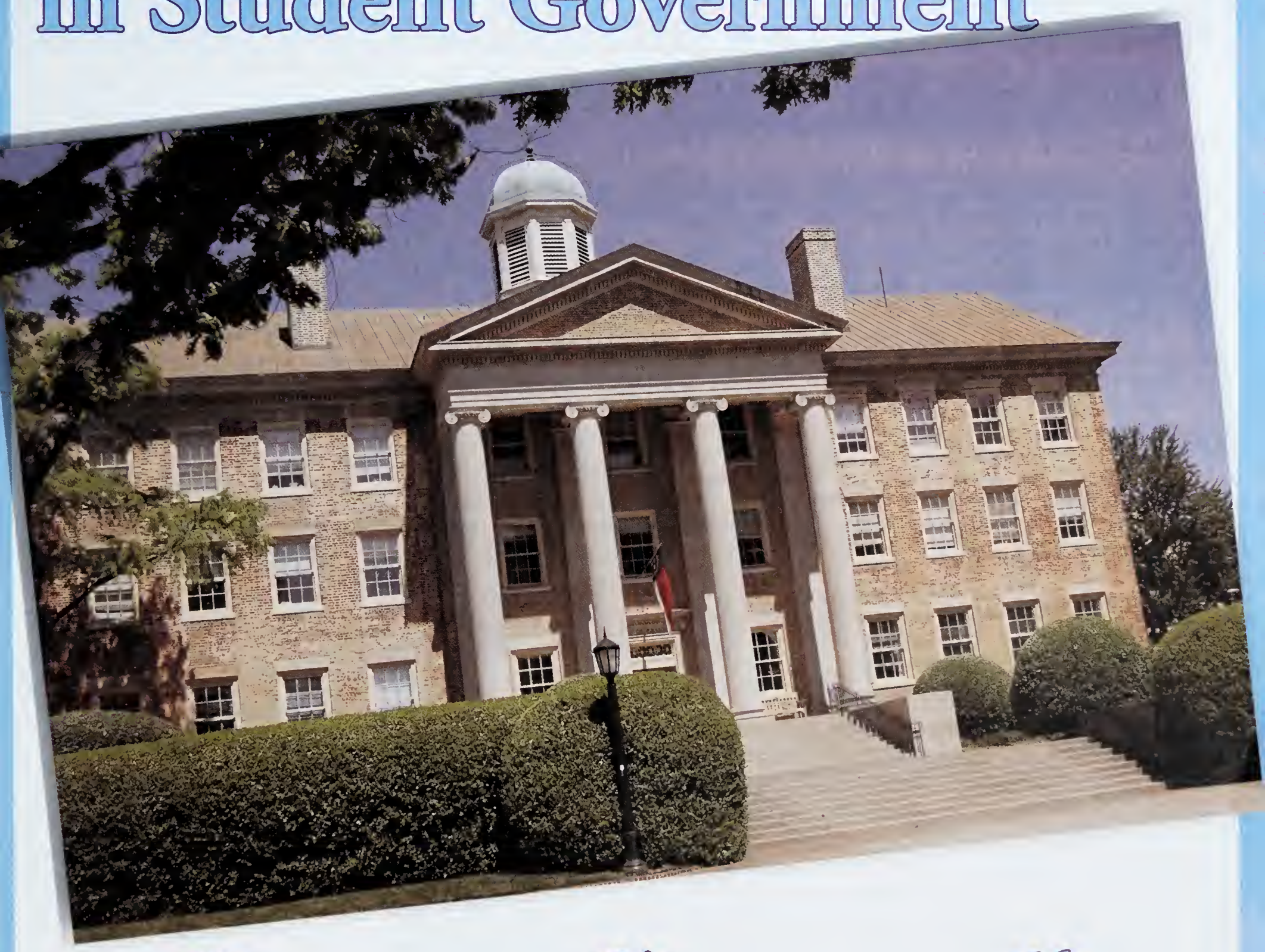
But, whether a consequence of a strange, suppressed ethnic crisis or just plain, usual white ignorance, it is correct to say that we do not obsess over the pedantic details of King's speeches. You see, our race policy goes something along the lines of non-existent.

But, we have a lot in common too. The Black Student Movement is committed to embracing a "culture distinct from that found at" UNC. As is the Carolina Review! Only, our distinctive, dissenting characteristic, being conservative, has nothing to do with worship of inherent identities.**CR**

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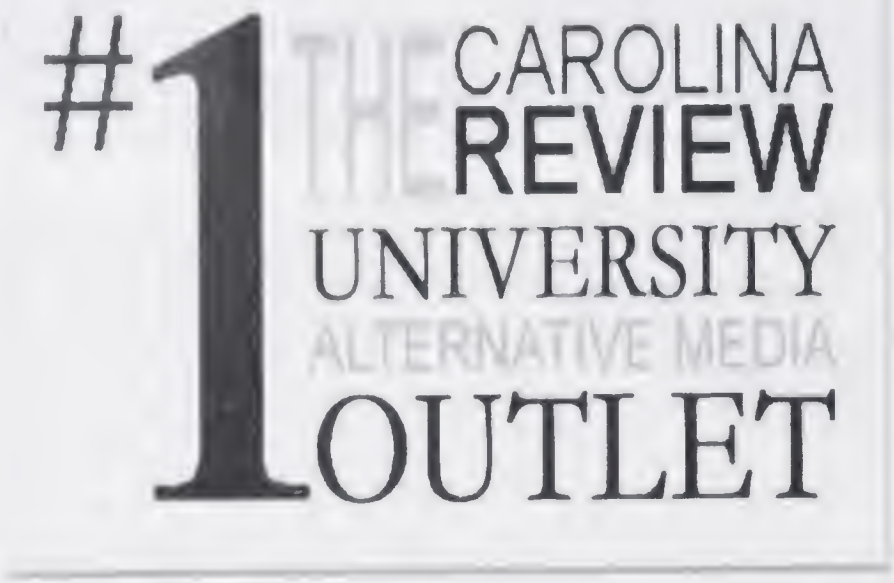
Corruption in Student Government



•12•
The untold story of the impeachment case of Joe Levin-Manning

•14•
Lavish salaries and perks are undermining student government

•16•
Student fees continue their inexorable rise



Our last issue, the Christmas 2009 issue, featured articles about the Marxist roots of Kwanzaa, the surreal events leading to the funding of speakers for SDS, and proposed tuition increases. It also included our "Christmas Wish List" for President Obama. You can find these articles and post responses on our new website: www.ibiblio.org/cr/. Also, make sure to check out our blog: crdaily.com.

CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

• We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

• We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

• We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

• We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

• We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.

• We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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The Carolina Review Web site includes staff information, our complete mission statement, and search tools. In addition, you can access our archives, special features, and blog. Just point your browser to www.unc.edu/cr/.

CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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CHEERS AND JEERS

From the Blog: Comments

"I would go so far as to say that anyone who actually votes in these elections is MUCH too involved in campus "politics." I'll never forget the SBP candidates who used to knock on my dorm room door. My freshman year (oops! Don't want to be sexist! I meant to say "first" year...) my roommate put a sign on our door threatening to vote against the next candidate who knocked on our door, and our sophomore year we just about made some yuppie gasp when we told him that we would never waste the 20 seconds that it took to vote online just for the sake of keeping our pride. We moved off campus the next two years."

-"Riley Matheson" commenting on
"A Letter to Student Government" by Justin Crowder

"Woohoo! Woohoo! Woohoo! God Bless America and Curt Schilling too!"

-"RDCheston" commenting on
"The Tables Have Turned" by Marc Seelinger

"Hey, here at Crowder Chat we are pushing boudries . . . you know, staying a little ahead of the curve. Yep. Thats what I do . . . in summary, SHUT UP. haha"

-Justin Crowder
Responding to critics of his
Crowder Chat on December 6th

"Balderdash. What you propose will inevitably level the playing the field, which means that the standards in private school will be lowered. The only way to "solve" the education problem is to get parents to care about their kid's education. No monetary incentive is going to cure indifference."

-"NJR" commenting on
"Dems defend teachers' unions from innovation"
by Zach Dexter



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www.crdaily.com
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VIEWPOINTS



The Face of Student Elections

Quotes from the Left Side:

"I don't foresee a scenario ... in which millions of people that hope to finally get some conclusion in Lost are pre-empted by the president."
Robert Gibbs

"Over the last 11 months, the Obama Administration has made historic strides in building a clean energy economy, creating new American jobs and reducing US dependence on foreign oil"
Robert Gibbs
as unemployment continues to rise



Quotes from the Right Side:

"The nine most terrifying words in the English language are: 'I'm from the government and I'm here to help.'"
Ronald Reagan

"Challenging times are meant to be a test of spirit, not theatrics."
Anonymous

"Bureaucracy, the rule of no one, has become the modern form of despotism."
Mary McCarthy



Yet another student brings his laptop to ITS for removal of his formerly cool Obama/Biden sticker.

Quotes to Guide Your Life:

"Quotation is a serviceable substitute for wit."
Oscar Wilde

"If one does not expect the unexpected, one will not find it out, since it is not to be searched out and is not reachable."
Heraclitus

"Advertisements contain the only truths to be relied on in a newspaper."
Mark Twain

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

Progressivism's Lackluster Defender

Reviewing *Campus Blueprint*



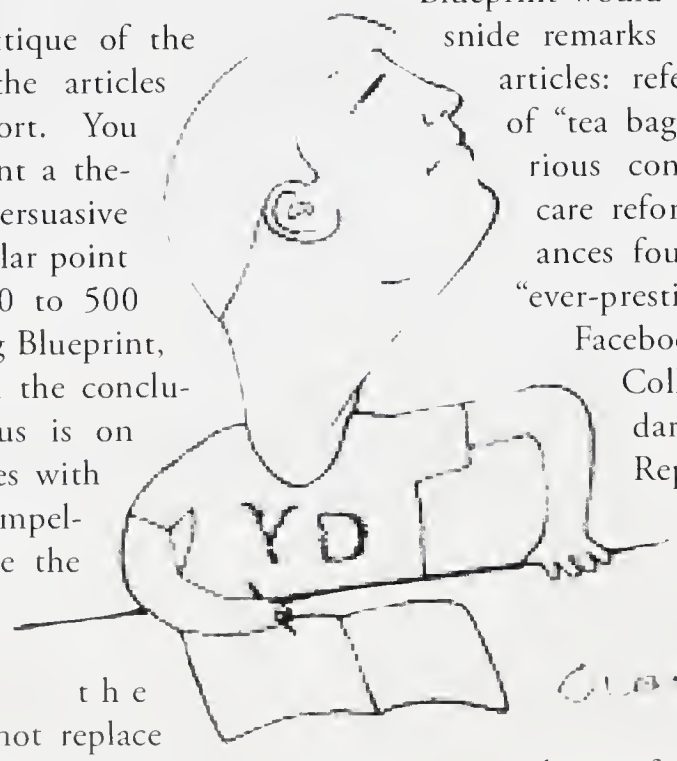
by ANTHONY DENT
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Once hailed as the magazine to fill the leftist void in campus dialogue, Campus Blueprint has failed to articulate a persuasive case for progressivism. While I disagree with their cause, it is possible to formulate a nuanced and intellectual argument on behalf of progressivism. The New Republic is an example of this type of publication. The Campus Blueprint has a very qualified staff from two esteemed universities. As such, the intellectual vacuity and needlessly provocative and childish remarks to which the Blueprint descends is inexcusable.

The primary critique of the Blueprint is that the articles are horrendously short. You simply cannot present a thesis and make a persuasive case for your particular point of view in only 400 to 500 words. After reading Blueprint, you can easily reach the conclusion that their focus is on saturating their pages with color rather than compelling writing. While the photos and overall design add to the overall quality of the magazine, they cannot replace cogent argumentation. This only leads to regurgitating leftist talking-points from cable news as found in the articles defending President Obama's Nobel Peace Prize, relaying Democratic plans for health care reform, or explaining the "Obama Doctrine," none of which would persuade someone not yet in agreement with the author's position.

But it could be understandable if the articles in Campus Blueprint were to reflect what the majority of both UNC and Duke students are already thinking instead of truly adding to the intellectual discourse on campus. This is implicit in statements made by Erin Becker, managing editor of Campus Blueprint: "Our goal is to write a magazine we can hand to politically un-engaged students in the Pit, knowing they'll be able to understand the articles and hopefully gain a sense of their saliency." Blueprint is merely an effort by the Young Democrats to "fight political apathy." It is unclear why they then espouse an explicit, partisan agenda instead of presenting both sides to engage apathetic students who may lean either way.

If their mission is to combat political apathy, it is also unclear why Campus Blueprint would sanction the kind of snide remarks that permeate their articles: referring to the march of "tea baggers," presenting serious concerns about health care reform as random utterances found on Sarah Palin's "ever-prestigious podium that is Facebook," and degrading a College Republican who dared ask a question of Representative David Price. These infantile remarks do not add to campus dialogue, but only detract from the seriousness of the issues at hand. But it fits in the general thrust of the argumentation by Campus Blueprint: they do not seem to be engaged in a debate of ideas, but merely of personalities. Repeating generalities or worn critiques of shallow politicians shows, to a certain extent, a lack of seriousness in approaching these weighty topics that deserve a higher level of discussion than what Campus Blueprint has been able to offer. If Campus Blueprint is sincere about seeking the truth and aiding students in their search (which is the purpose of academic inquiry at a liberal arts institution such as UNC), then they should dispense with such eristic commentary.



An even more troubling sentiment is revealed when Becker rejects actually presenting a forceful case for progressivism and says, "[W]e can engage in more complex conversations at our weekly meetings." This is an oddly elitist statement from a member of the rising generation of progressives, one of whose central tenets is pure, unadulterated egalitarianism. A corollary of her statement is that Campus Blueprint does not believe students at UNC are capable of understanding developed arguments for a particular point of view. This is breath-taking in its hubris: students at a premier public university (ranked in the top five nationally) are incapable of comprehending complex, political discussions.

This is patently absurd. Indeed, what is required is not the same, well-known caricatures of conservatism, libertarianism, or progressivism, but articles that get at the heart of each separate philosophy. The basic premise of a liberal arts education is to challenge students' basic beliefs and force them to ponder the eternal questions that will continue to follow them the rest of their lives. All students at UNC and Duke would benefit from a magazine that utilizes all weapons in its arsenal to advocate progressivism and forcefully attack conservatism. Students would be presented with the best possible arguments for all philosophies and be able to discern the truth.

When the first issue of the Campus Blueprint was released, the Daily Tar Heel intoned that "This is the start of a better, stronger campus discussion, one where a new viewpoint is put forward so students can better draw their own conclusions." Up to this point, however, this vision has yet to be fulfilled. **CR**

Liberal Legalism

Submitting to big government isn't a part of the Gospel



by BRYAN WEYNAND
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Within the community of evangelical Christians, it is common to our discourse that we condemn any compelled action as remnant of Jewish legalism; performing any deed out of self-righteousness or tradition misses the point of the Gospel. It is a valid point that originates with the criticisms of Jesus of the Pharisees and continues in the writings of Paul: one cannot earn his way to salvation by counting his works of compassion, but only by a genuine trust in God and service of Him that is found in the individual human self.

This proposition ought to completely delegitimize claims by Christian liberals that an actively charitable government operating through coercive taxation embraces the true spirit of the Gospel, a claim made often by a new generation of young Christians and manifested most recently at UNC in the Campus BluePrint.

It is necessary to preface my argument with a defense of both this article and the one written by Arielle Reid from those who are unwilling to discuss the notion that one political philosophy or another might align more with the will of God. Status as political does not exonerate a mode of thinking from criticism, as it most certainly did not in the case of Nazism. There are political philosophies that are opposed to the will of God, proving that there are ones that are relatively near to it. A discussion of the topic is useful if we move past the potential for offense.

It is absolutely true that the modern Democratic Party espouses an agenda that, at least in part, seeks to realize goals that are shared between it and the will of God. Conservatives may disagree on the effectiveness of handling the struggles of poverty and health care at the macro level of a huge federal government, but an intellectually honest conservative must agree that these issues are Christian issues. It is the means by which this agenda proceeds to accomplish these goals that are mildly Machiavellian and certainly contrary to the Gospel.

The agenda seeks to embrace compassion as a core value of government; a government, however, cannot achieve compassion in the Christian sense of the word, but only in the utilitarian. That these two philosophies cannot be distinguished is a chief misunderstanding plaguing us with big government intentions. If the goal is to create happiness without regard for means, then from a moral perspective the agenda makes sense (bearing in mind that from an economic perspective it remains misguided).

A government, however, cannot achieve compassion in the Christian sense of the word, but only in the utilitarian.

But the Christian insistence on anti-legalism and emphasis on genuineness challenges this simple notion; the charge of legalists is not that they refuse to be compassionate, but that they are pretentiously compassionate, compassionate in the wrong manner.

This reveals the most important truth regarding moral action of the Gospel: that our actions must proceed from a faithful trust and service of God, and nothing else. In fact, Paul wrote in Romans that "whatever does not proceed from faith is sin" (14:23). Christian compassion, therefore, is compassion that proceeds from this faith; faith, by nature, is located in the individual self. External pressures such as tradition and legalism are by definition contrary to faith, as is any form of coercive charity.

This is the precise reason for the claim that government cannot achieve Christian charity: government inherently acts collectively and coercively; it relies on a monopoly on power to forcibly bind society into one unit. This is necessary to provide for our security and peace; it is not necessary to provide for our positive morality, and in fact it tramples on the role of true compassion when it does. Compassion is not possible after extracting the resource of others through force.

Last year I wrote on this topic from the perspective of Kantian moral philosophy. This column is meant to more directly challenge Christians from their particular perspective on legalism. In considering this idea, that actions cannot be motivated by obligation to external impulses, such as those of an enforced moral code, but only by the internal presence of God, we should consider what forms legalism can take.

When we seek compassion through utilitarian, end-justifies-the-means programs which rely on reducing the role of the individual to paying their taxes to a government, legalism has infested our political thought.

We trumpet our achievement of fulfilling the will of God through government, but condemn other self-righteous attempts at achieving morality through less than genuine means. We criticize religions and even other wings of Christianity for rigidly binding their adherents to a legalistic set of rules, but then prescribe that same role to a government, that of a collective body enforcing morality on individual adherents. If we hold that there is no worth in the fulfillment of morality out of obligation to anyone but God, we should not place ourselves in obligation to a government.

Admittedly, this argument will not convince a non-Christian of the woes of liberalism; there are other arguments for that. But it should demonstrate clearly that one ought not to bring the doctrines of Christianity to defense of collective pseudo-morality through government. **CR**

SMOTHERING DIALOGUE

Political correctness precludes a healthy debate of racial issues



by DUKE CHESTON
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There is a world that exists outside of the one that we all pretend to live in. This world affects our lives significantly and it is revealed to us by our own experiences, but it is not permissible to be discussed in polite conversation.

Of course, polite conversation has its proper place, but there are a number of important, unpleasant subjects that our society imprudently relegates to the outer realm of untouchable topics of discussion. Meanwhile, many of these subjects which deserve widespread attention are neglected. Our refusal to address them will only cause much greater problems down the road.

I am not speaking about the suffering that goes on in Africa or elsewhere that we often try to ignore; nor am I speaking of the grinding inner city poverty that limits the life choices of so many. No; as a matter of fact, these things are discussed plainly, openly, and frequently on the campus of UNC.

The world that I am speaking of is the reality that exists outside the world of political correctness, the world where not all cultures are equal, where actions have consequences.

Political correctness is a force that is thoroughly ingrained in American society today, but it is important to know that it has not always exist. It was, according to best-selling author Shelby Steele, brought about by a guilty national conscience.

According to Steele's formulation, the defining result of the Civil Rights Era was that white people admitted they had been wrong. They admitted all at once that, as Martin Luther King, Jr., said, "America has given the Negro people a bad check."

Steele writes in White Guilt that white America has been sacrificing at the altar of political correctness, uttering pieties to such constructions as "diversity" and "proportional representation" in an attempt to regain moral authority after having admitted to such large-scale wrongdoing.

> In this light, political correctness is an understandable outgrowth of an inherently moral people seeking to do the right thing.

"King had argued that whites were obligated to morality and democratic principles," says Steele, "but white guilt meant they were obligated to black people because they needed the moral authority that only black people could bestow."

Consequently, we now have the phenomenon of the "race card," or blackmail by threat of stigmatization as "racist."

This is not to say that America was not wrong. For all America's greatness, which is considerable, she did in fact give "the Negro people a bad check."

In a way, Steele remarks, white guilt is important to the cultural and social progress of America. It is right to admit that we were wrong because we were, and it is also right to seek restitution. In this light, political correctness is an understandable outgrowth of an inherently moral people seeking to do the right thing.



Nadal Malik Hasan

However, political correctness goes too far. While it is certainly wrong to actually act in a racist manner (defined here as looking down on other people as inferior because of their racial or ethnic background), there are a number of ideas and facts that ought to be discussed but are instead shunned as "racist."

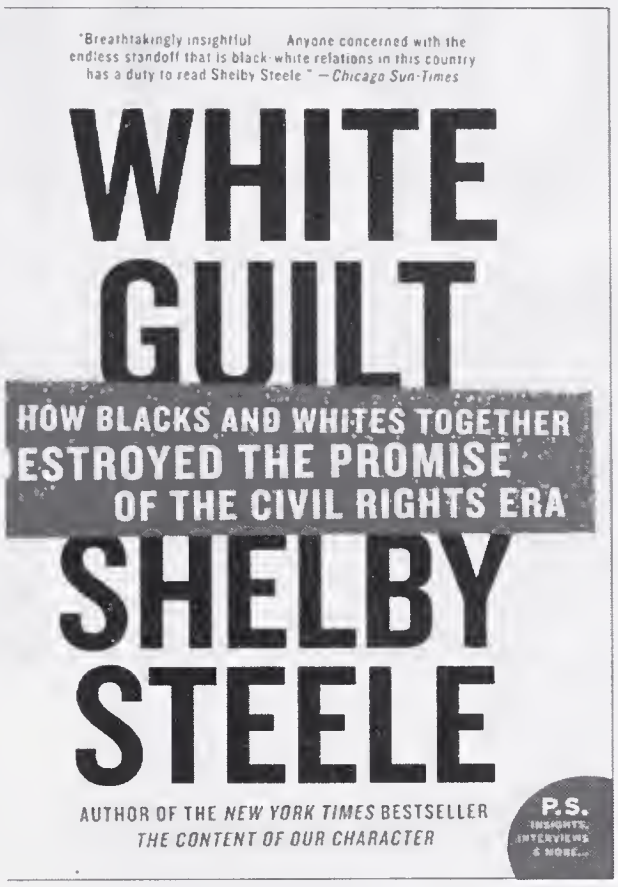
In fact, so many people and things have been called racist that it is increasingly difficult to actually define the term. For instance, one letter to editor in the Daily Tar Heel opinion page last year defined racism as one group having power over another. By that definition, there is racism whenever two or more unequal groups coexist, which is usually the case whenever two or more groups exist; thus the term becomes essentially meaningless, or at least devoid of moral significance.

And yet the charge of racism still carries significant weight. Allusions to the reality that exists outside of political correctness are usually made only in hushed whispers; when they are caught on television, they receive national attention and cause tremendous embarrassment to the figures responsible for uttering such blasphemies.

From the time when we are very young we have been taught that it is wrong to criticize different groups of people. The problem is that in our culture, where kindness is elevated to the highest of virtues, truth and justice take a back seat. It is not permissible to say that which is plainly ob-

vious.

Because of this, our society suffers. We refuse to see society's real problems for what they are, misdiagnosing the causes and effects of our culture's worst pathologies.



Let me illustrate, if I may, the power of political correctness's hold on our society: by making a simple statement of the obvious, I may very well be called a racist. That is fine with me, as long as it leads to a greater understanding of the world as it is. This is a discussion we need to have.

I am, of course, not actually racist, but that has little bearing on whether or not people will actually call me racist.

Now to the factually obvious yet politically incorrect statement: the main reason black people are so far behind in American society, the reason for all the worrisome "inequality," is the pathologies of the American black subculture, not "institutional racism" or some other insidious creation of white people.

Let me illustrate what I mean briefly, for this statement is only tangentially related to my thesis.

Back in high school, I had a teacher who told me about a class he taught in which the students were all minorities bused in from some of the poorer neighborhoods in Raleigh. In this class, the students had little to no interest in learning the material, believing that participating would be a betrayal of their race. The one student who actually tried to succeed was stigmatized as an "uncle Tom" and looked down upon by his classmates.

Now ask yourself: how can a group of people that believes scholastic effort to be treacherous possibly succeed in American culture? Obviously, that group is going to experience difficulty. This may be anecdotal evidence, but there is plenty more to go around.

Consider the case of black conservatives such as Thomas Sowell, Walter Williams, Clarence Thomas, Shelby Steele, or John McWhorter, who was called "offensive," "reprehensible," and of course "racist" in our own Daily Tar Heel two years ago after he gave a speech against affirmative action. To speak out against the American black status quo is to be labeled an "Oreo," black on the outside, white on the inside, traitorous to one's race.

Dinesh D'souza, in his book The End of Racism, cites a multitude of prominent blacks condemning those who criticize black cultural pathologies. For instance, Carl Rowan of the Washington Post declared that "if you give [Supreme Court Justice Clarence] Thomas a little flour on his face, you'd think he was David Duke."

Black director Spike Lee called Thomas "a handkerchief-head, chicken-and-biscuit eating Uncle Tom."

Frank McCoy, writing for Black Enterprise, said that black Republican Congressman Gary Franks had "racially traitorous views."

The Afrocentric historian John Henrik Clarke fumed that "black conservatives are really frustrated slaves crawling back to the plantation."

Clearly, the modern civil rights establishment allows for no tolerance of those who seek to address the same problem (black underachievement) from a different viewpoint.

The main reason black people are so far behind in American society, the reason for all the worrisome "inequality," is the pathologies of the American black subculture, not "institutional racism" or some other insidious creation of white people.

For more on the subject, I would highly recommend reading Dinesh D'souza's The End of Racism, the Rev. Jesse Lee Peterson's Scam, or Shelby Steele's aforementioned White Guilt.

Aside from preventing an intelligent (not to mention honest) discussion on the subject of the travails of the American black subculture, it can now be definitively said that political correctness led to a terrorist attack that took the lives of fourteen Americans.

The federal government knew that Nadal Malik Hasan was in contact with Yemen-based terrorists. He even had business cards marked "SoA," or "Soldier of Allah." Despite these and other warnings, none of the proper authorities connected the dots in time to save fourteen Americans, all because our U.S. Army personnel were afraid to see what was clearly in front of their face. It just was not worth the risk of being called racist.

The real tragedy in the Fort Hood shooting was that our leaders did not learn the proper lessons. The incident may have been prevented if some of our soldiers were less afraid of being stigmatized as "racist," but the idea was totally lost on the Chief of Staff of the Army.

General George Casey, appearing on ABC's "This Week," stated that, "As horrific as this tragedy was, if our diversity becomes a casualty, I think that's worse."

Although political correctness sometimes seems to be getting worse, there is reason to believe it will not continue to do so. Cultural trends often do not follow straight lines, and it is by no means certain that the trajectory toward ever-greater inter-cultural hypersensitivity will continue.

The facts (and, of course, human nature) have a way of revealing themselves, if we will only let ourselves see reality for what it is. As Ronald Reagan famously said, "Don't be afraid to see what you see." Let us hope we do before it's too late, leaving political correctness in the "dust bin of history" where it belongs before it ruins anymore lives. **CR**

State of the Union Review



by ZACHARY DEXTER
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Obama's plans offer good feelings, but little tangible benefit

In his hour and ten minute-long State of the Union Address on January 27th, 2010, President Barack Obama restated his commitment to implementing left-wing policy goals and increasing federal spending. He tossed a few olive branches to mollify the Republican members of Congress, who grew uneasy when Obama interspersed half-truths about the budget, deficit and taxes with his policy proposals. Marked by inconsistent goals and impaired by Obama's denial of his policy failures, Obama's speech gave viewers little hope that the state of the Union at the end of 2010 will be any better than when the year began.

The President began his speech by reviewing many of his campaign promises and declaring them fulfilled. For example, he delivered an anaphoric narrative about [illegible] Administration's [illegible] policy. Obama claimed that "We cut taxes for 95 percent of working families. We cut taxes for small business. [...] We cut taxes for 8 million Americans paying for college." When the President asserted that his administration "cut taxes," he should have said, "We transferred the burden of paying for subsidies for social programs, businesses, and college aid to future generations."

The President ascribed the end of the Iraq war to his administration, implying that the success of the surge was his doing: "As a candidate, I promised that I would end this war, and that is what I am doing as President." But the surge was policy he didn't support, and one he certainly didn't help initiate. In a January 2010 response to President Bush's call for more troops in Iraq, Obama sneered, "I am not persuaded that 20,000 additional troops in Iraq is going to solve the sectarian violence there. In fact, I think it will do the reverse." In his speech, Obama credited himself with successes that in actuality belong to the architects of the surge, and to President Bush for making the command decision to send more troops.

> The state of the Union, from our economy to our international affairs, is mediocre.

> Obama's speech gave viewers little hope that the state of the Union at the end of 2010 will be any better than when the year began.

Obama's call for a "jobs bill" dominated his remarks more than any other single issue. "People are out of work; they're hurting; they need our help, and I want a jobs bill on my desk without delay", the President said. But, as if he knew that his efforts would fail to return the country to full employment, Obama promptly qualified his plea: "These steps won't make up for the 7 million jobs we've lost over the past 2 years." A jobs bill based on Obama's proposed subsidies for federally favored biofuels (which, as this magazine has revealed in the past, are often the least sustainable or efficient biofuels) and his proposed handouts to big corporations for development of so-called "clean-coal" technology will be a waste of taxpayer dollars.

In his address, Obama recognized that "The true engine of job creation in this country will always be America's businesses." He even proposed that the fed-

eral government "eliminate all capital gains taxes on small business investment", a positive step that has little chance of passing through the Democratic Congress. For a fleeting moment, Obama was on the right track.

But he just as quickly disparaged efficient, job-retaining, market-based mechanisms of controlling externalities like pollution, asking Congress to work instead on "passing a comprehensive clean energy and climate bill" like the economically disastrous Waxman-Markey "cap and trade" legislation that passed the House last year (the bill is currently awaiting a Senate vote). Instead of focusing on cleaning up the environment or reducing pollution or promoting clean nuclear power, the bill simply taxed carbon emissions in a bid to raise energy prices, making energy more expensive to consume. The Heritage Foundation estimated that the bill would cost each family in America $6,800 by 2035.

Obama surprised conservatives by pledging to work on "building a new generation of safe, clean nuclear power plants in this country." At a time when, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, nearly 1 billion people live in a state of chronic hunger, new technology in nuclear power seems much more promising than fuel harvested from untold acres of converted farmland. Turning massive amounts of crops into fuel raises prices for basic foods, excluding the poor and vulnerable from the market for food staples.



On Iran, Obama offered nothing of substance. After declaring his "support for the human rights" of female Iranian protestors, Obama warned meekly warned that "as Iran's leaders continue to ignore their obligations, there should be no doubt: They, too, will face growing consequences. That is a promise." Instead of making empty threats that could weaken the value of his word, the President should have taken the opportunity to regain Americans' trust in his foreign policy by specifying the actual policies he will take to promote freedom in Iran. So far, Obama's stance towards Iran has done more to empower Iran's dictatorship than the beleaguered people marching through that country's streets demanding liberty.

While most of the President's policy ideas irked conservative viewers and members of Congress, his unbecoming and false rhetorical barb about Citizens United vs. Federal Election Commission drew the ire of a Supreme Court justice. When Obama jabbed, "last week the Supreme Court reversed a century of law that I believe will open the floodgates for special interests -- including foreign corporations -- to spend without limit in our elections", Justice Samuel Alito mouthed "not true."

That's because Obama's statement was entirely false. Title II, Section 441(e) of the United States Code, prohibits any foreign principle, defined by that section in a reference to Section 611(b) of Title 22 to include any "partnership, association, corporation, organization, or other combination of persons organized under the laws of or having its principal place of business in a foreign country", from making contributions that support campaigns, political parties, or electioneering communications. Though all justices sat silently by custom, surely the authors of the majority opinion wanted to writhe as misinformed members of Congress, mostly Democrats, stood up all around the Court to applaud the President's jibe.

In his 2010 State of the Union address, President Obama put forward a litany of ideas for Congress and voters to evaluate, including some pro-growth measures like cutting the capital gains tax for small business and building clean nuclear power plants. Unfortunately, most of the policies Obama advocated derive from his statist impulse and not a proper understanding of the role of government in the market. The President's audacious jab at the Supreme Court's recent decision on federal election law left conservatives questioning Obama's dedication to the principle of free speech. And his support for tired leftist ideas like cap and trade and socialized medicine reveal that the President has exhausted his limited stockpile of fresh policy proposals. The state of the Union, from our economy to our international affairs, is mediocre. **CR**

UNC's Watergate



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The untold story of the impeachment case against Joe Levin-Manning

"I am a genuine person." These were Joe Levin-Manning's first words during our interview. I must admit all I could think of was how eerily these words echoed President Nixon's famous words, "I am not a crook." The DTH wrote an editorial entitled "Going Rogue" chronicling Levin-Manning's brief but tumultuous stay as Speaker of Student Congress. However, the editorial I feel was a gross understatement (a natural repercussion of having missed virtually all the important events leading up to his "stepping down" from Student Congress). Levin-Manning was not simply "going rogue" as he stepped down from Student Congress; Levin-Manning may have been escaping impeachment. Only days before his resignation, five members of Student Congress filed an ethics complaint with a laundry list of charges of misfeasance and malfeasance. The complaint called for Levin-Manning's immediate impeachment as Speaker of Student Congress. Seemingly seeking to cover up the scandal before announcing his candidacy for Student Body President, Levin-Manning resigned. The charges, now superfluous, were dropped.

In the crazed world of student politics, it must be understood that charges do not necessarily mean anything. Our student representatives constantly throw spurious accusations against the opposition. However, these charges were not for minor violations. Levin-Manning was a horribly incompetent speaker who demonstrated little to no control over the congress, failed to appear at committee meetings he promised to attend, and came ill-prepared to most of those meetings. However, the complaint did not center upon his mere incompetence. If this were the only complaint the members of the congress could have endured him. Incompetency, though highly undesirable, may be forgiven. Levin-Manning certainly is not the first incompetent speaker nor will he be the last. The problem seemed to be that he was dishonest.

> Levin-Manning was not simply "going rogue" as he stepped down from Student Congress; Levin-Manning may have been escaping impeachment.

His demise began during the November 10th, 2009 meeting of Student Congress at which Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) petitioned for funds. After a heated debate, Joe finally called SDS's bill to a vote. The initial vote, in which he himself voted (something any speaker trying to preside without bias traditionally avoids), was reported by the clerk as a 16-15 vote in favor of SDS. However, it turned out that the clerk miscounted the votes. The actual result was a 15-16 defeat of the bill. In the case of a clerical error, the result of the vote would simply be reversed. There would be no revote. However, Levin-Manning illegally allowed for a revote due to "clerical" errors. In Levin-Manning's defense, I highly doubt he actually knew the law. The designated rule book, *Mason's Manual of Legislative Procedure*, is long and tedious, and I honestly do not expect him to have it memorized. What is so infuriating about what he did was that his mistake was clearly engendered by his own bias. He wanted the bill to pass, (as his own vote made apparent), and he let that affect his actions. Instead of carefully checking the Student Code and *Mason's Manual*, he fought for the cause of SDS, and neglecting the proper deliberation befitting his office, he broke the law he was elected to uphold.

During the revote, several members of

the congress changed their votes and the bill passed. Infuriated, members of the congress sought recourse. Soon after the meeting, some of the members filed a complaint with the Student Supreme Court stating that Levin-Manning had broken the proper protocol and claiming that the vote was invalid. It should also be noted that on November 10th at 11:34 PM, the Clerk of Student Congress emailed to the representatives of Student Congress the minutes of that night's meeting. The next day, Levin-Manning was issued a summons in a UNC Supreme Court Case brought about by the compliant. Levin-Manning must have realized that he was wrong because on November 12th at 10:24 PM, two days after the meeting, he wrote an email which would forever change his legacy. In this email, Levin-Manning sent a new revised record of the minutes. This was taken as a terrible ethical offense. It is not in the Speaker's power to revise the minutes. The clerk, a member of the student body who is *not* a member of Congress, is the one charged with recording an accurate account of the minutes. There is a reason for this: the student body deserves a completely unbiased account of the proceedings. The records should not be tainted by some biased account that members of Student Congress want the public to see; it should simply be an account of what actually transpired.

Of course, considering the circumstances and the contents of his changes to the minutes, Levin-Manning's offense was far more than a breach of principle. He altered the minutes such that the record no longer stated that he allowed for a revote due to "clerical errors." In his modified record, Levin-Manning claimed that the revote occurred because the first vote was an illegitimate vote. If this had been true, the decision to revote would have been legitimate. However, this was not what I or any of the other members of Student Congress heard. Not only was this not what was said in Student Congress, the vote was clearly not an illegitimate vote. According to *Mason*'s Manual an illegitimate vote implies some sort of fraud; there was no fraud, only a simple clerical error. As if lying was not bad enough, Levin-Manning's offense is even more reprehensible as it deliberately tried to deceive the Supreme Court in the case against him. In the new minutes which he sent to the court, the crime of which he was being accused was covered up.



Following these events, Jasmine Jones held a conference with Zach Dexter and Saang Lee, the representatives who had filed the complaints, and Levin-Manning. During this meeting, Jones worked out a deal which all parties agreed upon regarding SDS's funding. The deal included dropping the case against Levin-Manning for illegally calling a revote. This decision, though extremely merciful towards Levin-Manning, was justified in so far as it was the only way to deliver a timely decision to SDS. Dexter, Lee, and Jones realized that executing the duties of Student Congress was more important than removing the speaker. It was only after Student Congress voted to pass a new SDS spending bill that Dexter, Lee and three other representatives revisited Levin-Manning's actions and filed the ethics complaint which demanded Levin-Manning's removal. The complaint noted that it would be less disruptive for Levin-Manning to be removed than for him to remain as speaker. It was in the face of this ethics complaint, which accused Levin-Manning of multiple accounts of misfeasance and malfeasance about the minutes, that Levin-Manning resigned as Speaker of Student Congress. It was only then that the complainants relented, seeing their goal accomplish.

I can only speculate the truth is neither, unless you count trying to save one's own career as a "personal reason."

When I asked Levin-Manning about his resignation as speaker, he told me that he felt he could better serve students by running for Student Body President than by remaining Speaker of Congress. This is what he will tell everyone as he runs for President. However, I would be careful. Judging by the facts it is hard to imagine he left Congress for any reason other than the fact that he was about to be impeached. Of course, if this is true he will do everything in his power to cover up this fact. Early in his campaign, as he was attempting to get signatures, he held up a group of people who were signing another candidate's petition and told them to sign his petition because he was more "experienced." The members of the other candidate's campaign immediately questioned that experience asking him "how his last job ended." He responded to this accusation later that night once again via email. In his email, he penned the following plea, "Please ask your campaign staff to not bring up my resignation from Speaker of Student Congress in forums. My resignation was for personal reasons that I would rather not have to disclose in that kind of setting." Perhaps Levin-Manning just is not good with emails, but it seems pretty clear that Joe is once again lying to cover up his past mistakes. Either he quit the speakership because it was best for the student body or he quit for dark, personal reasons. It cannot be both. I can only speculate the truth is neither, unless you count trying to save one's own career as a "personal reason."

Watergate was a terrible scandal not so much because of the crime but because of the cover up. Levin-Manning might have learned from Nixon's mistakes. His alleged initial mistakes, though stupid and mildly malicious, were forgivable. What is not acceptable is what appears to be an extensive cover up that continues with the lies he promulgates throughout his campaign. Like Watergate, we can only hope this comes out, and that the truth is known. **CR**

ASG's Viral Corruption Infects Congress



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Lavish saleries and perks are undermining student government

The UNC Association of Student Governments (ASG) was established in 1972. In 2002, the group began levying a one-dollar fee on every student in the UNC System to finance the ASG's activities. Curiously, however, the students of the UNC System have never voted on the issue of participation in ASG or the fee that funds it. It is then a classic case of taxation without representation, (the likes of which would make King George proud). What allows this situation to persist is an entrenched corruption in ASG and our own Student Congress.

The ASG is perhaps one of the most wasteful student organizations in existence. In its mission statement, the group defines what its primary goal is supposed to be. "Founded and funded by students, the University of North Carolina Association of Student Governments champions the concerns of students and ensures affordability and accessibility to quality education today and tomorrow."

This year, ASG will spend only 6 percent of its approximately $260,000 budget, or $15,500, on advocacy of the type the group calls for in its mission statement. ASG will spend 35 percent of their budget, or $92,000, on student and staff salaries and benefits. In addition, ASG will spend $45,000 on travel expenses, $3,300 on an awards banquet, and $1,500 to renovate their offices.

Some of the smaller, less noticeable budget items also highlight the waste that pervades the organization. ASG splurges $400 on nametags and $600 on business cards. ASG has also allocated $500 to set up the UNCASG Alumni Association. ASG also owns five Web domains, four of which it has not updated in the last 12 months and which duplicate information already available on the main uncasg.org domain. These examples typify the expenditures of an organization that is profuse with wasteful spending and rife with corruption.

This past fall, two separate referenda were introduced in Student Congress that would have allowed the student body at UNC to vote on whether to continue participating in the ASG or to sever ties with the group, reclaim its fee, and permanently relieve the profligate group of its corruption and waste.

The first referendum, introduced by Representatives Anthony Dent and Zach Dexter, asked "Should UNC-Chapel Hill continue participation in the UNCASG and continue to send delegates to the ASG?" Passage of the referendum would have required the Student Body President to request that the Board of Governors rescind the ASG fee and disband the UNC-CH ASG delegation.

The second referendum, introduced by Representatives Saang Lee and Justin Crowder, asked a similar question. Passage of this referendum would have amended the Student Code to allow Student Congress (with the approval of the Board of Trustees or the Board of Governors) to determine the size of the fee used to fund ASG. The resolution would have characterized a failure to garner a majority vote in favor of continued participation in ASG as a vote of no confidence in ASG, and would have tasked the Student Body President with the same duties as the first proposed referendum.

However, ASG had its tentacles deep in Student Congress. For example, Dakota Williams, made $4,000 as Chief Financial Officer of ASG while simultaneously serving in Student Congress. Kevin Kimball, the appointed parliamentarian of Student Congress, is currently making $2,000 a year as ASG's Director of Research and Development. It is also worth noting that Joe Levin-

Manning, as the (former) Speaker of Congress, was also a member of the UNC-CH delegation to ASG and that David Murray, another member of Student Congress, is currently serving as a member of ASG's Advocacy Corps.

During the debate on the referenda, Congress never discussed these rather apparent conflicts of interest and the representatives did not recuse themselves from the vote on the second referendum. The integrity of the vote was compromised by the lavish salaries and offices bestowed on members of Congress.

These special interests prevented a debate from even occurring on the first referendum, as then-Speaker Levin-Manning ruled the motion on the referendum out of order. He argued that since the ASG fee is not a student-initiated fee but rather a system fee, levied directly by the Board of Governors, Student Congress does not have the authority to modify or eliminate the fee.

But that is precisely the problem. When the ASG went directly to the Board of Governors in seeking the institution of the fee, it subverted the democratic process by cutting out the voice of students and their elected representatives. This debacle was not unlike Parliament's efforts to levy taxes on the American colonies in the 18th century.

ASG is forcing both membership and fees on the student body without its consent. It is a modern-day example of taxation without representation. At the same time, its paid accomplices have infiltrated all levels of the local student government in order to deny the students of UNC-CH those most fundamental rights, the right to vote and the right to self-govern.

In addition, there is precedent where the student body has petitioned the Board of Governors and the North Carolina General Assembly for a change in a policy not directly under the supervision of Student Congress. In 1999, the student body voted on a referendum to petition the Board of Governors to make the ASG President a voting member of the Board. Later, in 2002, the student body voted on a referendum to petition the General Assembly to enact campaign finance reform.

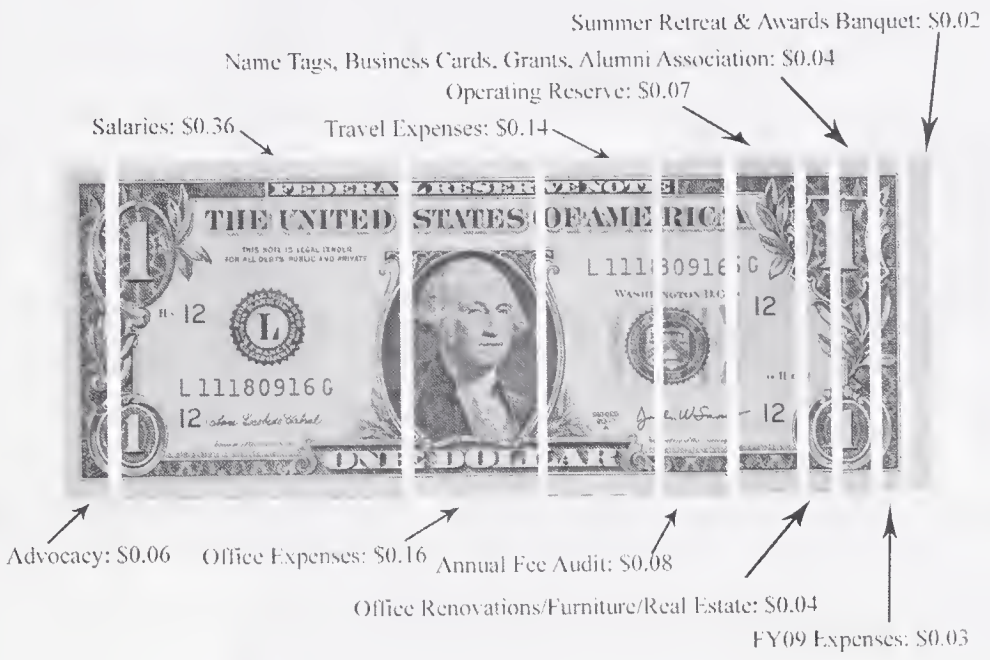
Both instances are examples of the student body advocating for change in areas not under the control of Student Congress. So then, the Speaker's argument falls short. He explicitly failed to take into account these precedents when he decided to deny the students of this University a voice in their own government.

Of course, all of this does not mean that there is no value in coordinating lobbying efforts on a system level for system-level issues, which is what ASG's mission is supposed to be. Levin-Manning believes that there is a "mutually beneficial relationship for both us [UNC-CH] and it [ASG]."

To a very limited extent, this is true; however, the current system under which ASG operates needs to be exposed to actual democracy. Under its current form, ASG has been unable to accomplish anything of note in the course of its 38-year history. Most significantly, it has been unable to stop annual tuition increases.

Possible reforms could include direct election of all the delegates to ASG as well as restoring the right of each Student Congress in the system to levy its own fees to fund the organization. Movement in this direction is necessary if ASG is to have any degree of legitimacy in the eyes of both the Board of Governors and the students it purports to represent. However, this sort of reform is unlikely given the special interests already entrenched in the organization.

Levin-Manning also argues that since UNC-CH was one of ASG's founding universities, "it would not reflect well on our university to blindly withdraw from ASG as many are calling for… Our delegates can't be held accountable either unless the students voice their concerns and questions." However, considering that ASG has had 38 years to prove its worth, and considering that student concerns, especially in recent years, have grown increasingly louder since that time, a move to cut ties with ASG could not be considered a blind move. Students have voiced their concerns, but no one is listening.



ASG has been unable to produce results and has squandered hundreds of thousands of dollars in the process. The corruption that permeates ASG has even begun to seep into our own student government by way of its salaried officers. If there was ever a time to break ties with the organization, that time is now.

The long train of abuses and usurpations by ASG has reached a critical point. It has imposed fees on students without their consent. With those fees, it pays lavish salaries and benefits to its officers, while spending a bare minimum on its primary mission, which is student advocacy at the system level. This corruption has infected our own local student government and threatens to secure the position of the wasteful and corrupt in every school in the system. In light of ASG's refusal to heed student concerns and listen to their objections, it is fitting and proper to cast off this government and its fee and provide for our own lobbying needs. **CR**

ASG ties to Student Congress

Name	Position	Salary
1. Dakota Williams	Chief Financial Officer	$4,000
2. Kevin Kimball	Director of Research	$2,000
3. Joe Levin-Manning	Ex Officio Member	Unpaid
4. David Murray	Advocacy Corps	Unpaid

The Irresistible Force

Student Fees continue their inexorable rise



by Anthony Dent
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Looking over your last billing statement from the University, you see the tuition charge, but then you see a potpourri of assorted other expenses: "Safety and Security," "APPLES Program," "Renewable Energy Fee," "Child Care Services Fee," "Athletic Fee," and so forth. All these expenses constitute the student fees we pay which go to various and sundry programs outside of those related to academics which are covered by tuition.

A lot of these fees are outside student control: the fee for the Association of Student Governments, the transit fee, the debt reduction fee for Rams Head, and a few others. But normally, after a proposed fee or fee increase related to the Student Activity Fee is approved by the appropriate committees, the chancellor sends the fee through Student Congress or places it on the ballot as a referendum question so the student body has a say because we are the ones directly affected by the increase. Remember the controversy over the increase in the child care services fee last year? When JJ Raynor, the Student Body President, campaigned to have the increase placed on the ballot, the student body narrowly passed the referendum in a runoff election.

Student fees have the unwelcome quality of ineluctably increasing annually. For the past five years, student fee increases have severely outpaced inflation, increasing thirty-two percent. Unfortunately, this means with every additional dollar in student fees, college affordability decreases, negatively impacting the poorest students and establishing barriers to entry for them.

Student fees have the unwelcome quality of ineluctably increasing annually.

Even more detrimentally, these fees negatively impact the general population and only benefit a small sector of the student population. The Renewable Energy Fee is four dollars per student which has only produced solar panels on Morrison Dorm, biodiesel-converters for the P2P, and new lightbulbs for PlayMakers Repertory Company according to the Renewable Energy Special Projects Committee's website. This is in addition to several grants received by the committee. The minimal impact of the fee and ineffectuality of the committee should call into question its viability because it decreases college affordability only to satiate students' desire to feel good about helping the environment.

The Child Care Services fee is yet another example of students' wishing to do good with other people's money, which, again, has the consequence of decreasing college affordability. The fee was increased 425 percent by $10.31 to its present cost of $12.81 to support forty children utilizing UNC's child care services. This is equal to three times the Renewable Energy Fee to support about two-tenths of a percent of the general student population.

On the ballot this February is a six dollar increase in the Student Activity Fee for the student organizations. The fee is being pursued for two main reasons: to increase the amount of funds available to student organizations and to balance the budget for the Student Activity Fee Office (SAFO). One can have a debate over whether student organizations need additional funding, but

the latter point raises questions because the expected shortfall for SAFO is a temporary condition; lower interest rates have decreased the amount of money earned from SAFO's investment account. Currently, however, the fee will be levied permanently, with a yearly review Note, however, that when a fee is increased or levied, the inertia tends toward maintaining the fee and not decreasing it A better option would be to add a sunset clause which would end the increase after the budget shortfall is met, yet the ballot question does not contain this commonsense amendment.

Student government remains a powerful force that can effectively stop student fee increases. Unfortunately, stopping increases is normally not a desire of the executive branch, but Student Congress has shown more restraint, such as when they defeated the Child Care Services Fee increase in Congress, only to have SBP Student Body Pres. JJ Raynor campaign for a referendum.

The current field of student body candidates seems to be cut from the same mold, but Hogan Medlin does have an interesting idea of including a sunset clause in each new fee increase allowing the fee to be reviewed by the student body every four years. This would give students a role in determining the viability of student fees and whether they remain relevant for campus.

The last Student Congress has shown itself to be less willing to stop fee hikes, but a student organization, the Committee for a Better Carolina (CBC), has to decided to ensure a new crop of candidates are elected who will be more reliable voices for student needs in opposing fee hikes. The CBC has initiated the Student Finance Protection Pledge which would allow candidates to promise to oppose fee hikes and a means for the student body to hold them accountable.

"In times like these it is important that assure the most affordable tuition and fees possible," said Jason Sutton, President of the CBC. "This is an effort to hold our student leaders accountable and make sure that our student government does not further burden those among us who already are barely able to pay for a degree from this fine university," Sutton declared.

He also announced the creation of the CBC Ratings program which will grade all representatives on their fiscal responsibility and hold representatives to their pledge by giving students a transparent way to judge their representatives.



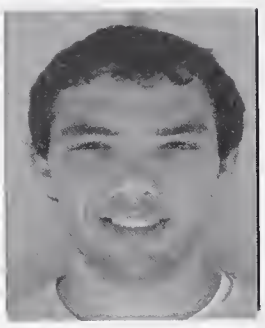
Source: Vote YES on the Child Care Services Fee referendum Facebook group

Protesters shamelessly using children to persuade students to vote 'Yes' to the child care services fee increase.

Student fees are a perennial question posed to Student Congress and the student body and there has been a marked willingness on the part of students to increase fees, no matter the detrimental impact on college affordability. The trend has been for fees to increase. After all, each increase is only a few dollars here and there, so what fiend would say no to $10 for the good of fellow students' children. But we are not talking only $10 for child care, but also $4 for renewable energy and $1 for the Association of Student Governments, adding up to almost one-third of an in-state students' college expenses. At some point, students must stand and say "No" before fees get out of hand, further impairing poorer students' ability to attend this university. This general election, stand with these students and vote "no" on increasing student fees. **CR**

> "This is an effort to hold our student leaders accountable and make sure that our student government does not further burden those among us who already are barely able to pay for a degree from this fine university."
> -Jason Sutton, President of the CBC

RESHAPING THE TICKET DEBATE



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A better way to give every student a chance without the inefficiency of an online lottery

Too much rhetoric and time has been wasted debating the online basketball ticket policy and its various alterations during the past three years. In reality, nearly all of the debate reaches a misguided end from a false premise: that the best system for allocating basketball tickets to the student body is the one which achieves the greatest level of fairness for all students involved. In other words, it is the system which gives the most students the best chance to receive tickets The positions and suggestions of the current CAA president, the candidates running for next year, and the administrators intimately involved in the process have been made abundantly clear, and they will continue to be detailed at length through the coming spring and off-season. Facing the increasing unpopularity of key elements of the system, changes will almost certainly be made. One can learn of that debate on the pages of the *Daily Tar Heel*.

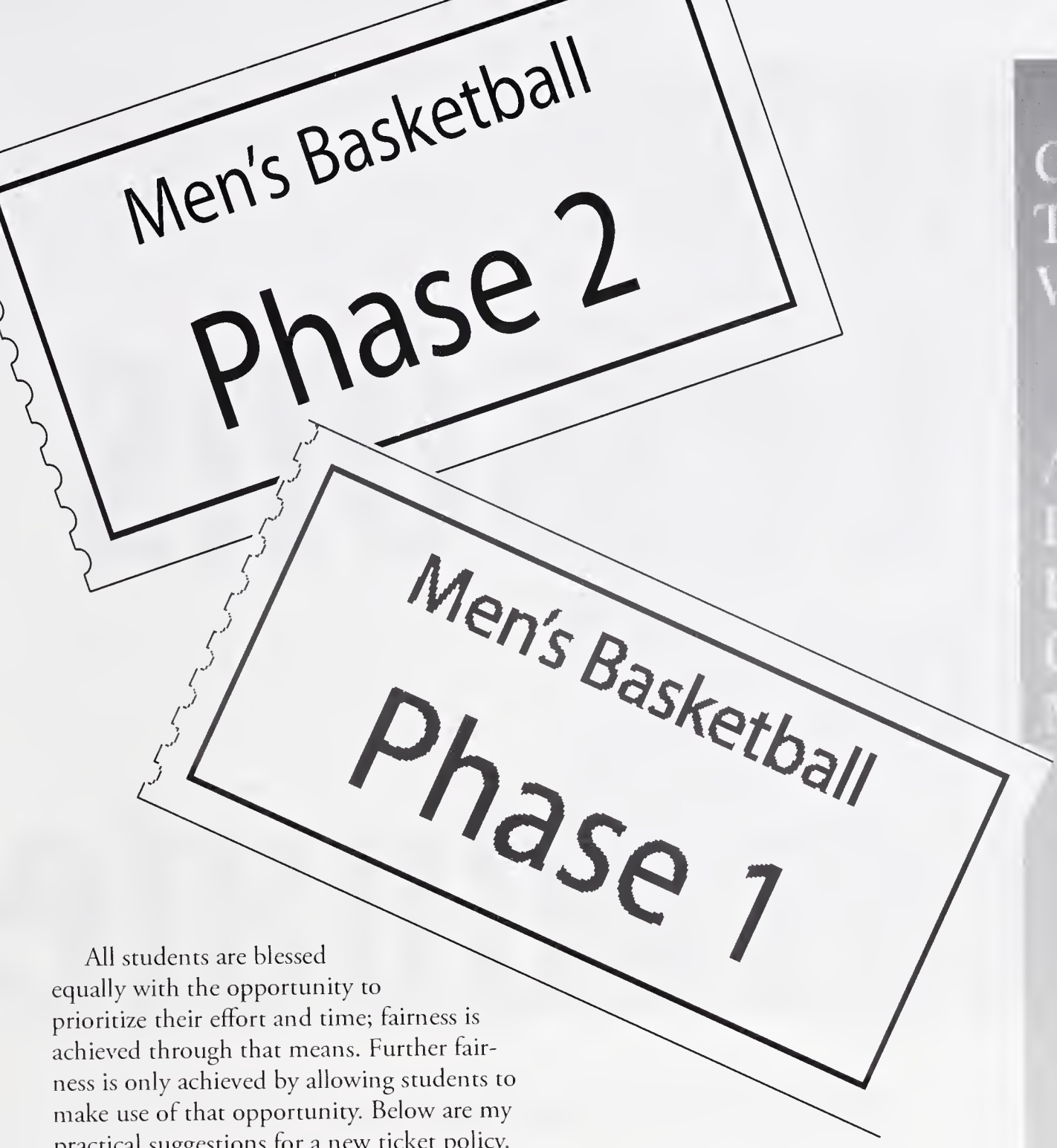
But the current debate widely misses the point. Unless the system moves away from the misguided understanding, the problems will persist, and this effort requires a total scrapping of the current system to start over. Tickets to a men's basketball game at UNC are a scarce good. Because attending a basketball game is a fundamental experience of being a student here, that experience, like many others, is rightfully made available to us free of additional cost. The result is a shortage of tickets. The false assertion that follows is that not only should tickets be made available free of cost, but they should be made easily available free of effort to all students.

This creates not only a shortage, but inefficiency; tickets do not find their way to those students most likely to use them, and certainly not to those most likely to use them well by cheering loudly. Those who firmly believe the student atmosphere at the Dean Dome is among the worst in the ACC, falling far short of its potential – and I am one of these – should look to further than this inefficiency for the culprit.

Tickets should not be allocated free of effort for the simple reason that the minimum level of effort has to be set somewhere – to arbitrarily set it low fails to acknowledge that prioritization of what is important to an individual is necessary for efficient allocation of scarce resources. It is also inherent to life. Setting the bar higher would accomplish a goal that the current system cannot, even though it is disguised as fair: it would guarantee every student a means to acquire a ticket should they do what is necessary; how many games and which ones they attended would be the empowered decision of the students.

As a die-hard of die-hards, I have longed for the opportunity to decide that I want to sit in the risers for a particular game, and to utilize my desire to acquire a ticket by putting forth action. Instead I have heard of so many students with no expressed desire to attend a particular game –perhaps they have too much homework that night – acquiring a ticket to a game they never intended to attend.

The ensuing exchange of tickets through email, Facebook and word of mouth is an inconvenient corrective to the inefficiency created by the lottery. A new system should require effort on the part of students to acquire tickets, ensuring that tickets are available to every student when they want them and are not put into the hands of students who, through no fault of their own, acquire a ticket they do not plan to use. Moreover, tickets should be distributed in a manner that guarantees the best seats to those most willing to get them; those who will are those students who possess the most of what we can call "fan energy capital." The result, of course, is that the atmosphere in the Dean Dome will reach its potential.



All students are blessed equally with the opportunity to prioritize their effort and time; fairness is achieved through that means. Further fairness is only achieved by allowing students to make use of that opportunity. Below are my practical suggestions for a new ticket policy.

1. All ticket distribution will occur in person; there will be no online element. The old policy required students to show up at a particular time during the week, preventing many from registering. The alternative does not need to be total online registration. Rather, allow registration over a period of time, but make students go somewhere to do it.

2. Eliminate the phase system – the inefficiency within the inefficiency. Students willing to get there earlier than everyone else should be rewarded; to improve the atmosphere at the Dean Dome it is imperative that lower level seats go to people who crave them. All seats are general admission and first come, first served. Administrators will say this burdens the line and will overcrowd the area outside the Dean Dome. That is absolutely irrelevant. Rival schools let students tent outside the stadium for weeks; our students can be allowed to line up for a few hours.

3. Finally, and most importantly: divide the ticket allotment into two parts, lower level and upper level. Lower level tickets will be allotted on a first come, first served basis every Saturday morning; each student can present two one-cards and get two tickets.

For those students incapable of finding someone to take their one card, the upper level tickets can be allotted through a lottery that allows students to sign up in person at the Dean Dome over the period of a week. For those students who complain about relegation to the upper level: you presumably reaped some reward for prioritizing something else over basketball tickets. I think I should reap a reward for prioritizing basketball tickets over something else. For those students who complain about the walk to the Dean Dome: you are the group the system is designed to keep out.

The benefits of this system are obvious. Any student is capable of getting a ticket to a game according to their desire to attend; there is still a lottery element for those unwilling to put forth effort. The lower level will be comprised exclusively of students who woke up on Saturday morning and then lined up before tip-off. The basketball team might just be rewarded with a student atmosphere that matches the success of our program.**CR**

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Carolina Review
North Carolina's Collegiate Journal

Homer's Life Lessons for the Undergraduate

What the Odyssey has to teach us



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Homer on Life: Wisdom for the Undergraduate

A curious disrespect for tradition and antiquity in the literary field has, of some times past, plagued the opinions of collegiate society. Born not of meaningful intent, for it is heretical nowadays to meaningfully intend to disrespect anything whatsoever, this disrespect has nevertheless become the sine qua non of a certain 'sophistication' that seems to be prerequisite to membership in modern intellectual circles.

When we approach pre-modern writings with the presupposition that "they speak not to us" or "we have moved beyond such perspectives," we vanquish by arrogance the transcendent wisdom that speaks to men and women of all times, cultures, preferences, and dispositions. "Such 'transcendent wisdom' does not exist!" we bluster. Perhaps, but even if one does not believe in an ultimate wisdom, ancient writers were at least devoid of the cowardly circumspection that refuses to claim anything definitive about the human condition, and their advice, though perhaps sometimes misguided, at least proceeded from the rather solid presumption that guidance was in order. Unfortunately for our times, the wisdom of the intellectual elite is rarely applied. When a Sisyphus of academia has at long last pushed his argument's boulder to the top of the hill, he concedes to watching its newfound truths roll down, compelled by a relativistic gravity.

When a Sisyphus of academia has at long last pushed his argument's boulder to the top of the hill, he concedes to watching its newfound truths roll down, compelled by a relativistic gravity.

Thus reason and a certain respect for common sense compel me to elucidate, despite my assured incompetence for such a task, certain life lessons from ages past. The first lessons will be taken from Homer and specifically his epic, *The Odyssey*. They represent but a trifling sample of Homer's wisdom, but perhaps the morsels will induce you to examine the feast at some later point.

Life Lesson 1: Listen to old people

I begin with the lay of the land. Odysseus, a Greek hero attempting to return from the Trojan Wars, has been absent his family and wife in Ithaca almost two decades. His wife, Penelope, is being pressured by a number of suitors who have come to woo her on account of Odysseus' absence; they believe that

he will never return home, but there is one man who disagrees. Halitherses, an "aged warrior," comes on the scene in Book 2 of the epic with a warning that should have made the suitors reevaluate their dreams of love, or at least pause to reflect. At line 161, Halitherses says:

"Hear me now men of Ithaca…
Surely Odysseus will not be
long away from his family, but
now, already, is somewhere close by
working out the…destruc-
tion of [the suitors]...
I who foretell this am not untried, I know
what I am saying."[1]

Needless to say, the suitors write off Halitherses as a senile fool. Unfortunately, the prophecy was true and Odysseus was, in fact, approaching Ithaca at that very time; the suitors soon would perish because they did not heed the advice of the old prophet.

We college students, like the suitors, can occasionally be quite reckless in the pursuit of our hopes, dreams, and loves. Ignoring, usually tacitly, the wisdom of our elders, we forget that our hopes were once their hopes, our dreams their dreams, our loves their loves, and our future their future. Neglecting to seek advice from older men and women may not lead to the quick death of Penelope's suitors (who were killed by Odysseus' arrows and spear), but perhaps something worse: the extended death of living with ever-recurring pitfalls that could have been avoided had we asked someone who had seen them before. Find your Halitherses, sit down, and listen. I'd even bring a notepad.



Ignoring, usually tacitly, the wisdom of our elders, we forget that our hopes were once their hopes, our dreams their dreams, our loves their loves, and our future their future.

Life Lesson 2: Choose drowning before you starve

On his journey back to Ithaka, Odysseus and his companions were stuck on an island and faced a dreadful choice: to eat the sun god's cows and perish at sea from a curse or starve to death slowly from lack of food. The men decide fairly rapidly that steak is on the menu, and one of the men goes out of his way in Book 12, Line 341 to say why:

"All deaths are detest-
able for wretched mortals,
but hunger is the sorriest way to die and
encounter fate."[2]

Pardon the extrapolation, but my purpose with the short anecdote above is not really the tagline of 'choose drowning before you starve'; most of us, God-forbid, will not need that advice. But there is a very crude truth in this story about the human condition: starvation is a horrid way to die.

Most of us reading have rarely experienced true hunger, much less starvation. But there are millions of men, women, and children today who are starving and wasting away while we complain because barbecue wasn't on the menu at Top of Lenoir. Homer would probably encourage us to stop complaining and perhaps even suggest that we sacrifice some of our own excess for the sake of hungry.

If you bar admittance to all the wisdom distilled thus far on account of its blatant truth, please take this last piece of advice seriously. No really, for your own good.

Life Lesson 3: Don't go to sleep drunk on a roof

Homer's Odyssey, Book 10, Line 552 and following:

"There was one, Elpenor, the
youngest man, not terribly
powerful in fighting nor sound
in his thoughts. This man,
apart from the rest of his friends,
in search of cool air, had lain
down drunkenly to sleep on
the roof of Circe's palace,
and when his companions stirred
to go he, hearing the tumult
and noise of talking, started sud-
denly up, and never thought,
when he went down, to go
by way of the long ladder,
but blundered straight off the edge
of the roof, so that his neck bone
was broken out of its sockets, and his soul
went down to Hades."[3]

Enough said. **CR**

Homage to Catalonia

George Orwell's lesser-known work sheds light on Marxist thought



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It is a great irony that one of the twentieth century's most prominent critics of totalitarianism once fought on the side of Stalin. Yet, in 1936 a 33 year old idealistic socialist who went by the pen-name George Orwell traveled to Barcelona with the goal of, as he put it, "killing one fascist soldier." Years before George Orwell penned 1984 and Animal Farm, he fought as a volunteer in Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War.





Orwell was part of a group of volunteers from the British Independent Labour Party. An avowed socialist, Orwell hoped to find the beginnings of a worker's revolution in Spain. When he arrived in Barcelona declaring "I've come to fight against Fascism," he found the city under the control of the anarchist faction of the Republican side. The city was in a glorious chaos. Orwell would later write, "Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or the red and black flags of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle;...almost every church had been [illegible] and its images burnt...Every shop [illegible] had an inscription saying that it had been collectivized."

Orwell joined the Partido Obrero Unificación Marxista ("Worker's Party of Marxist Unification", or POUM) in Barcelona. The POUM was one of several Marxist-Leninist-Anarchist popular militias which sprung up in Spain at the beginning of the war. Despite being poorly trained and armed with antiquated rifles, the militias managed to halt the Nationalist advance in several sectors. By the time Orwell made it to the frontlines, the sides were locked in static trench warfare. The main effort each side made to provoke each other was to scream "Fascistas maricones!" or "Viva Franco!" every time soldiers from the other side were within earshot.

At the front lines there was comradeship, but behind the front lines each faction on the Republican side loathed the others. The communists had become the dominant faction in the government, largely because they could rely on foreign aid from the Soviet Union. Opposed to them were the various militias, such as the Trotskyist POUM and the Anarchist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo ("National Confederation of Labour", or CNT).

The official position of the communists was that Spain was not yet ready for communist revolution. Spain had been a semi-feudal state just a few years before, and the communists argued that Spain must first become a democratic republic before it would be ready for the transition to communism.

The POUM, on the other hand, argued that this would amount to a capitulation to capitalism, and thought that a communist revolution could and should be begun immediately. The Anarchists were also of this mindset, only they opposed centralized government.

At first, Orwell looked past these divisions and assumed all the competing groups were on the same side in the fight against fascism. Surely, they could bond against a common enemy.

But tensions rose between the Republican factions. Recognizing that the militia system could not last, the government moved to create a uniformed national army, with a respected officer corps. The lax discipline of the militias was to be replaced by the discipline of a modern army, just like

in the capitalist western powers.

Tensions rose between the militias and the government. The communists viewed the militias as a threat to its attempts to establish order. While Orwell was on leave in Barcelona in May 1937 after six months on the frontlines, he experienced several days of street fighting between the POUM, Anarchists and communists. Orwell returned to the frontline, where he was wounded and discharged from service.



In June, the communist government outlawed the POUM and moved to disarm and arrest its members. Its co-founder, Andres Nin, was arrested and tortured to death by Soviet intelligence agents. Orwell himself just barely escaped into France, while other foreign volunteers were rounded up and imprisoned.

Orwell came to realize that the Soviet-backed communists were not interested in a proletarian revolution in Spain. Instead, Orwell writes that he came to realize that as an established state, the Soviet Union did not want to create instability in Europe. In 1935, the Soviet Union formed an alliance with France. The Soviet Union did not want to upset this alliance by creating a radical communist state on France's back door. Rather, they wanted to increase security by creating another republic which would be compatible with France. The Spanish communists could not afford to lose Soviet military support, so they complied with Soviet wishes.



On the Aragon front at Huesca March 1937 Orwell is the tall figure standing in the center. Eileen Blair is crouching in front of him.

The POUM and Anarchists saw this as a betrayal of the Revolution. As Orwell would write ten years later in 1984, "The Party seeks power entirely for its own sake. We are not interested in the good of others; we are interested solely in power. Not wealth or luxury or long life or happiness: only power, pure power… Power is not a means, it is an end. One does not establish a dictatorship in order to safeguard a revolution; one makes the revolution in order to establish the dictatorship. The object of persecution is persecution. The object of torture is torture. The object of power is power."

Orwell would remain a committed socialist for the rest of his life. As biographer John Newsinger wrote, "The other crucial dimension to Orwell's socialism was his recognition that the Soviet Union was not socialist. Unlike many on the left, instead of abandoning socialism once he discovered the full horror of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union, Orwell abandoned the Soviet Union and instead remained a socialist - indeed he became more committed to the socialist cause than ever."

Yet, as a socialist mugged by the realities of the war in Spain, Orwell came to realize that a true proletarian revolution would have been impossible. Spain was too divided, too broken to become a working democracy. "When the war was over," Orwell wrote, "It would have to be a dictatorship, and it was clear that the chance of a working-class dictatorship had passed. That meant that the general movement would be in the direction of some kind of Fascism." Only a dictator of some type, whether a fascist or a Stalinist, could keep Spain together.

Despite being a socialist, Orwell's writings show a staunch advocacy of individualism. He believed that a true proletarian revolution would allow for individual freedoms in a classless society. But what does his book show us about individualistic socialism?

It shows that it is ineffective at organizing things. The POUM and other militias that Orwell referred to as a "crude forecast" of a socialist society were disorganized and poorly equipped. Officer ranks were not formalized and orders were often debated and disobeyed.

As a result, such a society naturally transitions into authoritarianism. The militias had to be formed into uniformed armed forces, with bourgeois officers and orders that had to be obeyed instead of debated. As a result of the chaos unleashed in Spain, especially in Anarchist-controlled Catalonia, every group with a cause took up arms and formed a militia. This led to factional infighting, which led to the strongest faction – the communist-led government – seizing power and eliminating its rival groups. The result, as Orwell realized, was that a dictatorship in Spain was inevitable.

Many on the far left, including Orwell himself, have long argued that Stalin and the Soviet Union did not represent true communism. However, as Homage to Catalonia somewhat unintentionally shows us, a 'true' proletarian revolution does not bring liberty, equality and freedom. Instead, it brings chaos, disorganization and eventually a repressive dictatorship. **CR**

GREAT SPEECHES IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France



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There is a specter haunting America: the specter of Edmund Burke. Burke (1729-1797) maintains an indisputable position in the annals of modern political though. Even as the French revolution was in its moderate phase in 1790, Burke, writing from England was able to predict what historians now know as the troubling excesses of the



Revolution, like the Great Terror and the dictatorial control of the Jacobin cabal. Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* was the first sweeping political commentary on the French Revolution as it was occurring.

A primary subject of this letter addressed to a gentleman in Paris is the merits of "change." Given that this one word was used as the entire campaign slogan of our current President, obviously the merits of "change" are still of vast importance.

Burke, writing from England, was able to predict what historians now know as the troubling excesses of the Revolution, like the Great Terror and the dictatorial control of the Jacobin cabal.

You will often hear statists bludgeon their opponents over their rhetorical head by accusing them of being "afraid of change." This argument of course presupposes the notion that all change is to be desired; and that it is not simply progress for the sake of progress based on an ideology. Burkes' *Reflections* offer a nice vantage point at which we can see exactly what "change" can look like.

Born in Dublin, Ireland in 1729 Burke had led the life of a eighteenth century politician until 1789, the dawn of the French Revolution. *Reflections* was written as a direct response to Richard Price of the London Revolutionary Society; which was an organization that sought to commemorate the English revolution of 1688. Price had just written a laudatory tract on the French Revolution, the *Discourse on the Love of Our Country* that had greatly perturbed Burke.

Burke's argument in *Reflections* is political and philosophical. He begins by characterizing the revolutionaries as fanatics who had uprooted all the vestments of civilization, established authority, and tradition which had kept France form descending into a state of anarchy. Burke pines to the Revolutionaries that "you began ill, because you began by despising every thing that belonged to you." This line reflects Burke's preoccupation with the idea of the "Ancient Constitution."

The "Ancient Constitution" is the shared authority of a political system forged by many generations, in many places, over many times. To Burke the revolutionary government was a "fac-

tional" cabal of young untried upstarts who where replacing decades of delicate societal construction with an untested system that lacked the varied and diverse authority of "tradition." "A people will not look forward... who never look backward," Burke claims.

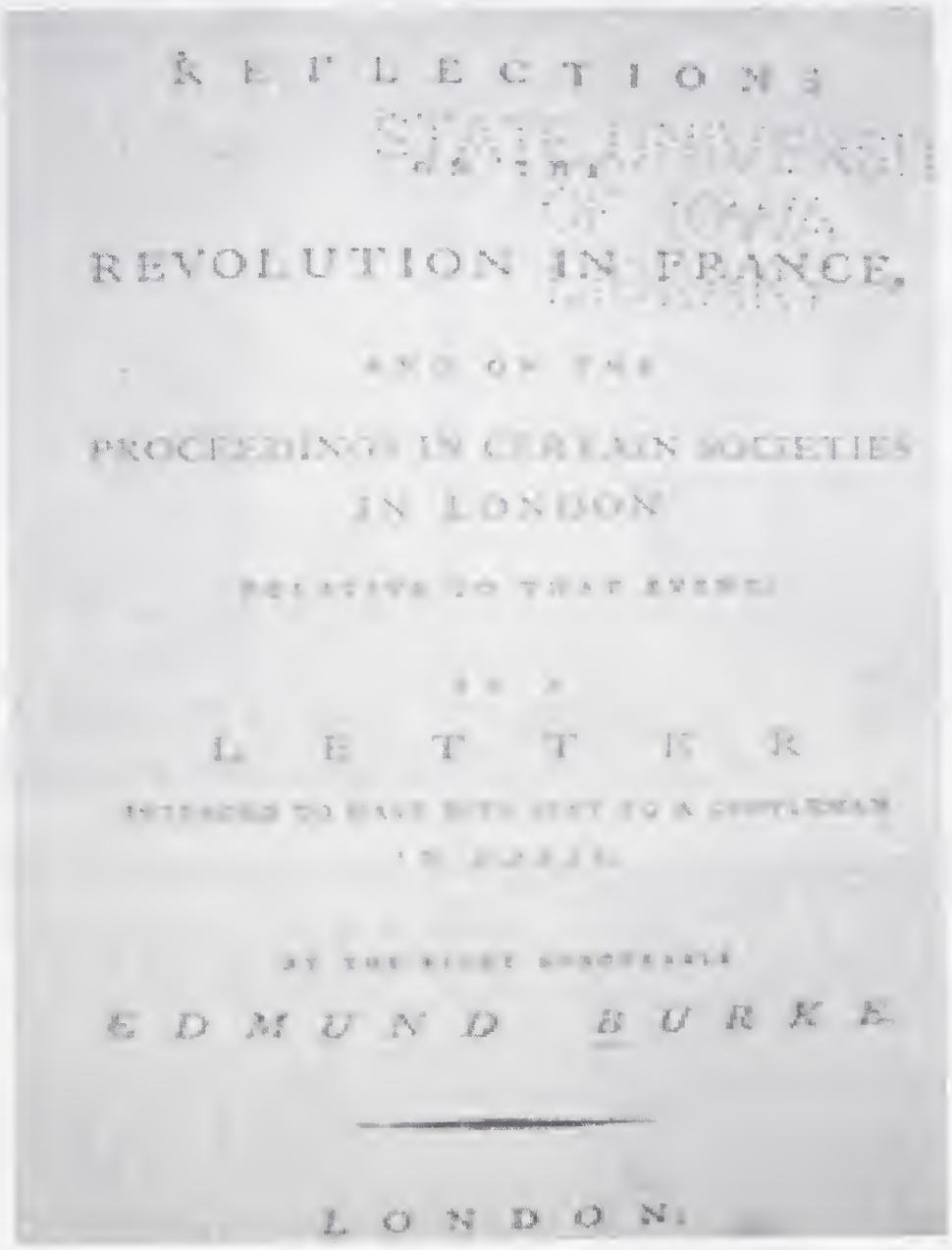
He also blames this perceived hubris on the eighteenth century obsession with the idea of "reason." He postulates that the intricacies of government were not created solely by modern notions of reason and therefore should not be judged by the standards of contemporary rationality.

Burke was very much so opposed to the "abstract theory" that he saw governing such documents as the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen* (1789), which he viewed as the use of vague notions of natural rights to unfairly judge existing institutions. Now that the inheritance of the "Ancient Constitution" had been denied "a world marked by the inevitable narrowness of the imagination of a single person or group," as one Burke scholar puts it, would fill the void.

Contemporary discussions of Burke always take on a political tone. Those defenders of Burke usually being lumped in the right and those who would challenge him are thrown into the left. During the subsequent nineteenth century Burke was seen as a watershed of conservative values to the British aristocracy who found themselves constantly staving off the petitions of change from the Socialists.

Burke's non-doctrinaire and non-metaphysical approach was valued by those who rejected using these as a basis for governance, like Burke did himself. In the twentieth century Burke became part of the Cold War discourse between the partisans of Communism and Capitalism. American conservatives in particular saw their battle with secular communism as synonymous with Burke's own battle against the secular Jacobinism.

Much of what Burke purports can just as easily be applied to contemporary politics. That's what makes *Reflections* so, how would you say...revolutionary; its timeless quality. After all, our current president openly stated that he intended to "fundamentally transform" America. When you change the "fundamentals" of a society you must change the fundamentals of its inherited political tradition. Which President Obama is doing quite well.


REFLECTIONS
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE,
EDMUND BURKE
LONDON.

When you change the "fundamentals" of a society you must change the fundamentals of its inherited political tradition.

We can see in a snapshot, what all this "change" has meant for our own "Ancient Constitution:" A healthcare bill that, for the first time in American history, would have the Federal government force citizens to buy something. A shadowy network of unelected "czars" with radical philosophical loyalties to people like genocidal mass murderer Mao Zedong.

The reauthorization of suspect portions of the Patriot Act, including roving wire taps, and the FISA Court. And Obama's appointment of himself to the Chairmanship of the UN Security Council (see Article 1 Section 9 of the US Constitution). The list could go on.

I could not substantiate a direct comparison of Obama's administration to the Jacobin regime. After all, he is not using the National Razor to lop off the heads of American aristocrats (that's what taxes are for). But, in scope, Burkes' *Reflections* is beyond the French Revolution.

His adages to be wary of "new power in new persons" (or a former Junior Senator) do not simply apply to Revolutionary France. Nor do his admonitions that though something is reasonable and efficient (like making a company rich again by giving it a boat load of taxpayer money) can also be without principle, mean any less when applied in 2010.

Burke was a remarkably independent intellectual. While the zeitgeist was moving in one direction he stood steadfast in another. He also had a remarkable track record of successful predictions, especially concerning the outcome of the American Revolution, or the eventual failure of British Imperialism. In light of Burkes' clairvoyance it might be wise to take note and remember that "change" should not necessarily be associated with progress. That many times the better angles of our past are in fact the better angles of our society, and that sometimes what seems "reasonable" is not always right. **CR**

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CAROLINA BASKETBALL!



Cool intro, but I think I'd rather watch the "Pants on the Ground" guy again...

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

The Rub

One year later, the U.S. economy has too many jobs, everyone has cheap health care, the budget is balanced, hope and change proliferate and we have world peace.	*Told you so*
Basically, the state of the union is good.	*…ish*
While not wholly unexpected, as many voters anticipated miracles from the Obamessiah, some are still surprised at the extent to which he has not only fully delivered on every promise, but has also solved every imaginable problem in existence in addition to a few that aren't.	*Like bipartisanship. Hnge problem. Glad he took care of that one*
Regardless of your feelings on the matter, however, you must admit that crazier things could have happened.	*Such as him getting elected in the first place…*
The president's approval rating could have dipped to 50 percent.	*There was weeping and gnashing of teeth*
A majority of people could, in fact, oppose the president's health care plan.	*Dude can't take a hint*
People could drive around with bumper stickers that use Obama's campaign logo (the red, white and blue "O") to spell such nonsensical words as "OOPS" and "LOL."	*Finally, some competition for Carrboro's bnmper sticker factory*
It could have been revealed that scientists fabricated a significant amount of the evidence for global warming.	*Dnring the coldest winter in recent memory, no less*
Obama could have won the Nobel Peace Prize without doing anything at all.	*I actnally think that takes a lot of skill. Or BS, take yonr pick*
Unemployment could still be at 10 percent, and the so-called "stimulus" package could be full of Democrats' pork barrel spending and thus not creating any jobs.	*Fnnny that jobs only now become the No. 1 priority*
And at least a Republican didn't win Ted Kennedy's Massachusetts Senate seat, leaving the Democrats one vote shy of a filibuster-proof majority and thus (hopefully) dooming the universal health care bill.	*And socialism*
Nope, it's a real good thing we're sitting tight and everything's in tip-top shape.	*Some people really believe that*
I hate to say it, but…	*Actnally, I really don't*
Ay, there's the rub.	*Told you so!*

PARADIGMS AND PRINCIPLES

The Palin Problem

Throughout the 2008 presidential election, conservatives mocked Obama for writing a political autobiography after only two years in office. Then, in 2009, conservatives went positively giddy over the publication of Sarah Palin's political autobiography, Going Rouge, written after only two years in office. Palin's disjointed, Faulknerian narrative does precisely what she doesn't need to do: talk about herself. During her run for Vice-President, it became increasingly apparent that Palin has little to sell other than her personal story. Her book, which reads as an extended version of her stump speech, only reinforces this notion. Going Rouge also reinforces our worst suspicions about Palin's decision to resign from the Alaskan governorship. After listening to the speech she gave to announce her resignation, one had the distinct impression that she quit in order to play basketball. This autobiography, coupled with her new position as a Fox News analyst indicates that Palin is chiefly concerned with cultivating her national celebrity and making money. Finally, the conservative reaction to Palin's book (which sold 700,000 copies in its first week) just further reveals the somewhat anti-intellectual tendency among some conservatives to blindly flock to anyone reviled by the left. If this is what "going rouge" entails, we might just stick to the status quo. **CR**

Reactionary Liberals

The reaction of the left to the recent Supreme Court decision which ended unconstitutional restrictions on campaign spending by corporations and labor unions revealed an odd distaste for free speech. Odd because, according to FEC data, the Fortune 500 has a strong Democratic bias, as do (obviously) labor unions. So clearly, this is no mere pragmatic opposition, but is derived from some knee-jerk hatred of corporations. The opposition can be summarized on three points: the decision allows foreign nationals to participate in American politics; as corporations are composed of individuals, this means the particular individuals are "double-dipping" on their right to free speech; and corporations are now allowed to spend vast sums on political campaigns. All these reasons are fallacious. Foreign nationals can currently participate in the political realm by joining 501(c)4s or 527s (i.e. the Sierra Club or US Chamber of Commerce) who are allowed to spend campaign money. Individuals currently organize in political parties to raise money for political purposes. Would this not also count as "double-dipping" on free speech? Finally, there is nothing intrinsically wrong with money in politics, provided all sources of funding are disclosed. Many groups already spend vast sums, so to prohibit corporations from spending money necessitates creating an artificial line between the interests of a for-profit and non-profit organization, both of which play important roles in our daily lives. But at the end of the day, corporations employ tens of millions of Americans. Don't we want Congress to take their interests into account as well to preserve job creation? If only the current administration would learn that lesson....**CR**

Scott Brown Drives his Truck into Victory Lane

After the Republicans' dismal showing in the 2008 elections (and the host of legislative travesties that ensued), many on the right and the left speculated that the Grand Old Party's only hope would be something akin to the archetypal knight in shining armor. Scott Brown drives an old pickup truck in place of a noble steed, and his only armor is the thick skin he needed to survive Martha Coakley's eleventh-hour smear campaign, but Scott Brown is unquestionably the hero of conservatives and fiscally responsible independents everywhere. His election in staunchly liberal Massachusetts provides a gleam of hope for Republicans hoping to redeem themselves in the midterm elections. However, the more immediate consequences of Brown's election are what convinced people to vote for him: he ran as the man who would break the Democrats' cloture as the 41st Republican in the US Senate. This constitutes an obvious judgment by the electorate, even in über-liberal Massachusetts, that the strong-arm tactics employed by the Democrats in the healthcare debate are detrimental to the interests of the American people. The Obama Administration may spin this by saying people's frustration with President Bush made them vote for Scott Brown (yeah...), but unless President Obama wakes up and smells the coffee, we may start referring to a "Speaker Boehner" in 2011...**CR**

Carolina Review



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CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.

* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.

* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.

* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.

* We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.

* We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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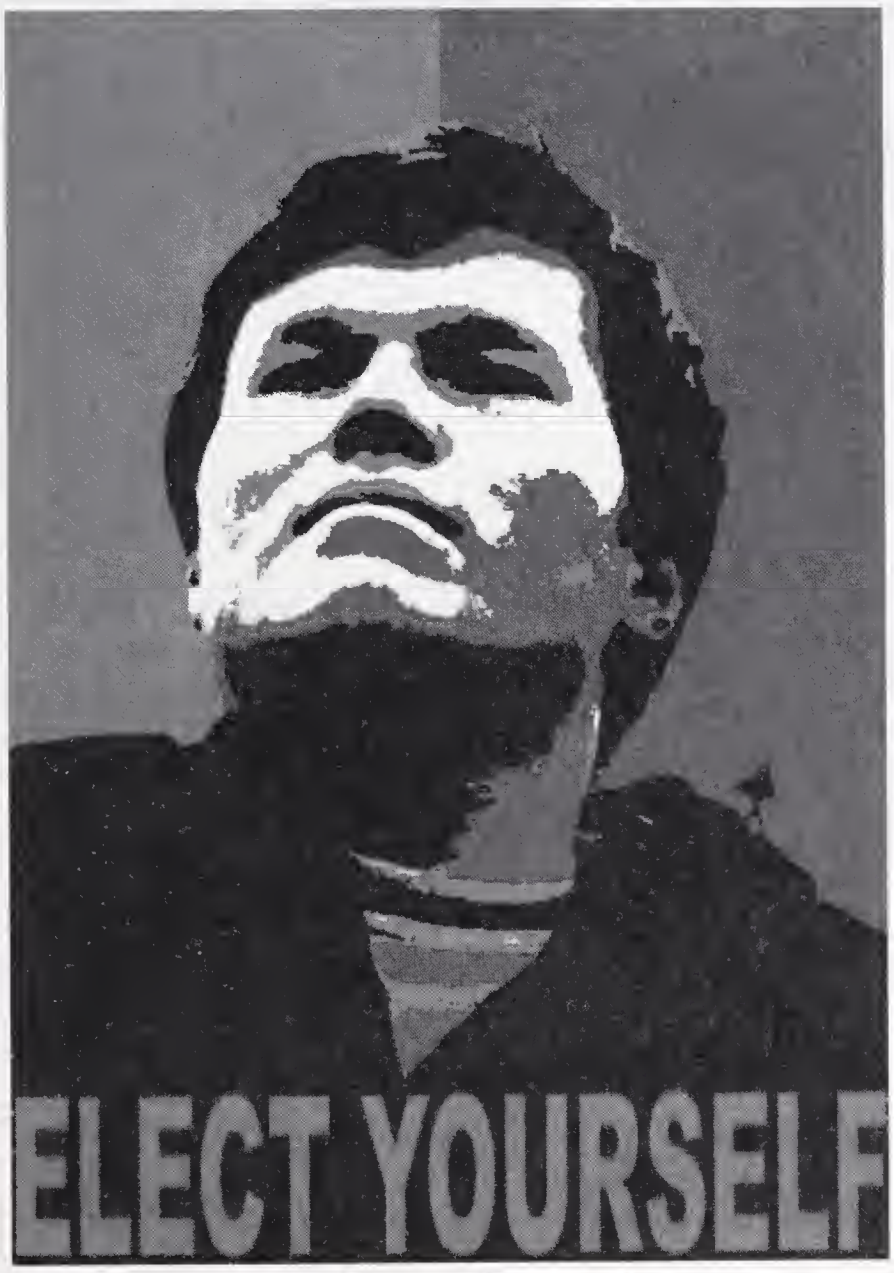
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HE SAID, SHE SAID

Comments From the Blog

"I believe that in attempting to write theology, Claiborne is like a four-year-old attempting to use a power lawnmower-- his heart is in the right place and he might not be completely ineffective, but still dangerous."

-Russell Johnson commenting on
"The Ultimate Bankruptcy of the Social Gospel"

"Speaking of creepy totalitarian chants, how about those adorable little flyers they left everywhere with fists and some slogan like 'end privatization' on them. Viva la mob!"

-Gilhet commenting on
"The Revolution Against Reality"

"I don't think anyone knocks the Carolina Review writers for being Christian, pro-abstinence, and being against casual, extramarital sex. I wouldn't care if they were those things or atheists having orgies with each other every night."

-lulz commenting on
"Feminists Gone Wild"

"If I were black,
I'd think race were important too.
(catch my drift, white person?)"

-pyelena commenting on
"Crowder That and David Horowitz"

"I am not a destroyer of companies. I am a liberator of them!
The point is, ladies and gentleman, that green -- for lack of a better word -- is good.
Green is right. Green works. Green clarifies, cuts through, and captures the essence of the evolutionary spirit.
Green, in all of its forms -- green for life, for money, for love, knowledge -- has marked the upward surge of mankind.
And green -- you mark my words -- will not only save Teldar Paper, but that other malfunctioning corporation called the USA."

-nkeune
commenting on "The Green Police"

VIEWPOINTS



How the local NAACP views children

Quotes from the Left Side:

"Only 36,000 people lost their jobs today, which is really good."
-Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid

"It's easy to be vice president, you don't have to do anything. It's like being the grandpa and not the parent. Yeah, that's it!"
-Vice President Joe Biden

"First Bush cut taxes for the rich and the economy has rebounded with new record low unemployment rates, which only means wealthy employers are getting even wealthier at the expense of the underpaid working class."
-Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi explaining how economics works



UNC Feminist: "Rape is like, not cool. Hey Guys, don't forget to use a condom!"

Quotes from the Right Side:

"The America Republic will endure until the day Congress discovers that it can bribe the public with the public's money."
-Alexis de Tocqueville

"How do you tell a Communist? Well, it's someone who reads Marx and Lenin. And how do you tell an anti-Communist? It's someone who understands Marx and Lenin."
-President Ronald Wilson Reagan

"You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves."
-President Abraham Lincoln



Quotes to Guide Your Life:

"I always remember that whatever I have done in the past or may do in the future, Duke University is responsible in one way or another."
-President Richard M. Nixon

"I think Jesus was a compassionate, super-intelligent gay man who understood human problems."
-Elton John

"If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that, too."
-W. Somerset Maugham

CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

PARADIGMS AND PRINCIPLES

Monkey Junkies

Wake Forest University was recently awarded a $71,623 grant funded by the stimulus package. This grant will pay for a study of the effects of cocaine on monkeys. Yes, cocaine. Yes, monkeys.

The monkeys will be trained to self administer the incredibly deadly drug in order to "test the hypotheses that elements of the glutamate" system is altered in nonhuman primates self-administering cocaine, followed by abstinence, in which the dopamine system has already been extensively characterized, and shown to be substantially dysregulated" (according to www.recovery.gov)

At long last, America has a government that cares about the needs of the average citizen. At least that is the unavoidable conclusion that one must draw from this grant which (again according to www.recovery.gov) will create .43 jobs.

The American recovery has begun. **CR**

Protesting Reality

While some of the signs at the SDS-sponsored budget cut protest left us confused as to what exactly they were protesting ("Repeal Jim Crow", really? Increasing tuition 5.2 percent is the equivalent of centuries of segregation and racism?), their contentions with the increase were fairly simple: education is a right, so UNC needs to abolish tuition; instead of increasing tuition, they should cut administrators' salaries; increase corporate taxes to cover budget shortfalls. This leftist prattle revealed a failure to comprehend the underlying economic realities. The protesters' creepy totalitarian chant, "The people, united, will never be defeated!", might have been convincing if "the people" consisted of more than 35 UNC students. **CR**

FOR THE KIDS!!!

Over dinner the other day, David Horowitz bemoaned the lack of political acumen on the Right. The Right is too honorable to descend to the level of the Left in their political machinations and, thus, lose many battles that it need not lose. The Right is just too honorable to descend to the level of the Left in their political machinations and, thus, lose many battles that would otherwise be winnable. We can debate whether or not the Right should follow the Left's lead in their nefarious doings, but nothing displays his point more than the use of small children and toddlers omnipresent at the various protests on campus. Parents shamelessly exploited their children last year campaigning for the child care services fee increase and, again, during the protest against the tuition hike. While graduate students' children were at least tangentially related to the child care services fee debate, the children were being used to score political points and merely served to obfuscate the debate: should the entire student body pay to subsidize less than one-tenth of a percent of the student body's child care costs. For tuition hikes, shoving kids in front of a camera was a grotesque attempt to overshadow the economic reality which requires occasionally increasing tuition. We're left mouths agape, asking, "At long last, have you left no sense of decency?" **CR**

Mainstream Snooze

"Red Eye," Fox News Channel's late-night comedy talk show, celebrated its third anniversary by toppling CNN's entire primetime lineup in the key demo during the first week of February.

"Red Eye," which airs at 3 a.m., averaged 165,000 in the age 25-54 demographic that week. Compare that with Wolf Blitzer's average of 135,800 from 5-8 p.m., Campbell Brown's 155,000 at 8 p.m., Larry King's 156,200 at 9 p.m., and Anderson Cooper's average of 142,800 from 10-12 p.m.

Besides being almost too funny to joke about, these numbers are more evidence that Fox News is incredibly dominant in the cable news scene today. More important is that this show reaches across the political spectrum.

Though the host of the show, Greg Gutfeld, is a witty and well-versed conservative, frequent liberal guests are welcomed on the show, such as Dr. Lamont Hill (who was let go by Fox News) and even Alan Colmes. Bill Shultz, Gutfeld's "disgusting" sidekick, is the resident liberal among the "Red Eye" crew. Not to mention, Gutfeld has recently employed the likes of liberal robots Andrew Sullivan and David Schuster.

Comedians Jim Norton and Greg Proops are regular panelists on the show, as are Fox News hosts such as Jill Dobson and Courtney Friel. All of this is wrapped up into a late-night comedy and news hybrid burrito that provides plenty of laughs and perhaps some indigestion the next day.

Basically, "Red Eye" – regretfully on way past our bedtimes – is one of the funniest shows on television today. And apparently more popular than CNN. **CR**

Obama's promises for clean energy will likely end up empty

President Obama claims that he wants to compromise with Republicans on energy policy. Mr. Obama has backed his promises with action by committing over $8 billion in federal loans to erect two nuclear power plants in Georgia. But the means by which he intends to make nuclear power economically viable are unsustainable. Past federal attempts to establish clean energy sources have failed largely due to exclusive reliance on loan guarantees. As a result, the search for clean energy has become entirely dependent on governmental support. We should lament this dependence. After all, we taxpayers do not want to be burdened with a cause that seems unlikely to succeed unless American industry can wean itself off of total reliance on the state. **CR**

I'll tip my hat to the new constitution

Certain members of Student Congress have an insatiable desire to make continual changes to the way in which Student Government operates. Exhibit A: Instant runoff voting. While there should be some debate over whether runoffs should happen or not, the system has been working well for the past several decades, so why change now? Given that the Board of Elections is notorious for having issues with the election software, there is no reason why we should assume preferential voting would produce better results instead of more headaches. Even so, rumor has it some congressmen are in the midst of drafting a new constitution for student government. Heaven help us. **CR**

Let's talk about The Ratio



by Alex Macey
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The "New Math on Campus" is nothing but a miscalculation

The current hysteria over "The New Math on Campus" simply isn't worth the trouble.

First and foremost, we must *not* see Alex Williams' sensationalist piece in any way as a direct attack on UNC. There is no reason to believe that Williams targeted our campus or intended to present an unfavorable image of our students. Rather, as one of the best public institutions in the nation, our *alma mater* is largely representative of others; this is likely why Williams selected it as the centerpiece for his article.

Among the outlandish claims Williams makes about Carolina students, including the suggestion that women need to lower their standards in order to find a partner, he declares that "the lopsided population tends to skew behavior;" that women have started, as he said, "competing for men on men's terms" while men have displayed increased license due to the superabundance of options at their disposal.

Before taking offense, however, consider that Williams' study is by no means credible. Not only is the surveyed population not remotely representative of the campus at large (it is no mystery that troupes of sorority women might find themselves devoid of male attention, and one would hope that these women were aware of this when they consciously chose to pledge membership to a *sister*hood), but he takes the entire "problem" that he is seeking to highlight out of context. He is correct in noting that problems exist. What he doesn't quite get right, however, is exactly *what* the problem is.

Williams falsely assumes that a perfect 50-50 ratio would mean that everyone would have a partner.

First and foremost, the disproportionate male-female ratio has absolutely nothing to do with the issues Williams points out. While it might be true that both men and women in college crave meaningful relationships, it is not always the case. College is marked by an unwillingness to commit, and the hormonal differences between men and women can lead to misunderstanding, false expectations, and emotional scarring. The article, then, is misguided in assuming that it is the superabundance of women on campuses that leads men to run amok, while in fact this is not a legitimate explanation.

Further, Williams falsely assumes that a perfect 50-50 ratio would mean that everyone would have a partner. But this assumes so much: does this mean that every student would be heterosexual? Does it mean that students would not be inclined to seek relationships outside their own institutions?

Also, does this mean that students at single-gender institutions are condemned to live alone their entire lives? His assumptions cannot stand.

Further, while denouncing the ratio as a curse, Williams utterly fails to recognize the integrity of a prestigious university such as UNC. Sure, we could create a perfect gender balance. That means that we, as a public school, would have to crack down on our quota. And do we really want this? Or do we want students here who both deserve and *want* to be here, regardless of their gender? Williams says "women on gender unbalanced campuses are paying a social price for success and, to a degree, are being victimized by men precisely because they have outperformed them." It is ironic to note that the very same women that complain about the gender imbalance might currently be at another school had they lost their spot at Carolina to a man.

Yet more importantly, Williams suggests that the surplus of women results in men feeling at license to treat them as disposable. "It is not uncommon," he says "to see six provocatively clad women hovering around one or two guys at a party." Generally it is the men who "win" in that situation, taking advantage of the attention he receives while the women are left feeling used. To blame this common occurrence on the ratio, though, is simply absurd. Men and women must both take responsibility in maintaining a culture of mutual respect, and this begins with a simple matter of *self* respect.

The college mentality that a guy can get whatever he wants from any girl is nothing short of an abomination, and speaks to a general decline in a proper regard of self-worth. Williams seems to suggest that girls who fail to assert themselves sexually will not have meaningful relationships, assuming that those who *do*, will. Williams goes so far as to quote a student who claimed that dressing provocatively and chasing down men was not her style, pegging this as the reason she has not had a long-term relationship in college. In making these assumptions, Williams is weakening an already fragile population. It is definitely not true that meaningful relationships are born from a woman's aggression, forwardness, or sexual appeal. In fact, this leads only to the temporary and meaningless hookups that, Williams claims, women bemoan and men celebrate.



Source: *The New York Times*

Williams says that "college men…can be particularly unmannerly when the numbers are in their favor." While this definitely does not do a justice to men at Carolina, there is some truth to the fact that men will feel themselves at liberty to handle interactions with women rather capriciously. Yet women are almost entirely responsible for feeding this mentality. The solution is simple: self respect commands that women abandon the hysterical search for male attention and cease placing themselves in positions in which they might feel "used." Just as Williams might believe that men need to tone down or quell their Don Juan tendencies, women need to realize that if they stop throwing themselves at men, then they will not be treated so casually. If women were to realize that they will not be condemned to be single and miserable for their entire lives if they don't attract a man at a party, then men would not be so inclined to view women as desperate and anxious.

Our problem, then, isn't a shortage of men, it is a shortage of confidence and security needed to realize that a gender imbalance should affect neither our integrity nor the way we live our lives. **CR**



Source: *The New York Times*

Obama's Budget Includes Red Ink as Major Line Item



by MARC SEELINGER
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The national debt's threat to your freedom and security

The newly proposed federal budget passes several significant milestones and creates several problems in the realm of economics, politics, and national security. While its sheer size is incomprehensible, the effect that it will have on the United States and its people is not.

Coming in at $3.8 trillion, the budget for the 2011 fiscal year is massive and the largest on record. It will comprise 25.4 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), while the government will borrow 42 cents of every dollar it spends.

The total budget shortfall, or deficit, for FY2011 will be $1.3 trillion, on top of this year's $1.6 trillion deficit, and 2009's $1.4 trillion deficit. Projections indicate that the federal deficit will hover around $1 trillion each year through 2020, by which point one-fifth of the taxes collected by the federal government will simply go to pay the interest on the nation's colossal debt.

To put this in perspective, in 2007 (the last fiscal year in which Republicans controlled Congress), the annual deficit came in at $162 billion. While this too is no small figure, it is mere pocket change compared to the debt run up by a Democrat-controlled Congress and now White House in just three years.

The most significant consequences of this budget lie in its impact on US economic development. Most prominently, the budget raises taxes by $2 trillion over the next 10 years. Obama raises taxes in several ways. The Bush-era tax cuts on the "wealthy" are allowed to expire, and the deductions that these people can claim are capped. The budget also calls for raising the capital gains tax to 20 percent and imposes $120 billion in new taxes on international corporations and $90 billion in new taxes on banks. What this amounts to is an all-out assault on private economic output.

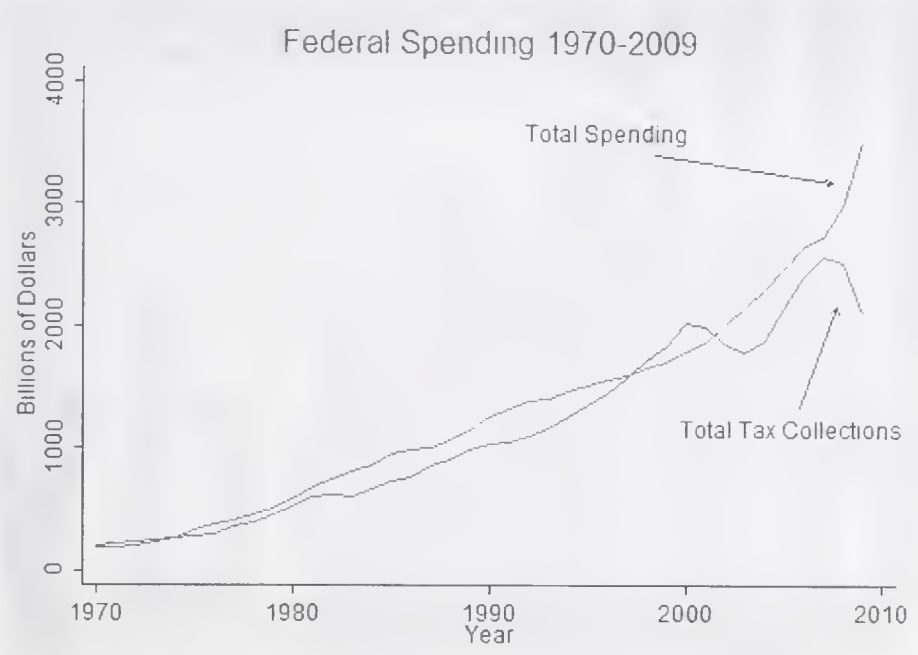
When the government taxes something, it increases the cost of doing that activity. Naturally, when that happens, it occurs less often. GDP is composed primarily of consumption, investment, and government spending. By increasing the income tax on the nation's wealthiest Obama is limiting these people's ability to consume. Having the most money, the wealthy are the individuals most able to consume and the most able to contribute to economic recovery.

Increasing the costs of international corporations and increasing the capital gains tax has a similar effect. The corporations will pass these taxes onto their customers in the form of higher prices. Consequently, the average consumer will consume less, which results in fewer profits for the corporation. With less money coming in and the costs of investing in capital increased, the corporation is then disincentivized from investing in new capital or hiring new workers.

Banks will also pass their new tax along to consumers and investors. The banks will likely increase the fees they charge to service loans, making it more difficult and more costly for businesses to obtain the funds they need to invest in new machines, equipment, etc. Thus, the President's new taxes serve to drain money from the consumption and investment components of GDP and redirect them towards an ever-growing, ever-bloated government.

However, the budget does not just stop with new taxes; it also introduces

a whole host of new spending. Among other things, the budget introduces $280 billion in new economic recovery initiatives and makes Pell Grants an entitlement (moving them from discretionary spending to mandatory spending), costing $307 billion over the next ten years. "We simply cannot continue to spend as if deficits don't have consequences." Obama said, "as if the hard-earned tax dollars of the American people can be treated like Monopoly money."



Yet the President's actions do not match his words. Given the financial ruin of such entitlement programs as Social Security and Medicare, it seems that it would be most unwise to attempt to introduce a new entitlement program. Adding additional spending obligations when the national debt already stands at $12.4 trillion (84 percent of GDP or $40,000 for every American man, woman, and child) with no efforts made to reduce that debt is suicidal and only advisable if your intention is to run the country into the ground.

The budget also creates problems in the political sector. Most federal government agencies will see sizable increases in their budgets next year. Larger budgets means the government can hire more bureaucrats. When the government hires more bureaucrats, it then has the resources to issue more and increasingly intrusive regulations. The growth in regulation coupled with the growth in government budgets and the federal bureaucracy has been clearly demonstrated over the last sixty years.

The current collection of federal regulations may be purchased from the government (in paperback) for approximately $1,700. Many of these regulations are unnecessary affronts to liberty and freedom. They quash economic activity and trap the individual in a box, limiting this range of choices and denying him the freedom to live his own life. The Obama budget aims to increase the scope and size of the federal government at the expense of individual liberty and establish a new baseline for government intervention into both the economy and private life.

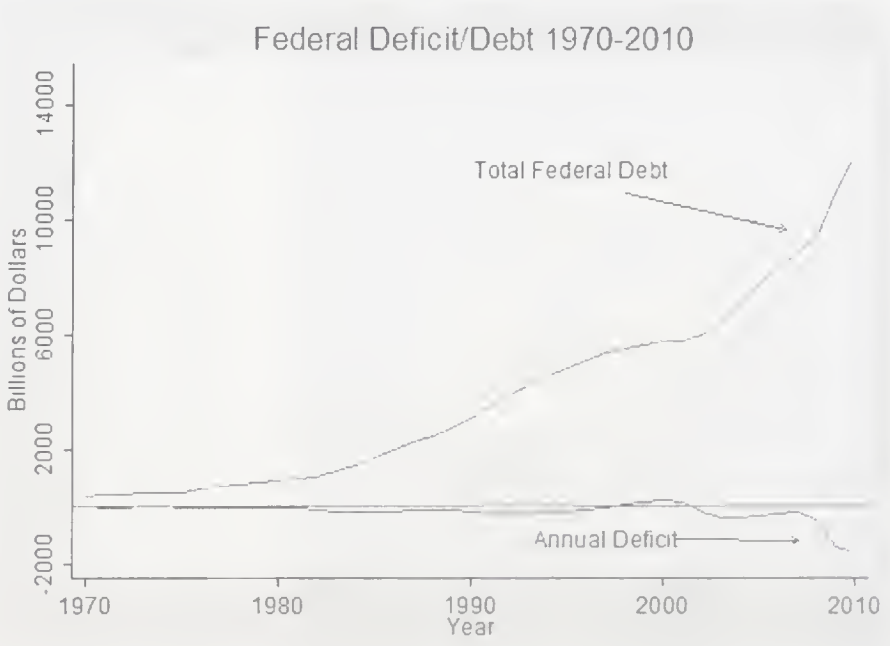
The budget also creates some significant concerns for national security. Foreign countries, some of whom are not necessarily friendly to the United States, hold and finance most of the $12.4 trillion debt. The decision by one or more of these nations to dump their Treasury holdings would have catastrophic effects on the US economy. A common objection to this point is that whichever nation decided to dump their holdings would likely also face financial losses from doing so, as a devaluation of the dollar would affect their own holdings. However, there are two points to consider here.

The first is that the objection assumes a certain level of rational thinking on the part of hostile foreign leaders. While that is generally a fair assumption to make, during the Cold War, similar concerns were held concerning the level-headiness of the Soviet leadership during episodes of extreme pressure (i.e. the Cuban Missile Crisis). So, while that does not overcome the objection, it is something to keep in mind. If a nation decided to dump all of its Treasury holdings, that action could potentially create a global run on the dollar (even by friendly nations). A significant drop in the value of the dollar could trigger a global panic and encourage other nations to dump their holdings to cut their losses. So, while the country that initiated the panic could face significant losses, the United States would be economically destroyed. Without firing a shot, a hostile nation with sizable Treasury holdings could bring this country to its knees.

In announcing his budget Obama said, "Our government is deeply in debt after what can only be described as a decade of profligacy." However, his budget shows no attempt to reduce that debt and in many ways accelerates its accumulation.

The House Majority Whip, Rep. James Clyburn (D-SC) has said, "We've got to spend our way out of this recession." So what are we spending our way into? The facts indicate that we are spending our way into an economic wasteland. The administration's assault on the private sector through its taxes and spending initiatives threaten to undermine any hope of economic recovery.

The budget will set a new minimum for government intervention in the private sector, permanently diminishing the sphere of free interaction and personal choice. The budget also threatens the safety and security of the American people, by giving our enemies the economic equivalent of a nuclear bomb. This budget creates serious economic, political, and national security problems. Congress would do well to reject it. **CR**



The Unmaking of a Student Body President



by NASH KEUNE
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Memoirs of a superfluous candidate

During the early part of my- sorry, I mean *your* campaign for Student Body President, my campaign staff and I would occasionally pause from our planning sessions to celebrate our own wackiness, rejoicing that, "In no other campaign would you hear *that* sentence." This self-congratulatory refrain followed sentences such as "Do you think we could install a PS3 in our A-frame?" "You're going to have to be as narcissistic as possible for the next three months." and "How many narwhal dolls can we buy with $400?"

This line survived into the campaign itself, coming after phrases like "Should we send the *Daily Tar Heel* the 4 page or the 680 page version of our platform?" "How many bodyguards are we going to bring?" and "I'm off to visit my castle" (getting to say "my castle" fulfilled so many daydreams I had as a seven year old).

Even after the election we applied this catchphrase to "If we beat Duke, we should carry the castle to Franklin Street and make a bonfire out of it." and "Thank God we didn't get into the runoff."

A Library in Alpine, Narwhals, and YOU

Unlike some other candidates who started planning their SBP campaigns the moment they arrived on campus freshman year, I decided to run in late September of this school year.

One night, *Carolina Review* staff writer Chris Jones, Art Director Justin Crowder and I were eating dinner together, and somehow the conversation turned towards the then-upcoming SBP campaigns. We more or less joked that we should start a spoof campaign. But, over dinner we came up with idea of putting a library in Alpine (in order "to make it easier for students to find time to study while they're busy eating," according to our platform). Then we had the idea of making everyone at UNC a campaign manager and publishing a campaign book, at which point we became absolutely convinced that the campaign had to happen.

Over the next few months as we threw around ideas for campaign stunts, videos, and platform planks, a more comprehensive satire came into form. Obviously, we were mocking candidates who take SBP campaigns too seriously, make grandiose promises, and are just generally obnoxious. On a deeper level, though, we were playing with the contradictions of constructing an eerily devoted following around a messianic candidate, and then saying the campaign is all about YOU. We weren't really making fun of student government per se, and actually had several members of student government on the campaign.

Of course, the silliest and least directly imitative element of the campaign was the narwhal fixation. The narwhal started as a farcical mascot for the campaign, inspired by the notion that some candidates take their SBP campaigns so seriously that they might mimic the donkeys and elephants of the Democrats and Republicans. It was only after the narwhal became our unofficial mascot that we came up with the idea of housing this noble and majestic creature in the first floor of Davis. This was actually one of the most contentious parts of the campaign. Members of the campaign staff had some pretty intense arguments about whether or not to include narwhals at all. Some argued that narwhals were just too silly and would ruin the tone of the campaign, but in the end the *DTH* latched onto the narwhal tank and it became our most well-known platform plank.



An 'Atypical' Campaign

There were many more pleasant surprises during the campaign. Frankly, I never thought that we were even going to get on the ballot, and I never dreamed we would get many votes. This election was probably the first time that 868 UNC students have agreed with the Editor of the *Carolina Review* about anything.

But the most satisfying surprise of the campaign was the "DON"T [sic] vote for Nash Keune on Feb. 9th" Facebook group started in protest of my platform plank calling for Chapel Hill to be renamed "Unaffiliated House of Worship and Secular Community Temple Mosque Center Hill" in order to promote openness and tolerance. The group had four people in it before my campaign staff discovered it and invited so many people to join that the group eventually grew to 100 members, and even had a *DTH* blog post written about it.

The group quickly morphed from a protest group into a "who can come up with the funniest mock complaint group." **My favorite posts included** "Nash is the reason Facebook keeps changing," "nash judges books by their cover," **and** "I heard that Nash booked all the rooms at the inn so Jesus could not have a place to sleep!" Members also started posting photoshopped pictures of me shaking hands with Saddam Hussein, assassinating President Lincoln, chortling as the Hindenburg crashed in the background, etc.

Gingervitus

Although it might surprise some readers, there were a few ideas we decided against using because we thought they were in bad taste. Originally, I was going to emphasize the fight for ginger rights, which was initially supposed to be one of my most important issues. Ginger issues did survive in the platform as my Diversity plank: "Nash will do more for the underrepresented and often maligned ginger minority on this campus. As a ginger himself, he feels that he understands the needs of the ginger population, the ginger struggle, better than any other candidate." I did also mention ginger issues in my autobiography, *My Life Before You Elected Me SBP*, writing, "Despite their freckles and red hair, these students need to know that the community doesn't think they are melanin-deficient, just less-melanin-endowed."

But I hardly spoke of ginger rights during the campaign. I had even planned to respond to a non-ginger using the term ginger by having a righteously indignant fit and explaining, "I mean, maybe you could say 'ginga' if it was like in a song or something, but anyways that's only if you have a ginger friend." We decided that might be a bit too divisive.

There were also some ideas that we simply didn't have the time to pull off, including one of my favorite ideas from our planning period. We had plans to wait until the campaign had gained some notoriety, then "leak" a secret audio tape of one of our meetings which revealed me to be a completely Machiavellian, unscrupulous politician, calling the electorate "sheeple" and contemplating seducing the Editor-in-chief of the *DTH,* Andrew Dunn to ensure the *DTH* endorsement. Then I was going to very ostentatiously "enter rehab," disappearing from the campaign circuit for a few days only to return a few days later with a cleaner look, more introspective demeanor, and another campaign book. Sadly, we just didn't have enough time to pull this off (*if only the campaign were longer!)*

Narwhals Forever!

To close, I would like to repeat my final statement from the Student TV SBP debate. There was a poem that inspired me throughout the campaign, a poem that lifted my spirits in time of struggle and provided the cherry atop the moments of joy. It reads:

Narwhals, Narwhals
Swimming in the ocean
Causing a commotion
Because they are so awesome
Narwhals, Narwhals



CR

Restoring Freedom of Speech



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Supreme Court lets citizens hear both sides of the story

In January 2008, the advocacy group Citizens United published *Hillary: The Movie,* a documentary questioning the leadership qualifications of Hillary Clinton. At the time, Clinton was seeking the Democratic nomination for President of the United States. Fearing civil penalties and possible criminal prosecution and jail time under section 441(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) for publishing political speech within 30 days of a primary, Citizens United appealed to the courts. Citizens United asked the U.S. District Court of Washington, D.C., to grant an injunction preventing the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) from enforcing 441(b) until the court could hear oral arguments and rule on the constitutionality of the provision.

When the District Court denied the injunction, Citizens United appealed to the Supreme Court. Citizens United asked the Supreme Court to create an exemption to FECA for non-profit corporations whose donations come primarily from individuals and not from other corporations. Such an exemption would allow issue advocacy groups to educate voters about candidates' positions in the days leading up to an election.

The Supreme Court granted certiorari and ruled in favor of the plaintiffs. Justice Kennedy wrote the majority opinion. The ruling actually rejects the idea that advocacy groups will engage in merely educational speech; instead, it acknowledges that these groups will deliver both informational and opinionated speech. Kennedy writes that 441(b) violated the right to express both facts and opinions: "The purpose and effect of this law is to prevent corporations, including small and nonprofit corporations, from pre-

senting both facts and opinions to the public."

Kennedy's opinion then goes to some length to affirm the value of free speech in a free society and to restrict the government's ability to censor the speech of groups of individuals. By taking a look at the corporation as an example of a group of individuals, we can understand why these groups have a stake in the political process, and why they should have the right to free speech.

Every day, decision-making executives spend corporations' money: Boeing buys parts from the most reliable suppliers, and Apple chooses the best factory to produce its computers. The decisions of these individuals have enormous impacts upon markets and individuals. But over the long term, the sum of individuals' decisions about where to save, invest, and spend their money determines the path that even the largest corporations take. In a capitalist economy, capital and labor are reshaped primarily according to these collective decisions, not the whims of an unelected politburo.

Just as the sum of consumer decisions shapes the economy, the sum of voter decisions shapes the body politic. A candidate for office wins or loses his or her bid based upon the candidate's share of the sum of voter decisions; a corporation's market share and earnings are determined by the corporation's share of the sum of consumer decisions on savings, investment, and spending.

Critics of free speech maintain that only political voices, and not economic voices, may speak on election issues out near election time. But political power can be just as strong and overbearing as economic power. Each force can be a useful counterbalance, checking the other form of power; political authorities should not fine and jail corporate officers because those officers leverage a corporation's resources to communicate with citizens. In his majority opinion, Justice Kennedy views speech as just this kind of check: "Factions should be checked by permitting them all to speak, [see *Federalist No. 10, page 130*], and by entrusting the people to judge what is true and what is false."

Corporate speech can actually be a democratizing force because it allows citizens to come together and publish their own ideas to counter the ideas of wealthy individuals, governments, or political factions. Justice Kennedy correctly observes that a corporation is merely another type of "association of citizens," free to act as a faction in the clichéd 'marketplace of ideas.' Justice Scalia's concurring opinion confirms the legal foundation for Kennedy's opinion; Scalia writes that Americans have a right to speak "in association with other individual persons."

The government "may regulate corporate political speech through disclaimer and disclosure requirements, but it may not suppress that speech altogether."



Justice Anthony Kennedy, author of the majority opinion in Citizens United v. FEC

"Factions should be checked by permitting them all to speak, [see Federalist No. 10, page 130], and by entrusting the people to judge what is true and what is false."

The Republican and Democratic parties exist only because the two parties receive contributions of time and money from individuals who have decided that one party or another best represents the best hope for the country. But the parties are not individual people, and the parties' leaders, not their members, speak for the whole. Those who believe that other associations of individuals that possess similar qualities should be banned from publishing political speech want to make an exception for political parties.

But this view has no basis in First Amendment law. Justice Scalia writes that it doesn't matter who is doing the speaking, because the First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech to any individual or association of individuals; the First Amendment "offers no foothold for excluding any category of speaker."

Therefore, the Court ruled, associations of individuals like non-profits and partnerships and corporations may engage in speech just as political parties do. Justice Kennedy wrote that the government "may regulate corporate political speech through disclaimer and disclosure requirements, but it may not suppress that speech altogether." With this statement, the Court invalidated the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act's prohibition on expressing opinions about candidates for federal office within 30 days of a primary election or within 60 days of a general election.

Critics' fears of a corporate takeover of America in the wake of the *Citizens United* decision are unfounded. Most corporations are not even powerful enough to speak to any substantial audience. The Chamber of Commerce filed an amicus brief with the Court stating that 96% of the Chamber's corporate members have fewer than 100 employees. The majority opinion also cites a Congressional Research Service report (titled "Business and Organizational Choices") revealing that 75% of corporations have receipts of less than $1 million per year.

If a corporation is speaking about candidates in an election, it's probably because its owners or directors have some point to make about the even more powerful position of government. If a populist President engages in a campaign against private interests, those private interests should be free to defend themselves. Citizens should be able to hear both sides of the story. **CR**

HURT LOCKER



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Moral Clarity in an Iraq War Film

So far, the only movies Hollywood has made about the Iraq War have largely been commercial and critical flops. Anti-military, anti-Iraq War films such as 2007's *Redacted and In the Valley of Elah* and 2008's *Stop-Loss* portrayed the U.S. military in a negative light and were mostly box-office flops. On television, the FX series "Over There" was swiftly canceled after receiving terrible ratings. HBO's gritty 2008 miniseries "Generation Kill" featured a more positive portrayal of the Marine Corps and performed better, but attempts to make movies with a more positive view of the military have met with little success. An attempt to turn the book "No True Glory: A Frontline Account of the Battle of Fallujah by Bing West" into a film starring Harrison Ford as Marine Corps General James Mattis never got off the ground, and other projects have also struggled.



"Voltage Pictures"

But *The Hurt Locker* is changing this. Directed by Kathryn Bigelow and written by war correspondent Mark Boal, The Hurt Locker takes us inside the world of one of the most dangerous jobs in Iraq: Explosive Ordinance Disposal (EOD). In a war where hidden bombs are the primary weapon of insurgents, EOD technicians have the unenviable job of disarming improvised explosive devices (IED's) in combat conditions before insurgents have a chance to detonate them.

The Hurt Locker takes its viewers into a brutal conflict where every seemingly innocuous package, illegally parked car and piece of trash could hide a deadly bomb. Technicians must make life or death decisions in minutes. The insurgents know that EOD teams disarm many of their bombs, and make a special effort to kill EOD technicians. Confused firefights erupt with hidden enemies who attack and then flee.



Jeremy Renner plays Sfc. William James in The Hurt Locker "Voltage Pictures"

In the movie's opening scene, the featured EOD company's team leader is killed by a remote detonated IED he was trying to disarm. He is replaced by Sergeant First Class William James, a hard-charging former Ranger who has disarmed 873 bombs. James is an elite technician, but brave to the point of recklessness. He eschews using Bravo Company's remote controlled bomb disposal robot, preferring to walk up to bombs wearing a Kevlar suit and disarm them by hand.

Sfc. James is a borderline madman, but he is also a highly motivated warrior. He is totally dedicated to his job, which is to save American soldiers and Iraqi civilians alike from being killed by terrorists. As James puts it at the scene of a car bombing in central Baghdad, "There are guys watching us right now, they are laughing at this. And I'm not OK with that."

In his widely read book "On Killing," Dave Grossman writes that most armies throughout history have had a small percentage of their men, around 2%, who were the most effective soldiers and the most effective killers. These men are not sociopaths, because sociopaths

rebel against authority and are usually unfit for military service. As Gwynne Dyer writes in his book "War":


"Voltage Pictures"

> There is such a thing as a "natural soldier": the kind who derives his greatest satisfaction from male companionship, from excitement, and from the conquering of physical obstacles. He doesn't want to kill people as such, but he will have no objections if it occurs within a moral framework that gives him justification – like war – and if it is the price of gaining admission to the kind of environment that he craves. Whether such men are born or made, I do not know, but most of them end up in armies. But armies are not full of such men. They are so rare that they form only a modest fraction even of small professional armies, mostly congregating in the commando-type special forces. In large conscript armies they virtually disappear beneath the weight of numbers of more ordinary men. And it is these ordinary men, who do not like combat at all, that armies must persuade to kill.

Grossman writes that all societies have such men, who appear normal in peacetime but when the opportunity for a righteous battle presents itself they become warriors in defense of what they view is right. The character of Sfc. James is an example of such a 'natural soldier.' He is dangerously reckless and some might view him as unhinged, but in scene after scene we see him continually put his life on the line in order to save the lives of others – American soldiers and Iraqi civilians alike.


"Voltage Pictures"

The Hurt Locker pulls no punches in its depiction of the Iraqi insurgency. The insurgents are cruel, clever and brutal. There is no moralizing about defending against invasion or moral equivocation between American soldiers and insurgents. The insurgency is out to kill Iraqi civilians as well as American troops, and as the film progresses they find increasingly more brutal ways of doing so. On the other hand, American soldiers and their Iraqi allies continually risk their lives to save Iraqi civilians.


"Voltage Pictures"

The war is brutal, and it's not easy for those involved who miss their families and live with the constant danger of being blown apart in an explosion. But the men of Bravo Company have a clear mission – to disarm bombs and save lives. The details of accomplishing this involve making morally complicated decisions every minute. One solider decides not to shoot a man acting suspiciously with a cell phone, and the man ends triggering a bomb explosion. Another fires warning shots at a speeding car that refuses to stop at a checkpoint rather than simply shooting the driver, who turns out to be an innocently confused man.

Although the day to day actions of Bravo Company are morally complex, the big picture is not. The men of Bravo Company are clear about the morality of their overall mission. They are saving lives and they know it. Each day they get up, go out and do their job. Such moral clarity is refreshing to see in the film industry, where many directors prefer to turn their films into a long series of moral muddles with no clear right or wrong side.

Although *The Hurt Locker* only saw a limited release in the summer of 2009, buzz built around the film for months. *The Hurt Locker* was nominated for nine Academy Awards, winning awards for Best Picture, Best Director, Best Film Editing, Best Sound Editing, Best Sound Mixing and Best Original Screenplay.

The Hurt Locker is not a movie about the politics of the war, rather, it is a movie about the soldiers fighting the war. The movie does not address why we invaded Iraq. It is not looking to assign blame. Rather, the movie asks "now that we are here, what are we going to do about it?" And for most soldiers the answer is, go out and do their job, and try to save lives, make the right decisions and come home in one piece. For the rare few, the true warriors, the 'natural soldiers' like Sfc. James, the answer is to go do their job to the fullest, take the risks, push the envelope and do whatever it takes to get the job done. This rare class of men is the stuff heroes are made of. And, as Grossman writes, "in times of danger a nation needs them desperately." **CR**

The Legacy of Senator Sam



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Racist or Constitutionalist?

Nixon called him "the old incredible bastard," Charles Colson, special counsel to the President, called him "a phoney," and a reporter once described him as "a last lingering elder from the time of pre-technological man," but names aside, Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (1896-1985) of Morganton, North Carolina played a fundamental role in the U.S. political debates from the 1950's to the 1970's. On issues ranging from Johnson's Civil Rights Acts of the 1960's to Nixon's 1969 Washington D.C. crime bill, Senator Ervin was known for making strong speeches and for holding even stronger convictions.

Ervin's career culminated when he was appointed chair of the dynamic Senate Watergate Committee in early 1973. The hearings of the "Ervin Committee," as it was known, played a salient role (along with the publications of reporters like Washington Post's Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein) in the indictment of Nixon and his administration; indictments which ultimately led to Nixon's resignation. He may have come across as a Bible-quoting anachronism to his contemporaries, but the self described 'simple country lawyer' was not to be trifled with.

As a native of Morganton, NC, where Senator Ervin grew up, practiced law, and eventually retired, I have listened to many locals speak with pride about 'Senator Sam'. But Ervin's legacy is controversial. Drawing from Karl Campbell's fascinating biography of Ervin entitled Senator Sam Ervin, Last of the Founding Fathers and my own rather extensive primary-source research on Senator Ervin in Wilson Library's Southern Historical Collection, a profound dilemma has become evident in Senator Ervin's policy-making record.

From the time he was appointed senator in 1954 to replace Clyde Hoey's North Carolina seat that became vacant upon Hoey's death, Sam Ervin was a consistent opponent of civil rights. He was disgusted with the judicial activism he saw in the Brown vs. Board of Education decision in 1954, and he opposed almost every civil rights bill that came before him during the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations. He eschewed overt racism, as Karl Campbell argues, "and he explained his objections to Brown, as well as to all the civil rights legislation of the next twenty years, in polite legal[1] argumentation based on constitutional principles." Nevertheless, he fought repeatedly and with a trenchant dogmatism to retain the Southern culture's status quo.

> "The proponents of current civil rights legislation, many of them undoubted men of good will, would in an attempt to meet a genuine problem concerning the inflamed nature of relations between the races in this country, trounce upon an even more pressing need – the need to preserve limited, constitutional government in an age of mass bureaucracy and centralization."

On the other hand, Ervin's consistent and dogged support of civil liberties for marginalized groups in society made him seem, at times, a prime candidate for accusations of Orwellian doublethink. From his fight against Joe McCarthy in 1954 to his work as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, which had a great deal of jurisdiction over civil liberties, Ervin fought tirelessly for the civil liberties of many Americans (but not African Americans). From rights for the mentally ill to his sponsorship of an Indian Bill of Rights in 1968, Ervin believed he had a constitutional duty to defend the cause of the people who had been trodden by what he deemed to be an over-reaching government.

Many, including some of Ervin's biographers, accuse him of defending his opposition to civil rights because of an ingrained Southern 'predisposition'. But the evidence for such judgments is unfortunately lacking. A former North Carolina Supreme Court Judge, Ervin was a staunch supporter of the rule of law and a Constitutional purist. Whether he was opposing a civil rights bill or arguing against wire-tapping, Ervin's arguments were steeped in Supreme Court references, judicial analysis, and even-keeled reasoning. In explaining his opposition to the 1964 Civil Rights Acts, Ervin writes:

"The proponents of current civil rights legislation, many of them undoubted men of good will, would in an attempt to meet a genuine problem concerning the inflamed nature of relations between the races in this country, trounce upon an even more pressing need – the need to preserve limited, constitutional government in an age of mass bureaucracy and centralization."

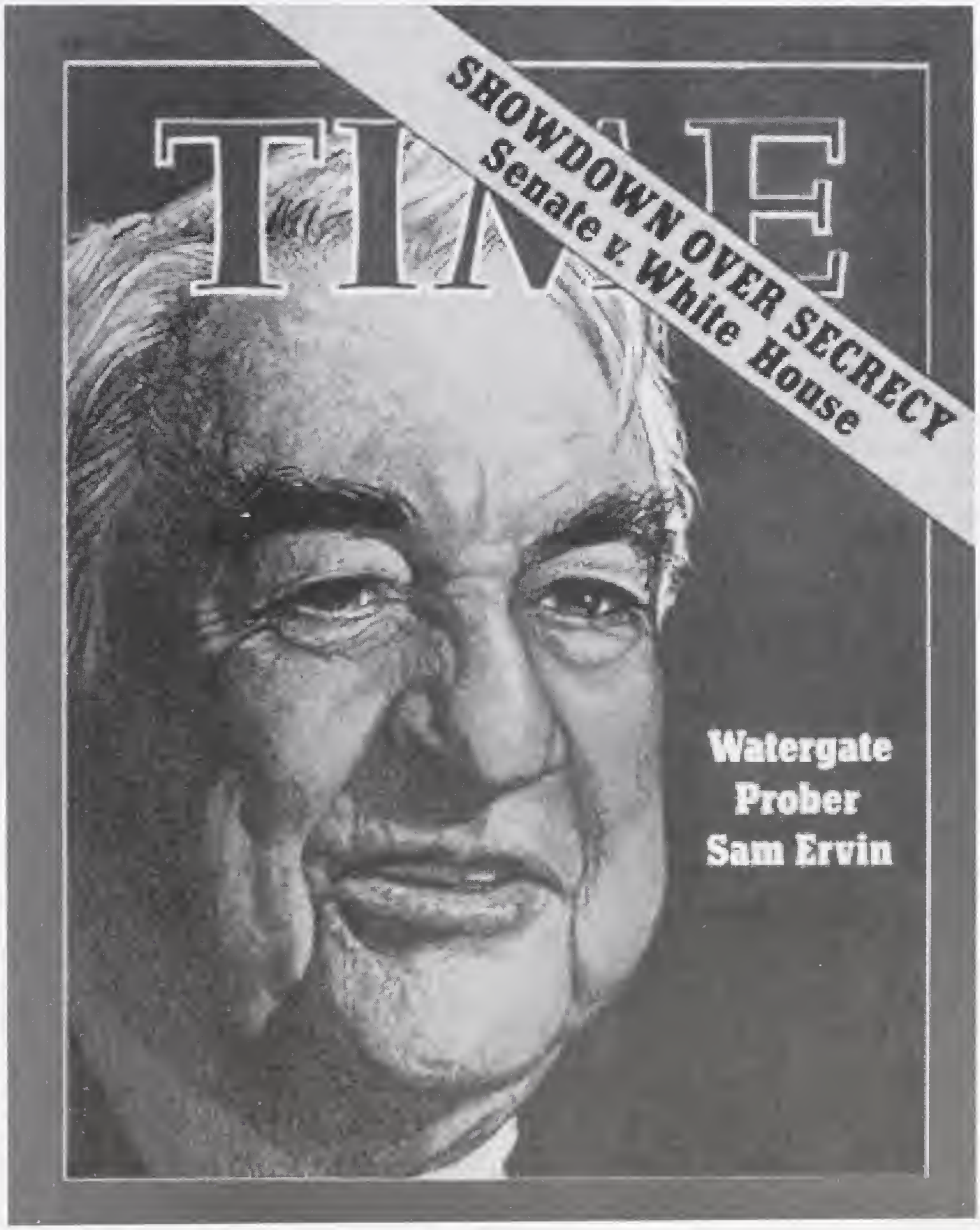
Ervin's constitutional arguments against the Civil Rights Act are provoking because although they seem facetious in hindsight one cannot argue against their cogency. In a response to a constituent's letter written February 18, 1964, Ervin says:

"Yet, the lesson of history is clear that we cannot have both equality coerced by law and freedom of the individual, for fundamentally this bill [1964 Civil Rights Act] involves the use of central governmental power. If the government is to assume the power to control attitudes and actions not physically injurious to the person or property of others based upon such attitudes, then government destroys the freedom of the individual. If it can do this to effect one purpose, it can do this to effect any or all other purposes it desires. It is for this reason that I think the freedom of every individual of every race, creed, and color is imperiled by this bill."

Most of us would disagree with the senator's opposition to civil rights, but the issue nevertheless raises a fundamental question about the role of government in society. To what extent should the government legislate to eliminate inequality? Sam Ervin fought against all 'coerced equality,' as he called it, but is there a place for government to intervene when disparities arise?

Most political figures today have not even considered the question. Blindly pursuing an evasive concept of justice that is always alluded to and never understood, most congressmen and senators on both sides of the aisle believe that government should eliminate any and all inequality. Although I believe Ervin erred in his antagonism toward any civil rights laws, our elected officials could benefit from a dose of Ervin's respect for serious Constitutional analysis when it comes to contemporary policy aimed at alleviation of inequality.

Ervin's legacy, though, remains somewhat muddled. Even Karl Campbell concludes cautiously:



"Just as the press had struggled to make sense of the senator's contradictory career during Watergate, reporters had difficulty defining Sam Ervin's historical legacy at the time of his death. ... Ervin's supporters claimed that all his actions stemmed from the senator's reverence for the Constitution and opposition to any government al interference with individual rights. Ervin's detractors viewed him as an inconsistent civil libertarian who used the Constitution as a convenient cloak to hide his racism and partisan self-interest.[3] But neither of these interpretations can account for the complexities, inconsistencies, and changes with Ervin's constitutional ideology." **CR**

1.Campbell, Karl. Senator Sam Ervin, Last of the Founding Fathers. 2007.
2. 42 N.C. L. Rev. 3 (1963-1964)
3. Campbell, Karl. Senator Sam Ervin, Last of the Founding Fathers. 2007.

MOMENT OF TRUTH



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The future of the GOP will be decided by the 2010 congressional elections

This is it. Let's not kid ourselves. It is now or never for the GOP. The Congressional elections to be held later in the year will go a long way in determining the future of our nation.

A promising sign emerged recently when the Senate election in Massachusetts gave Republicans the victory they needed to block the Democratic health care bill from passing the Senate as Scott Brown became the critical 41st vote to end debate. With President Obama's approval ratings now dipping below 50% and the Congress rating below 30%, the time is now for the Republican Party. The dramatic decline in Obama's approval rating is monumental, yet not all that surprising.

When a president hurriedly rams through an extremely unpopular health care bill that most of the Congress members have not even read, let alone understand, we have a problem. Let's not even mention the fact that he held private meetings that were initially supposed to be open to the media with members of Congress where he threatened their job safety if they did not vote for his bill.

With Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi also stating that the hundreds of thousands of citizens that were exercising their right to free speech in protest against the bill were "un-American," a large disconnect has formed between the American public and this liberal administration that calls people who do not agree with their policies, "un-American."

In addition, Americans are sick and tired of the Democrat dominated Congress and their out of control spending. And I can't blame them for being outraged at some of their representatives, namely Democrats, for allowing themselves to be "bought out" by sweet deals in the form of obscene, unnecessary earmarks for their constituents. And for a President that ran on eliminating earmarks and pork, there are a whopping 5,000 of them totaling $3.9 billion in the health care bill. What exactly do $400,000 for renovation of the Brooklyn Botanical Garden, $200,000 for the Washington National Opera, and $200,000 for a visitor's center in Bastrop, Texas (population: 5, 700), have to do with national health care anyway?

So, you must be thinking this year's elections are a cinch, right? The Democrats have made many mistakes themselves. People are fed up and the Republicans will overwhelmingly make up crucial seats. Well, it may not be that easy.

The National Republican Congressional Committee, the financial arm for GOP House campaigns, has raised less than a third as much money as its Democratic counterpart and ended 2009 with barely enough money to fully finance a single House race, Politico reports. Unfortunately, financial issues are running the risk of ruining the GOP's hopes of making huge gains in the House this year.

In addition, what has proved detrimental to conservatives in recent years is the fact that they have no clear message to appeal to voters. If the Republican Party does not know who they are, can the American electorate really be expected to know? The Party must decide whether it wants to move to the middle, or to hold firm to their conservative base. A sharp vision is essential.

If you ask me, however, it's simple. Conservatives must hold on to their principles of limited government and fiscal responsibility. Please, GOP, choose Reagan over Bush.

Reagan won two landslides on a limited government platform, while Bush twice barely scraped through with his new big-government conservative policies. Ronald Reagan it is, then.

Americans do not trust government. Period. If Republican leaders would emphasize a platform based on true fiscal conservatism, their political future would turn from bleak to bright. After all, 16 % of voters identify themselves as libertarian.

Only time will tell the direction the nation is headed. Are the American people ready to jump ship? And will the GOP capitalize on this huge opportunity? One thing is for certain: 2010 will go a long way in providing answers. **CR**



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SEIU Rising

An exposè of the nation's fastest growing union

With over 2 million members and growing, the SEIU, Service Employees International Union, is the nation's fastest growing union. Its prime focus is to unite workers within three sectors: public service (local and state government employees), property services (lower income employees such as security officers or sanitation workers) and health care (which include more than half of the union's members). It boasts of high priorities such as fixing the healthcare system completely and guaranteeing all workers' rights nationwide.

With such high ambitions comes the need for government advocacy and that is just what SEIU President Andy Stern has been getting. In October of 2009, the White House released records of its visitors from the first six months of Obama's term in office. There were noteworthy records of celebrities who had visited, but no name was more noteworthy than Stern, who had met with the President and other officials on 21 separate occasions. With numbers like these, it is only right that such an organization step into the limelight for some analysis.

The SEIU first sought existence in the early 20th century when members of various janitor unions created the Building Service Employees International, later shortened to Service Employees International. The BSEIU was mostly comprised of immigrants working as janitors but would soon grow to represent numerous other occupations. Decades later, while noticing a severe drop in numbers, Stern made it his duty to increase the membership of the SEIU. After all, more membership equals more money. His attempts were successful and in 2006, just ten years after his inauguration, Stern had doubled the size of the SEIU. He has of course not accomplished all of his success on his own. Instead, Stern has utilized his friends in office to compel businesses to cooperate as well as get certain legislation passed.

One can easily observe Stern's methods of intimidation by focusing on his organization's dedication to the stimulus bill. This piece of legislation was of utmost importance because states like California, New Jersey and New York, that had already been forced into fattening up their social welfare systems, were to the point where they had nothing left to give. Yet, fortunately for Stern, the bill to help bail out these debt ridden states was passed and the SEIU retained its money. Perhaps the best reference to the corrupt tie between the organization and the Obama Administration would be following the passing of the bill when the state of California was given the ultimatum to either cease its push to lower home health-care workers' wages or be withheld from stimulus funds indefinitely. A very lopsided event took place regarding this on the conference call between the administration and the state of California when representatives of the SEIU had been invited to speak during the call, unknowing to California state officials. On top of dirty workings with the government, Stern has made a career out of appointing those from small, local chapters to head some of the SEIU's largest national chapters.

Tyrone Freeman, also known as Stern's protégé, was recently accused by the L.A. Times to have funded multiple personal expenses with money from the union. A few infractions observed were Freeman's $13,000 membership to a cigar shop in Beverly Hills, an $8,000 monthly allowance given to his mother-in-law for baby sitting his children and a total of $600,000 filtered into his wife's video production and entertainment ventures. On top of that, Freeman has further contributed union money to his mother-in-law by creating "The Homecare Worker's Training Center." Supposedly an educational organization for nurses, this non-profit training shop is said by the IRS to have received $90,000 annually for the past few years. That money ranks as more than 10 percent of the center's annual expenditures. Freeman's list of personal activities and expenditures funded by the union goes on and on, many of which include no state incorporation records, no business licenses and no real addresses. Stern allegedly had no prior knowledge of his young Frankenstein's personal motives but thankfully did remove him from the SEIU and fine him extensively.

Coupled with his organization's democratic motives, Stern's 21 appearances at the Whitehouse in 6 months should serve at the least as a wake up call to the American public to be more aware of the injustice surrounding us all. Companies are being bombarded with demands greater than they can meet and thus being forced to either cooperate or surrender. Stern can only act like a naive child caught drawing on the wall for so long until it is he who is caught in the action and not his counseled puppets. **CR**

The Carolina Review would like to congratulate

Hogan Medlin

on getting into law school...



Photo Courtesy of The Daily Tar Heel

Uh, we mean, winning Student Body President!

Stray Thoughts: Climate Change

by ANDREW VOTIPKA
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Maybe it's because I live on a college campus where riding a bike and wearing organic T-shirts makes you as holy as Jesus, but I couldn't help but get swept up in the fight to save our planet from climate change, the artist formerly known as global warming. It all started this year when, frustrated by our basketball teams' loss, I made the mistake of throwing my Daily Tar Heel in the trash instead of the recycling bin. The result? The temperatures for the next three days were ABOVE average. Could I have been the cause of this mildly erratic weather change? A friend of mine showed me Al Gore's movie, An Inconvenient Truth. Somewhere between the atomic bomb explosions, the little children crying, and the other absurdly irrelevant footage, my eyes were opened. I vowed to eliminate that carbon footprint by not shaving for all of January, thus saving at least one half of a whole gallon of water. The climate responded positively by dumping 3 to 6 feet of snow on the D.C area. I felt great about my accomplishment until I was informed that this blizzard was also caused by the climate change. Do they mean to tell me that all I have to do to make it snow is drive an SUV and burn all my trash right into the atmosphere? I don't know about you, but I'd be willing to have a couple above average summer days for more snow in the winter. So in conclusion, I urge all students of UNC to take that extra five minutes in the shower and ask for plastic bags at the grocery store. Together we can make this the worst year of climate change on record. I would hate to make Bing Crosby turn in his grave knowing we aren't trying hard enough to have a "White Christmas." **CR**

The Rub

by JONATHAN TUGMAN

The U.S. has now made a full about-face since the Cold War – instead of trying to destroy Russia, we're now trying to emulate them.	***Russian Roulette***
Since the start of the Obama administration, our government has seen a spate of czars emerge to regulate everything from executive pay at banks to the automobile industry.	***We'll need someone to regulate czar appointment soon***
With that in mind, and given the high likelihood that Obama will continue to appoint czars, I figured he could use some help to determine what areas have the most pressing need for a czar.	***Or czars (plural), as is likely inevitable***
Minimum wage czar: We already have a pay czar responsible for ensuring bank executive don't make too much money, so this czar would raise the minimum wage every year and work in conjunction with the pay czar to make the minimum wage equal to bank executive pay.	***One way or another…***
Kleenex czar: This individual would work to reduce waste within the administration by cutting down on tissue use. People will blow their noses into their hands then simply wash the mucus off.	***Should also cut down on unnecessary hand shaking, a large source of wasted time during the workday***
Email czar: His duty will be to "organize" and "preserve" all government email, so that in the event of a public records request, it can be "located" and "delivered" in a "timely" manner.	***My recommendation: Mike Easley***
Time czar: This person will be responsible for ensuring that nobody works more than a 35-hour work week as we move closer and closer to a socialist society while destroying the American work ethic.	***No, investment bankers are not exempt***
War czar: We need someone who will analyze every war the U.S. could possibly start and determine whether said war should occur. He will also be required to walk around singing the song "War" by Edwin Starr. ("What is it good for?")	***Bay of Pigs, Part II***
Publicity czar: Someone has to know about all these czars. This person will tell the world about the great work they're doing.	***Should be a pretty easy job; won't have to do too much***
Job czar: This czar would threaten to fire entire companies' boards of directors if they don't sacrifice profitability to create more jobs.	***Hey, someone's gotta do it, right?***
Czar czar: This individual will oversee all the czars, making sure there is no overlap in job duties and ensuring that each czar is doing his uniquely specified job.	***Must be able to count to inordinately high numbers***
Now, there's more where that came from, but I wonder: What will actually come next? Your guess is as good as mine.	***Maybe a president czar, to do all the rest of the president's work, too***
Ay, there's the rub.	*Russian Roulette*

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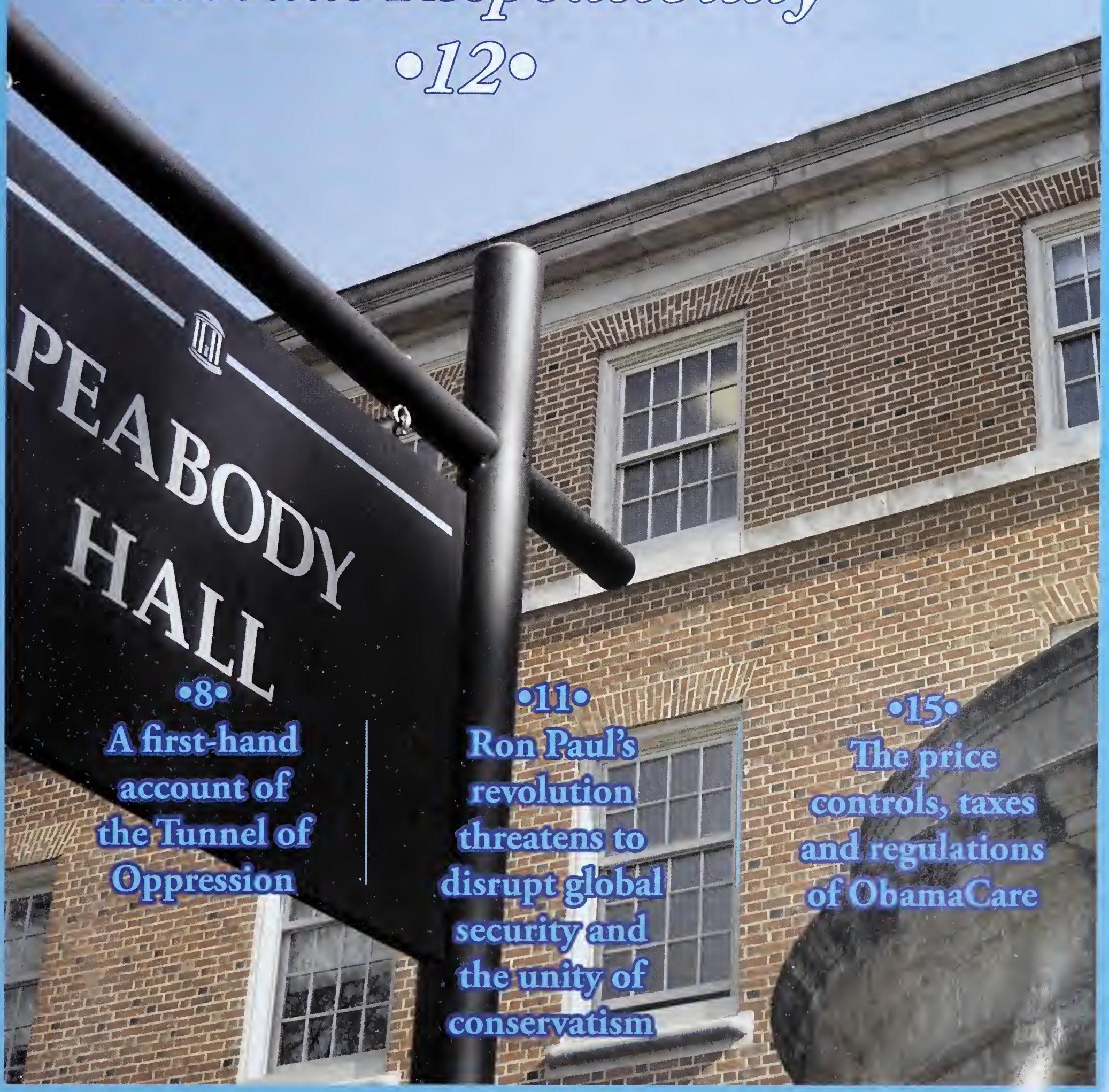
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CAROLINA REVIEW MISSION STATEMENT

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, founded by a group of graduate and undergraduate students in 1993. Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus, providing students with an alternative to the left-wing orthodoxy promoted by other student publications, professors, and student groups. During its ten-year existence, the Review has enabled UNC students to hear both sides of issues, while combining reporting with opinion, humor, and feature articles.

Carolina Review is staffed solely by UNC students who write and publish on a monthly basis. Our purpose is to show students that a political philosophy of conservatism, free thought, and individual liberty is an intelligent way of looking at the world--contrary to what they may hear in the classrooms and on campus. In general, writers and contributers to the Review share a belief in the following:

* We believe the University should be a forum for rational and informed debate--instead of the current climate in which ideological dogma, political correctness, fashion, and mob mentality interfere with academic pursuit.
* We believe any attempt to establish utopia is bound to meet with failure and, more often than not, disaster.
* We believe free enterprise and economic growth, especially at the local level, provide the basis for a sound society.
* We believe the University is an important battleground in the "war of ideas" and the outcomes of political battles of the future are, to a great degree, being determined on campuses today.
* We believe a code of honor, integrity and rationality are the fundamental characteristics of individual success. There is no excuse for lack of individual initiative.
* We emphatically oppose totalitarianism and its apologists.

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CAROLINA REVIEW

Carolina Review is a journal of conservative thought and opinion published at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Since 1993, Carolina Review has been the most visible and consistent voice of conservatism on campus.

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HE SAID, SHE SAID

Comments From the Blog

"I'm sure there are well-meaning people who are organizing against Obama's policies, but it's not at all surprising that the "tea party movement" would attract people with paranoid, violent and racist tendencies. How many data points of deranged right wingers do you need before you can identify a trend?"
-__o_ commenting on "An Absence of Rational Thought"

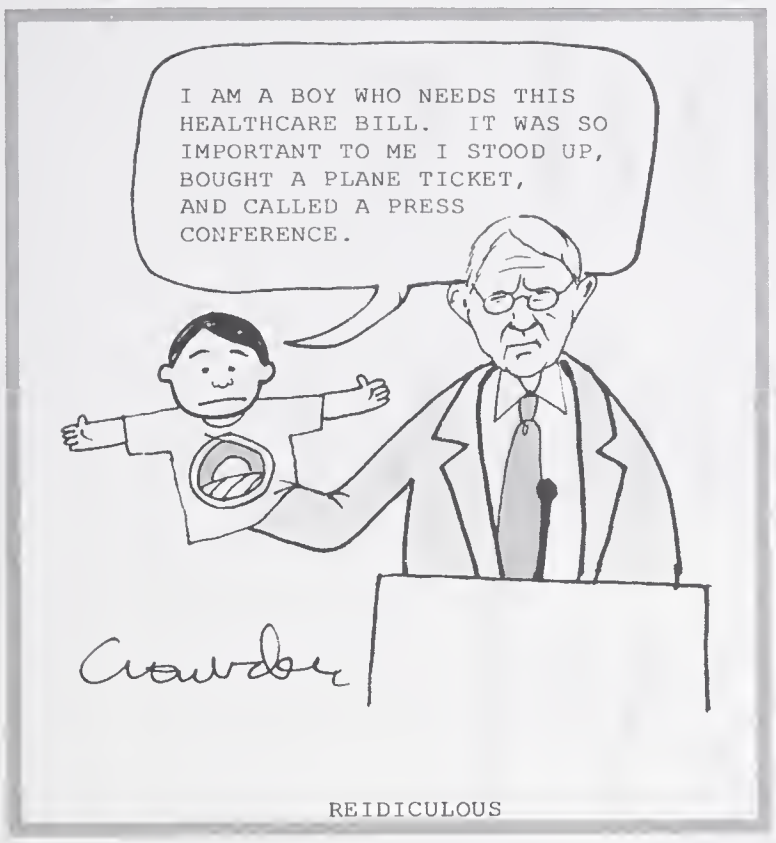
"I couldn't finish my tour as an RA because of the incessant liberal brainwashing and mindlessness of the DHRE and RHA. I scream to all who might get involved... GET OUT BEFORE ITS TOO LATE!"
-pyelena commenting on "The Tunnel of Oppression: A Review"

"What sort of an exhibit equates genocide with calling homosexuals bad names and arresting illegal immigrants?"
-Cwjones commenting on "The Tunnel of Oppression: A Review"

"Awesome parody!
It's like The Onion, but not funny!"
-suddenlysufi
commenting on "Let's All Get Offended"

Correction:
Due to reporting errors, "ASG's Viral Corruption Infects Congress," which ran inour February issue, incorrectly stated that Speaker Dakota Williams had received $4,000 in compensation as CFO for the ASG; he received $2,000. Also, it was not noted that he resigned as CFO in November 2009. We apologize for the error.

VIEWPOINTS



Quotes from the Left Side:

"My fear is that [Guam] will become so overly populated that it will tip over and capsize."
-Rep. Hank Johnson, D-GA
on plans by the US military to add 8,000 men and their families to the island.

"This is a big f***ing deal!"
-Vice President Joe Biden
on the passage of the health care bill.

"Ghastly as it may seem to say this, the terror attack [of September 11], like the original day of infamy, which brought an end to the Great Depression, could even do some economic good."
-Paul Krugman



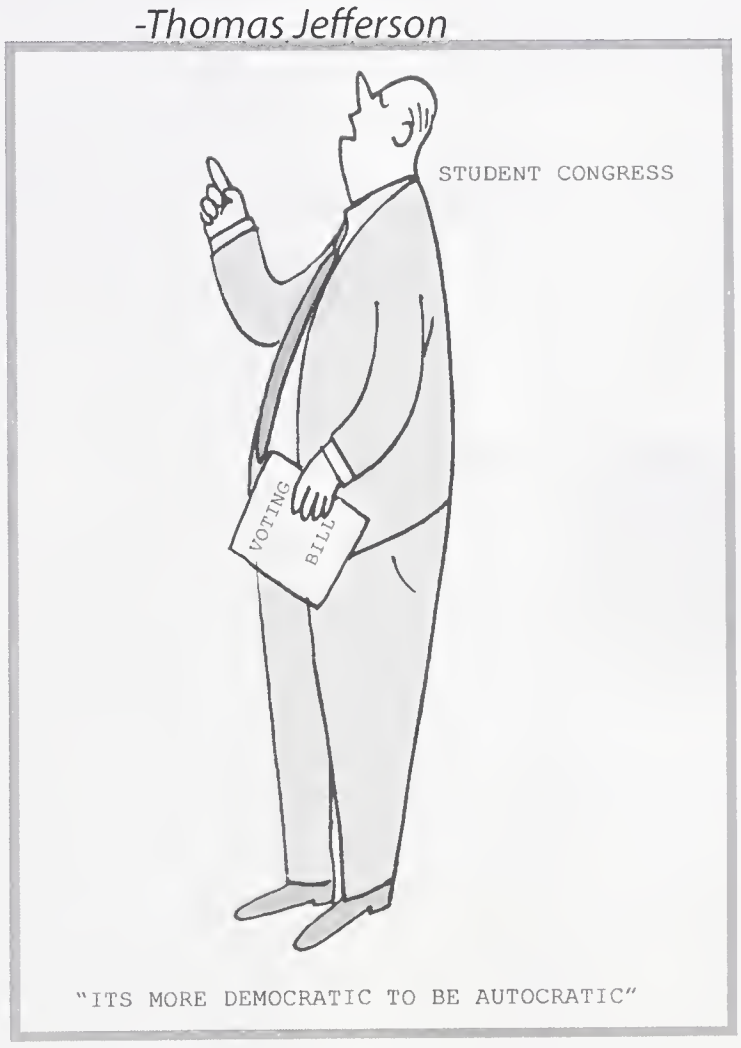
CARTOONS BY JUSTIN CROWDER

Quotes from the Right Side:

"To me, consensus seems to be the process of abandoning all beliefs, principles, values and policies. So it is something in which no one believes and to which no one objects."
-Margaret Thatcher

"It is incumbent on every generation to pay its own debts as it goes. A principle which if acted on would save one-half the wars of the world."
-Thomas Jefferson

"To compel a man to subsidize with his taxes the propagation of ideas which He disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical."
-Thomas Jefferson



A Quote to Guide Your Life:

"And, therefore, calculation and geometry and all the other elements of instruction, which are a preparation for dialectic, should be presented to the mind in childhood; not, however, under any notion of forcing our system of education. Because a freeman ought not to be a slave in the acquisition of knowledge of any kind. Bodily exercise, when compulsory, does no harm to the body; but knowledge which is acquired under compulsion obtains no hold on the mind. Then, my good friend, do not use compulsion, but let early education be a sort of amusement; you will then be better able to find out the natural bent."
-Plato

Ron Paul's Conservative Heresy

Ron Paul's Revolution threatens to disrupt global stability and the unity of conservatism



by MARC SEELINGER
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The past few years have seen the rise of certain demagogic figures within the political parties. The Democrats have Barack Obama. The Republicans, on the other hand, must contend with Ron Paul. Largely unknown outside of Texas before the 2008 presidential primary, Ron Paul has since burst onto the national political scene. The support and dedication he inspires in his supporters rivals only that of Obama. Similarly, many of Paul's political views are deeply flawed. In addition, he and his supporters' quixotic quest threatens to divide the Republican Party and allow the Democratic Party to seize and wield power indefinitely.

One of Ron Paul's more important policy concerns involves foreign policy. He argues for what he calls a non-interventionist foreign policy. In his book, *The Revolution*, [illegible] Paul's critique of American foreign policy over the last twenty years centers on Iraq. He does make some legitimate and important critiques about the way foreign policy towards Iraq and the Middle East in general has been handled over the past few years. Some of his more interesting arguments deal with the roles of Congress and the President in the declaration and execution of war. However, his arguments quickly fall apart and become ensnared in a series of contradictions.

During one of the debates in the run-up to the 2008 Republican presidential primaries, Ron Paul indicated that the United States had in fact, invited the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. He said, "They attack us because we've been over there. We've been bombing Iraq for ten years... What would we say here if China was doing this in our country or in the Gulf of Mexico? We would be objecting." He makes the same argument in his book asking, "Why wouldn't we expect people to try to take revenge for these policies?" However, he also claims that the American people are not to blame for terrorism. "This does not mean Americans are bad people, or that they are to blame for terrorism... It only means that actions cause reactions." This contradicts his previous claims about the sources of the terrorism, namely "They attack us because we've been over there." He seems unable to decide publicly whether Americans are the root cause of recent terrorism. Yet, he seems to have at least privately decided that Americans are at fault for the terrorism, which has significant implications for the development of his foreign policy.

> If Ron Paul were truly interested in promoting conservatism, he would attempt to build up and reform the Republican Party rather than tear it down and encourage splintering within it.

The solution to all this terrorism, according to Ron Paul, is to withdraw completely all U.S. military forces from the Middle East. This would involve not only abandoning the people of Afghanistan and Iraq, but also the people of Israel. It is uncertain whether this course of action would reduce the terrorist threat against the United States. It is entirely possible that such a move could embolden the terrorists. However, it is certain that this course of action would throw the entire region into chaos.

Congressman Paul's desire to validate his position on the war in Iraq has blinded him to the political realities of the region. While the initial foray into Iraq may or may not have been justified, a complete and immediate withdrawal from the entire region is clearly unjust and would violate a long-standing commitment to the people of Israel. Advocating such irresponsible foreign policy is a major strike against a Ron Paul presidential nomination.

There are also significant concerns about his economic, particularly his fiscal, policies. With regard to taxation, he says, "What we should work toward, however, is abolishing the income tax and replacing it not with a national sales tax, but with nothing." This would require about a 40 percent reduction in annual federal spending, which on its face is not necessarily a bad idea. In order to accommodate this shortfall of tax revenues, he advocates reducing spending on social welfare programs (i.e. Social Security and Medicare). He correctly notes that current spending on these programs cannot be sustained and must be curtailed. However, in the short-run, in order to provide for those who have been taught to be dependent on such programs, he calls for allowing the programs to survive just for those people.

His ideas for financing this extension are quite bizarre. "My own suggestion is to fund this transition period by scaling back our unsustainable overseas commitments, saving hundreds of billions from the nearly one trillion dollars our empire is costing us every year." There are several problems with this approach.

The first is that the empire he refers to is the presence of American troops throughout the world, who incidentally ensure peace and stability in the free world and beyond and allow such things as the international transfer of goods, services, and people to take place safely and securely. A significant drawdown in that force would create instability around the world.

Consider the effects of an American withdrawal from South Korea or a termination of the defense pact with Taiwan, both major U.S. trading partners and sources of economic growth. By itself, the uncertainty created by this situation would be enough to stifle any trade between the U.S. and these nations. The impending invasions of North Korea into South Korea and China into Taiwan would also not help. In this respect, Ron Paul fails to consider anything but the immediate consequences of his policies, without considering any lingering side effects.

Ron Paul also threatens to divide the Republican Party and ensure easy electoral victories for Democratic candidates. As recently as February 23, Paul declared that there are no differences between the Republicans and the Democrats and that a victory for the GOP in the 2010 Midterm Elections would bring no change.



Ron Paul

There are of course significant differences between the two parties. No Republican proposed, sponsored, supported, or voted for the Patient Protection and Affordability Act that will place one-sixth of the American economy under the direct control of the government. Significant changes have taken place in the two parties in the last few years, largely thanks to the divisive nature of the current President. The Republican Party has moved more towards the conservatism of Ronald Reagan while the Democrat Party has embraced the ideology of the radical left. There is now a significant divergence in the two parties. To ignore this reality is to misunderstand the current state of American politics.

Ron Paul's continued derision of the Republican Party reveals a profound ignorance of current affairs. It also reveals a disturbing willingness to divide and tear down the Party for his own gain, particularly when viewed in light of his decisions to run as and endorse (non-winning) third party candidates. Paul's constant rants against the Party divide it into two camps: those who support Ron Paul and those who do not. So, when election time rolls around, Ron Paul supporters are reluctant to vote for those Republicans whom Paul has not blessed.

In close elections, this could be enough to give an otherwise Republican seat to the Obama/Pelosi/Reid train wreck currently running Washington. If Ron Paul were truly interested in promoting conservatism, he would attempt to build up and reform the Republican Party rather than tear it down and encourage splintering within it.

Ron Paul holds many questionable policy positions that reveal a profound misunderstanding of the real world. He recently declared, "We are in perpetual war in every country in the world," and advocated a complete global military drawdown, which coincidentally is also his solution for paying for the national debt.

Fundamentally, he fails to understand the secondary effects of his policies beyond just their immediate impact on the problem that he is trying to solve. He is also a divisive figure and threatens to divide and destroy the Republican Party and thus destroy any significant challenge to the radical agenda of Barack Obama and Nancy Pelosi. Ron Paul's persistent ignorance combined with his willful destruction of the current vessel of American conservatism should give all conservatives reason to pause before they pledge their support to him. **CR**

My Journey through the Tunnel of Oppression



by MARC SEELINGER
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A first-hand account of RHA's hypocrisy and intolerance

On March 22, I experienced oppression. Being a white, American, Catholic, middle-class, privileged, heterosexual, conservative male, I had never before been able to experience oppression first-hand. Luckily, the RHA (Residence Hall Association), the Department of Housing and Residential Education, the Dean of Students, the Office of the Vice-Chancellor, the Campus Y, and several residential community governments decided to host a Tunnel of Oppression. This Tunnel was designed for people such as myself, so that we could "engage … in an immersive experience of scenes where participants experience first-hand different forms of oppression through interactive acting, viewing monologues, and multimedia." In short, the experience was something of a liberal haunted house, where instead of being spooked by ghosts and goblins, you are instead spooked by such things as Border Patrol Agents, homophobia, and identity crises.

In what was an incredible irony, the first floor of Cobb was covered in Harry Potter decorations, which really did nothing to dispel my haunted house theory. Nevertheless, our tour of the Tunnel began as we walked into the room with the signage of Platform 9¾ hanging over the door. The first exercise (following the Roller-coaster-like introduction, where we were informed that we could of course step out of the Tunnel if the experience was too much for us) was a if-this-applies-to-you-step-forward (or backward) [illegible]. However, the only purpose of these [illegible], which probed such areas as my economic, social, and cultural background, seemed to be to segregate the white, American, Catholic, middle-class, privileged, heterosexual, conservative males from the rest of the group. My hypothesis was proved correct, when at the end of the exercise, my companion (also a privileged, white male) and I were standing in the front of the room and the six or so black members of our group (among whom was one-time presidential candidate, Joe Levin-Manning) were at the very back of the room. Maybe that makes me an oppressor? I prefer to blame this result on my altitudinal disability and the fact that this disability requires me to take smaller steps which would allow those in the room with longer legs to more easily move away from me.

> There is a difference between racist profiling and legitimate, racial profiling. In order to catch the criminals, you have to have some idea of what they look like.

Following this, we were each given a nametag with various derogatory names on them. I was a "Towel-Head." We then proceeded down a flight of stairs (at which point the "Gimp" in the group was forced to take an elevator), passed a group of homeless people, and viewed a display that bemoaned the existence of wheelchair ramps in the world. I cannot even pretend to understand what makes wheelchair ramps so oppressive, but the tour quickly continued. We then viewed a skit of sorts that discussed the problems that revolve around self-image, weight, and the pressures that college students often feel to fit in. The next part of the tour was absolutely classic.

Walking down the hall, we were confronted by two police officers, who lined us up against a wall and began checking IDs. However, they did not of course check everyone's ID, just mine (the "Towel-Head") and the "Wet-backer's," who upon being unable to produce ID, they promptly arrested. I will also note that the two officers had clearly defined and greatly exaggerated Southern accents. This was one of my main critiques of the Tunnel. Rather than provoking a substantive discussion about policy issues, the Tunnelers preferred to set up caricatures, straw men, and gross generalizations. In this case, they characterized those officers who legally enforce immigration laws as nothing but stupid, Southern hicks who hate Mexicans. There is, of course, plenty of room to debate immigration laws, but characterizing the current situation in this way was quite childish.

They also seemed to deride profiling techniques that law enforcement officials often use to catch criminals. There is a difference between racist profiling and legitimate, racial profiling. In order to catch the criminals, you have to have some idea of what they look like. If you know that your crook has a huge scar down the side of his face, it makes sense to scrutinize those with scars. There is no point in examining the people without scars, as you know your crook has a scar. The same principle applies to race.

We next moved on to the GLBTWXYZ room, where two people impersonating Evangelical Christians accosted the "Homo" in the group and began calling down fire

and brimstone. There were several problems with this display. The first was that the Tunnel people were again setting up a straw man. Not everyone who disagrees with the idea that homosexual couples can enter into a traditional marriage is by definition homophobic. There is room for substantive disagreement on the issue without having to descend to petty name-calling. The two performers also did their best to use rather exaggerated Southern accents while they rattled off Bible quotes. The fact that this accent kept popping up throughout the tour indicates that the organizers of this little event have a rather low opinion of people who live south of the Mason-Dixon Line. If I was from the South, I would be insulted. However, in light of what I learned from the Tunnel, I am doing my best to feel insulted on behalf of Southerners.

We next moved onto a display about world religions, which had nice little dia-



grams about what various people around the world believe. A few minutes later, we were rounded up by some guerrilla fighters and gassed. While we were being gassed, we had the opportunity to learn about genocide around the world and listen to a clip of people being gassed. This part of the tour seemed to do a good job of trivializing some of the larger mass killings of the 20th century. The two comical and absurd guerrilla fighters coupled with the tape of the gassing and the pictures of children killed by genocide taped along the inside of a play-gas chamber seemed a rather inappropriate and irreverent way of discussing this rather somber topic.

We then moved on to a performance on relationship violence. There was a noticeable hole in this performance though. Considering that the Tunnel seemed oriented to exposing students to oppression in all its forms, you would think that in this part of the tour, they would have included both a male and a female who could talk to the issues of relationship violence. Alas, they did not. Instead, I was treated to two women pouring out the stories of their oppression. The only place that men had in this room was in the role of an abusive boyfriend and oppressor. While they claimed that the stories were true, the way in which they were told seemed to suggest that they were at least partially manufactured and that they were about as true as any of the stories told by the Democrats any time they talk about health care.

The final room was very strange. We talked about race relations via three speakers. The first one was an Asian woman who complained about getting a B on a test and was afraid of the abuse her parents would rain down upon her. This one was hard to take seriously, as it replicated the stereotype (which I thought we were supposed to move beyond) that all Asians are rocket scientists and their parents slave drivers when it comes to school. We then heard from a black man from New Orleans who complained about the lack of resources for black people after Hurricane Katrina and in relation to schooling. Of course, the common denominator in both those problems is the government, which he did not seem to appreciate. Somehow it is my fault as a white, American, Catholic, middle-class, privileged, heterosexual, conservative male that he suffered during the hurricane and that he went to a poor school. I would suggest that he instead look towards the government of Louisiana as the originator of his problems.

We then heard from a Latina woman who complained about how hard it is to get a visa and how people like her do the "dirty work that Americans don't want to do." A discussion about immigration policy is a topic for another day. However, her comment displayed a shocking degree of ignorance and arrogance. To be blunt, it is simply not true. As a white, American, Catholic, middle-class, privileged, heterosexual, conservative male, I have done such "dirty" work, even alongside illegal immigrants. I have worked in a field and done all sorts of unpleasant work. And I know that I am not the only white, American, Catholic, middle-class, privileged, heterosexual, conservative male to do it. My ancestors slaved away as janitors and pig farmers, as did and do millions of other "privileged" white people. It is not fun, but it pays, which is why people do it, especially in this economy.

Finally, we were treated to the woes of a woman who is half-white and half-black. She seemed intensely fixated on the color of her skin and whether she should consider herself a black person or a white person. She concluded by saying that a new race is emerging "mixed, bi-racial, or multi-racial." I will suggest that it does not matter what she decides to call herself. As Dr. Martin Luther King suggests, what matters is the content of your character, who you are as a person, and what you decide to do with your life. The color of your skin and your race should be insignificant details.

The Tour ended when we entered the Hallway of Happiness and were debriefed in a kumbaya session afterwards (what is a liberal feel-good event without one?). Thus ended the haunted house and the Tunnel. I suppose that most people come away feeling like they have really accomplished something and have successfully been made aware of oppression in the world. I came away convinced that the people running RHA are insane and wondering how anyone could want to spend three days of their life running such a thing. As far as awareness goes, I am now more aware of just how ridiculous these sorts of events are and to what depths some people will descend when they attempt to debate politics. It was a fun experience though. It was a neat twist on people watching, and provided me with valuable insight into the far-left mind.

One thing I might suggest they add is a section on political and intellectual oppression. This is a pressing issue on many college campuses, including UNC. Students who adhere to an intellectual tradition outside the so-called "mainstream thought" of the majority of the professors and students on a college campus are often ridiculed, verbally abused, and intimidated. This stifles the debate in the marketplace of ideas and robs non-mainstreamers of the right to express themselves and robs mainstreamers of the right to hear an alternative viewpoint. This is a grave injustice, which only serves to undermine the integrity of academic institutions.

This injustice is encouraged by such groups as RHA and the other offices and groups mentioned above, which take student fee money and tuition money to fund such embarrassing displays as the Tunnel of Oppression. These displays, which RHA puts on throughout the year, perpetuate the hostile intellectual culture that stifles intelligent discourse. Students are presented with displays that mock and demonize opposing points of views and self-righteously place the agenda of the far-left on a golden pedestal. If the RHA was serious about addressing the issue of oppression, it would cease funding such events.
CR

Is there a Light at the End of the Tunnel?

Thoughts on discrimination provoked by the Tunnel of Oppression



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Two white men dressed as police officers insult and threaten a "wetback" immigrant; a group of students is shoved into a small black room by two masked figures brandishing sticks and screaming "Get in the [illegible]#&* room, you %$## trash!!" where an [illegible] clip of screams and gasps and pleas for [illegible] played, reenacting genocide; a homo[illegible] girl is bullied by two belligerent "ho[illegible]phobes," one of whom is telling her she [illegible] needs a good (fill in the blank) and the [illegible] an angry Christian, telling her she's going to hell and shouting Leviticus 18:22 in her face…

Hell?

Well, not exactly. Try UNC's Cobb Residence Hall.

According to the project's website, "*The Tunnel of Oppression is a tour that will engage students in an immersive experience of scenes where participants will experience first hand different forms of oppression through interactive acting, viewing monologues, and multimedia. Participants directly experience the following scenes of oppression: ability, class, body image, immigration, homophobia, genocide, religious oppression, relationship violence, and race. …At the completion of the Tunnel experience participants will go through an active 30 minute processing session where they will discuss the experience and learn how they can "rethink their role" in creating positive social change" (tunnel.unc.edu).*

I recently participated in this social thought project, an interactive hour and a half program coordinated by various organizations at UNC-Chapel Hill that took place for three consecutive evenings: March 22-24. And I must say, it was quite the experience.

The "processing session" (a phrase which struck me as oddly Orwellian) was the most intriguing part of the night.

Once you've been put through hell in 9 different ways the Tunnel staff immediately begin to ask you to explain your emotions.

…Really?

I had to wonder how they expected impressionable, emotional human beings to respond to an hour of reenacted evil. I know these are long shots, but perhaps upset? Angry? Sad?

In my processing session most of the group said they felt "shocked." About everyone else felt hopeless. I confess a complete lack of surprise.

We discussed, we bantered, we searched our souls; after a half-hour discussion on how to "rethink our role" in creating "positive social change" (see above), I walked back to my dorm and began to reflect.

I must say that besides the obvious exaggerations of some of the situations presented and the fact that many exceptional circumstances are portrayed as normal forms of oppression (the homophobes screaming Leviticus at a homosexual comes to mind), I'm glad that the Carolina community is so concerned with raising awareness about evil things.

But there is a deeper problem.

The Tunnel does not address the silent question that screams behind the curtain: why care? Sure we feel bad, but why care? The Tunnel presumes an "ought". We *ought* to fight oppression. We *ought* to become angered at injustice. These are explicit moral imperatives, but the Tunnel cannot call them moral. In order to designate something as moral and immoral there must be a standard of morality, and the creators of the Tunnel do not choose a standard.

In order to designate something as moral and immoral there must be a standard of morality, and the creators of the Tunnel do not choose a standard.

No discrimination, remember.

Without discrimination, morality becomes ludicrous. In the "processing session," we were commanded to speak from "our own experience". There is no framework for injustice. We are allowed to *feel* the injustice, but we cannot *think* it. In practice, the organizers of the Tunnel can keep up the façade of respect only so long as their core principles are not compromised. Once a student argues that genocide is just a necessary part of the fight for survival, even the most tolerant become discriminatory.

My point is simply this: to be human is to discriminate. If we do not discriminate then we are not thinking and if we are not thinking then it is arguable that we are not human. All thought is based on assertions and denials, positives and negatives, yes's and no's. One can live respectfully and, perhaps, lovingly, but never without discrimination.

I want to emphasize that I do not believe the Tunnel of Oppression errs in its intentions. To the contrary, I think we need *more* men and women who are willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of combating injustice. I just hope that we know what injustice *is*.

The Tunnel experience needs to be bolder and, shall we say, thoughtful. Perhaps the organizers could explain that there is badness and there is goodness and why this is so. Otherwise, intelligent people may leave with an hour and half of superfluous pain that induces revulsion but cannot provoke a real impetus for change. **CR**

In the Belly of the Beast

A conservative's view of Diversity 101



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"Diversity" is one of those concepts that demands immediate acquiescence at our university. Normally, Carolina students are asked to pay homage to this vague, polysemous deity without understanding why. Recently, I had the opportunity to attend Diversity 101, a two-hour seminar led by Dr. M. Cookie Newsom, UNC's Director for Diversity Education and Assessment, the initial course to earn the Diversity Advocate Certificate. This class put our university's pursuit in more concrete terms. The main themes articulated by Dr. Newsom were promoting race consciousness, increasing the number of female and minority faculty, and diversifying curriculum.

Dr. Newsom introduced the first discussion topic: race. She began by saying this is a topic rarely discussed, which I found odd because during the entirety of the last presidential race, then-candidate Barack Obama's race was constantly mentioned, and he even gave a major speech on the matter. And during his inauguration, all Americans were proud of the fact that we have progressed to the point where a black man could be elected president. But then she said something even more curious: we need to promote race consciousness, not de-emphasize it. She justified her position by saying color-blindedness is analogous to watching a five foot woman struggle to reach an item on the highest shelf in a grocery store and refusing to aid her in anyway because you are not a "heightist," so you do not notice differences in height.

There are several problems with this. First, promoting race consciousness emphasizes the differences between people. These differences then lead to the re-segregation we have seen on campuses and communities across the nation. Reinforcing differences at the expense of commonalities ignores the basic human fact that we connect to our fellow man because of those very commonalities. Thus, one cannot on one hand promote race consciousness and, on the other, bemoan the lack of integration, as Dr. Newsom did. Even stranger, to me, was her analogy: yes, one is born black just as one is born to be (eventually) five feet tall. And, yes, being five feet tall puts you at a disadvantage in a society of tall shelves and taller people. But does being black inherently put you at a disadvantage, socioeconomics and education rates aside? Presumably, blacks and whites are equal, controlling for socioeconomic status and educational attainment.

One of the main handouts she gave the attendees was a chart detailing the number of female and minority faculty in each department. It revealed a huge disparity between the number of white male faculty and any other grouping, but then we discussed the fact that, because of huge increases in enrollment for women in doctoral programs of all disciplines, eventually women would be at parity with or even surpass men in the faculty. According to Dr. Newsom, this would lead to innumerable changes in academia. But I pressed her on this matter: in economics, can you really teach the Keynesian multiplier multiple ways? Is there a male or female definition for the multiplier? Another attendee relayed her difficulty with understanding a male professor's constant use of baseball examples in math class and hypothesized that women would do more examples concerning baking. I could see in literature classes how one's sex could influence which books are chosen for the course. But grammar, math, chemistry, and many other courses deal with objective facts that cannot be influenced by one's sex. The plus-que-parfait verb form isn't different if it's taught by a woman.

Increasing diversity in the faculty was tied to the imperative of diversifying the curriculum. This sounds innocuous enough, but then, as I suspected, she revealed this meant de-emphasizing the so-called "canon" in favor of historically minority works. She supported her assertion by telling of students who came into her office because they had a professor who would allude to Biblical stories (e.g. Cain and Abel), but they weren't familiar with the Bible and didn't understand the allusions; thus, she concluded, we shouldn't teach the Bible.



Continued on page 19

Radical Education Reform

A call for the reintroduction of personal responsibility into America's education system



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The politics of education reform focus around a series of worn-out solutions to the poor performance of our public school system. Both sides of the political spectrum tend to default to the axiom that they believe to be the solution to all of the world's problems. Those on the left call for more government funding for school programs. Those on the right call for more competitive free market forces to be applied to education through programs such as vouchers or charter schools. Teachers, who are literally taught from their time as undergrads in schools of education across the country onwards that they will not be paid enough for their services, call for teachers to be paid more so as to attract better quality teachers.

But what if they are all wrong? What if the real problems cannot be solved by more funding, or better teachers, or more free market competition? What if the real problem is the system itself?

This is the view developed over the past fifty years by a small but vocal minority of education theorists and social psychologists. Chances are, you have probably never heard of these people. You probably won't learn about these people in a class in a school of education, nor will you find many of them in the administration of the public school system. In fact, many of them were once part of the school system before deciding that they could no longer be a part of a system which they fundamentally disagreed with.

Some of these thinkers refer to their philosophy as unschooling, others as autodidactic or natural learning, lifeschooling, deschooling or self-directed learning. What they all [illegible] is the idea that learning does not come from being taught. Rather, learning comes from the initiative of the individual.

One of the first persons to propose this idea in opposition to organized schooling was John Holt. In his influential 1964 book How Children Fail, Holt shared his observations from several years of teaching the elementary grades in private schools while conducting research into how children learn in the classroom.

He found that children don't seem to be learning much at all. Rather, they are focused on finding the answers. Rather than learning, understanding and comprehending the material they simply learn how to find the answers. Holt details several strategies that children use to do this which are no doubt familiar to anyone who has spent time in a classroom: Children mumble answers in hopes that the teacher hears something wrongly and thinks they gave the right answer. When learning to spell and unsure of what vowel to use they often write something which could be interpreted either as an a or an o. When they don't know the answer to a question, they give an answer they know is wrong so a teacher will correct them. Holt noticed that above all children are extremely perceptive in reading the body language of the teacher, quickly picking up on visual cues that can provide a clue to what the right answer is.

The problem is, even when most of the children Holt observed got the right answers, they didn't care how they did it or whether they learned how to get similar answers in the future. They were just relieved to get the answer right and move on. They did not attempt to learn from their mistakes; after all, only right answers were rewarded in the environment of the classroom. In one example, when playing '20 Questions' with the children in his class, Holt told them to guess a number between 1 and 10,000. When a child asked "is the number between 5,000 and 10,000?" and was told that it was, the classroom cheered even though a 'yes' answer gave them just as much information as a 'no' answer. The children had been conditioned to view answering questions correctly as more important than the information gained from the questions.

What creates this type of atmosphere? Holt argues that it is a product of the classroom environment. The classroom causes stress in children, who fear being wrong. Wrong answers earn them the disapproval of their teachers and sometimes the ridicule of their classmates. Right answers earn them praise, rewards and good grades. This leads to children in the classroom developing learning strategies like the ones described above, that are designed to minimize the risk of being wrong. But real learning, Holt argues, is a process which is inherently risky and full of uncertainty. Part of becoming a good learner is learning from one's own mistakes. This is not a type of behavior which is encouraged in the classroom environment, where mistakes are a reason for disapproval.

Testing, Holt argues, merely reinforces poor learning behavior. Testing is generally defended on two grounds, that it makes children work harder and that it tells the teacher how much the children have learned. Yet, Holt argues, testing does none of these things. If testing measured what students actually know, why tell them the date of the test well in advance? Holt surmises that if all tests were given as surprises, almost all students would fail. Yet, if students need time to prepare for a test, how much of the material do they actually know? Rather, students learn the material for a specific purpose, and after the test is over they forget most of it because they no longer have use for it.

As Holt puts it, "For children, the central business of school is not learning. It is getting these daily tasks done, or at least out of the way, with a minimum of effort and unpleasantness."

Real learning, Holt argues, is a complete-

The Seven-Lesson Schoolteacher.

In his essay The Seven-Lesson Schoolteacher, John Taylor Gatto wrote down seven lessons that he believes all students learn in school, even if the school does not mean to teach them. Here is a summarized version:

1. Confusion. The classroom teaches disconnected facts, and misses the big picture. Students learn to memorize disconnected facts from disconnected classes. Students learn to accept confusion as their destiny.

2. Class Position. Students learn they must stay in class where they belong. Students learn not to question their place in the order of things.

3. Indifference. Students are shuttled from class to class. They are taught to turn their curiosity on and off like a light switch.

4. Emotional Dependency. Students learn they have no rights within the school. Children are dependent on their teachers for permission to do anything.

5. Intellectual Dependency. Students learn to wait for the teacher to tell them what to do. They learn what the teacher tells them to learn. Students who show independent thought are punished. Much of our society depends on people knowing only to do what they are told.

6. Provisional Self-Esteem. Students learn that their worth depends on an expert's opinion. Expert opinions are delivered by grades. Children's futures are determined by subjective numbers given to them by certified officials, instead of learning how to evaluate themselves.

7. One Can't Hide. Students learn they are always being watched, that they are under constant surveillance. Students learn to tattle on each other, and parents are taught to report their child's waywardness. Homework ensures that children cannot escape this surveillance. This creates an atmosphere where no one can be trusted.

ly different process. Learning outside of school does not have the same paradigm of success and failure. One does not talk about succeeding in learning to play a musical instrument in the same way that one succeeds in passing a test. In the former example, Holt writes, "there is no line with Success written on one side and Failure on the other."

"Human beings are born intelligent," Holt argues. "We are by nature question-asking, answer-making, problem-solving animals, and we are extremely good at it, above all when we are little." Very young children learn very quickly, and they learn by exploring and exercising their curiosity. By the time children spend a few years in school, they tend to lose this sense of inquisitiveness and learn to rely on others to tell them what they need to know. As Holt bluntly puts it, "To a very great degree, school is a place where children learn to be stupid."

School, Holt concludes, destroys children's capacity for learning. It does this by instilling fear, and by compelling children to work for rewards. School kills the idea that unbounded curiosity is admirable, rather, students are supposed to learn what a school board has decided is essential knowledge that they must know (although, as Holt points out, no one can agree on what this essential knowledge actually is). Real learning, Holt argues, is a self-directed process. Children learn naturally by following their curiosity wherever it leads them. This leads to far better retention of knowledge, as well as knowing how to actually use knowledge that is gained. As Holt puts it, "The child who wants to know something remembers it and uses it once he has it; the child who learns something to please or appease someone else forgets it when the need for pleasing or the danger of not appeasing is past."

Holt originally wrote How Children Fail as an attempt to reform the school system, hoping to change the system to be based on voluntary learning and encouragement of students to pursue their curiosity. However, he eventually realized that this was impossible, that the system could not support the types of reforms that he wanted to see. He ended up an advocate for homeschooling, founding the pioneering newsletter Growing Without Schooling.

But how did our society end up like this? How did the school system embed itself so deeply in American society that deep reforms are impossible, and the concept of teachers and classrooms as the most effective model of education is accepted by nearly everyone? This is the question John Taylor Gatto sought to answer when he walked away from a career teaching junior high after being named New York State Teacher of the Year. In his 2000 book The Underground History of American Education, Gatto attempts to trace the origins of public education.

Public education, it turns out, is a relatively recent invention developed by the Prussian military dictatorship. Prussia instituted forced schooling in 1819, not to create independent thinkers (which were not wanted in a dictatorship) but to create obedient soldiers, obedient civil servants and national unity. A selected few were given a rounded education focused on developing strong independent thinkers, who would then serve in senior leadership roles in the military and government. The other 95% of the population were educated in a system designed to make them content with their place in the order of things. Compulsory education, in short, was a tool of social control.

Prussian-style forced schooling made its first appearance in the United States in 1852, when Massachusetts passed a compulsory schooling law based on the Prussian model. It passed despite strong opposition. The social critic Orestes Brownson argued that "Such a system of education is not inconsistent with the theory of Prussian society but the thing is wholly inadmissible here. According to our theory the people are wiser than the government. Here the people do not look to the government for light, for instruction, but the government looks to the people…to entrust government with the power of determining education which our children shall receive is entrusting our servant with the power of the master. The fundamental difference between the United States and Prussia has been overlooked by the board of education and its supporters."

Opposition in the rest of the United States remained, and Massachusetts had the nation's only public education system for twenty years. After the Civil War, the industrial revolution was flowering, leading to a new era of mass production in all aspects of life. As Gatto argues, the new factories, mills and plants needed employees who could follow orders, not thousands of entrepreneurs.

Industrialists became major lobbyists for public education. Steel tycoon Andrew Carnegie donated millions to lobby for public education. Oil magnate John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board spent millions to promote public schooling. In the south banking billionaire George Peabody, the namesake of the UNC School of Education's own Peabody Hall, founded the Peabody Education

Fund to lobby for public education.

As Gatto writes, "Between 1896 and 1920, a small group of industrialists and financiers, together with their private charitable foundations, subsidized university chairs, university researchers, and school administrators, spent more money on forced schooling than the government itself did. Carnegie and Rockefeller, as late as 1915, were spending more themselves. In this laissez-faire fashion a system of modern schooling was constructed without public participation." As a result, from 1867 to 1918 all 48 states had passed compulsory education laws.

The new mass schools were to be organized as factories for education. As William Torrey Harris, who served as the U.S. Commissioner for Education (predecessor position to the current Secretary of Education) from 1889 to 1906, put it in his book The Philosophy of Education, "Ninety-nine [students] out of a hundred are automata, careful to walk in prescribed paths, careful to follow the prescribed custom. This is not an accident but the result of substantial education, which, scientifically defined, is the subsumption of the individual."

Forced education was just one component of the social engineering movements in the early 20th century which sought to better human society through "scientific management," utilizing the theories of Darwin, Malthus, and Galton. Social Darwinism and eugenics came to exert a powerful influence on the education system. These influences have since been replaced by others which match current trends, but the basic ideology of forced education remains: Its goal is to create utopia through the betterment of mankind. And what better place to begin this than when human beings are young and most impressionable?

Gatto makes it clear that none of this is a dark conspiracy theory. Rather, the public education system evolved over time as the nation evolved. This has left us with a compulsory education complex that is a massive industry spanning governmental agencies, special interest groups, testing organizations and educational publishers. Education is big business, with a lot of money to be made and millions of jobs at stake.

While John Holt shows us that the classroom is not the ideal environment for learning, Gatto shows us that "The secret of American schooling is that it doesn't teach the way people learn, and it isn't supposed to."

Holt suggested that since the problem with education is that it is a coercive environment of rewards and punishments, the best way to make schools into a good learning environment is to make them non-coercive.

Knowledge, learning and understanding are not linear, and people learn in ways that are unique to each individual. Therefore, each individual knows best how to teach themselves, not a teacher or school board. As Holt puts it, "Human beings are born intelligent. We are by nature question-asking, answer-making, problem-solving animals, and we are extremely good at it, above all when we are little." Learning, according to Holt, is a natural behavior and unintelligence is a different behavior entirely, not two ends of the same spectrum. Unintelligence is a conditioned behavior brought about through institutionalized schooling, while intelligence is innate and cannot be taught. Holt asserts that "We don't have to make human beings smart. They are born smart. All we have to do is stop doing the things that made them stupid."

When the people are told what to think, rather than learning how to think for themselves, the integrity of the competition of ideas within a society is harmed. People are raised to hold certain points of view, rather than freely learning and debating in the marketplace of ideas. Being told what to think is an inherent part of the classroom. Public education is antithetical to a free democracy.

What we need, and what Holt and Gatto both argue for, is to make schools voluntary. Rather than compulsory education factories, schools should become educational resources where each child can take what they want. Rather than being monopolized by a public school system, education should take place through a variety of resources: educational centers, libraries, the home and family, apprenticeships, educational co-operatives and museums.

An education based in the home is the ideal location for this; however, homeschooling is not the entire answer. Homeschooling which uses methods identical to an organized school will produce similar results. Regardless, homeschool-centric methods can be the easiest way for children to have access to a variety of educational opportunities based on voluntary action rather than receiving their education in a single coercive environment.



These children, attending school under our current educational system, learn to correctly answer questions instead of to discover, solve problems and think critically for themselves.

Implementing an open educational model on a wide scale faces significant obstacles. Foremost among these, the educational complex is too large to allow any significant changes. Teachers fear the loss of jobs if such a model ever grows on a massive scale. On a deeper level, most teachers are offended by the idea that their profession is not only unnecessary, but harmful to society.

Major political parties' support for open model reforms is nonexistent. For the left, the public school system is seen as a cornerstone of society, a tool for equalizing the education (or indoctrination) of the masses. On the right, many people who see the importance of individual freedoms to all other aspects of society fail to grasp the importance of individual freedom in education. In fact, Republicans passed the No Child Left Behind Act, which increased coercive measures in education. Both parties seem more concerned with getting their own views of reality taught as fact in the classroom, instead of allowing a dangerous competition of ideas. Although the Libertarian Party and Republican maverick Ron Paul both call for an end to federal control over education, neither one goes so far as to call for an end to compulsory schooling.

Homeschooling cannot be encouraged by the government, for government intervention is antithetical to the movement. What can be done at present is to maintain the legality of homeschooling free of government restrictions. As long as homeschooling remains legal and unrestricted, Holt, Gatto and likeminded educational philosophers stand to show that a better educational experience exists for anyone who wants to take responsibility for their life and their children's lives, and reach out and take it. **CR**

The Flaws of ObamaCare



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A critique of the price controls, taxes, and regulations of the newly passed health care legislation

In his March 23rd signing ceremony in front of a receptive audience of prominent Democrats, President Obama boasted that under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA), "all new insurance plans will be required to offer free preventive care" and coverage for those who are already sick. He called the legislation the "largest middle-class tax cut for health care in history" and claimed that the Act would "lower costs for families and for business and for the federal government, reducing our deficit by over $1 trillion over two decades."

While the President is correct that the Act places impossible burdens on insurers, Mr. Obama's claims about tax cuts and deficit reductions are indefensible.

The Act does not lower any marginal tax rates. Instead, it raises a litany of existing taxes and imposes many new taxes. In December 2009, the Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT), a joint House and Senate committee chaired by Democrats Max Baucus and Charles Rangel, released a report (JCX-61-09) that estimates revenue from these new taxes. PPACA's 40 percent excise tax on health insurance valued at over $8,500 will raise $148.9 billion in revenue between 2010 and 2019.

Over the same period, JCT expects $1.3 billion in new revenue from a new penalty on withdrawals from health-savings accounts (a market-oriented tax facility very much disliked by Democrats because it is too effective in helping people pay for their health care). The report predicts that a new $2.3-billion-per-year tax on manufacturers and importers of branded drugs will raise $22.2 in revenue, and that a $2 billion tax on manufacturers and importers of medical devices will raise $19.2 billion (the tax increases to $3 billion after 2017). JCT expects a gradually increasing tax on health insurers - $2 billion in 2011 and $10 billion after 2016 - to raise $59.6 billion. And a 10% tax on indoor tanning should raise $2.7 billion in revenue.

American consumers will end up paying for all of these taxes, because companies will simply pass on the new expenses to their customers. But consumers will also pay for PPACA more directly. The Act's individual mandate requires healthy people who neither need nor want health insurance to buy it anyways. PPACA imposes a 3.8 percent tax on returns from investment (or what the Left calls "unearned income"). When people retain net income after taxes, they have capital. Capital enables businesses to get off of the ground, hire workers, grow, and innovate. Capital is good.

The federal government has every reason to encourage the formation of capital. There is strong evidence that capital-gains tax rates (capital gains are fairly analogous to PPACA's 'unearned income') are inversely related to revenues from the capital gains tax. A report by economist Stephen Moore (ISBN #1-56808-182-0) finds that decreases in the capital gains rates result in increases in tax revenue. The negative effects of capital-gains taxes on stock markets have been established for some time. A 1992 study in Economics Letters (edited by Nobel laureate Eric Maskin) by economists Gregory Noronha and Stephen P. Ferris found "an inverse relationship between stock market trading volume and the tax rate on capital gains." But it seems the Democrats prefer a false sense of fairness – and the subsequent decreases in economic activity and tax revenue – over paying for PPACA's costly mandates via increased prosperity.

Other provisions of PPACA violate basic principles of fairness. Section 2701 of the Act implements price controls that prevent insurers from charging tobacco smokers more than 1.5 times what they charge non-tobacco smokers. It is not fair that people who choose to be healthy must now subsidize the unhealthy habits of a relatively small group of people. PPACA actually prevents insurers from charging different rates for any lifestyle reasons whatsoever. Under Section 2701(A), subsection 1(a) of the Act, people who down fast food and sugary drinks simply get to pass off the costs of their irresponsibility onto the rest of society.

ObamaCare (another name for PPACA) also unfairly penalizes healthy consumers. Before ObamaCare, consumers who purchased catastrophic health insurance paid low monthly premiums, but had to incur substantial health costs before insurance payments kick in. This type of insurance was relatively affordable because it covered medi-

cal emergencies, but not small, recurring expenses like prescription drugs or contact lenses. By trading a low monthly premium for a high deductible, these catastrophic plans helped healthy people save money.

PPACA slams healthy people by driving up prices on these basic health insurance plans. Section 1302(e), part 1(B), paragraph (i) of the bill compels providers of catastrophic health insurance to cover hospitalization, emergency services, maternity care, lab services, "behavioral health treatment," vision care, mental health and "substance use disorder services," and anything else that the Secretary of Health and Human Services deems an "essential health benefit." By essentially eliminating catastrophic health insurance plans and forcing all insurance to cover counseling, contacts and cocaine rehab, the Act will raise insurance premiums for healthy people.

Democrats again appealed to the public's sense of fairness to gain support for the requirement that insurers accept people with 'pre-existing conditions.' PPACA requires insurers to charge sick patients the same prices that they charge to healthy patients. And because the individual mandate provides for penalties that cost far less than purchasing even heavily subsidized health insurance, it will be cheaper for people to simply wait until they get sick to establish a relationship with an insurer.

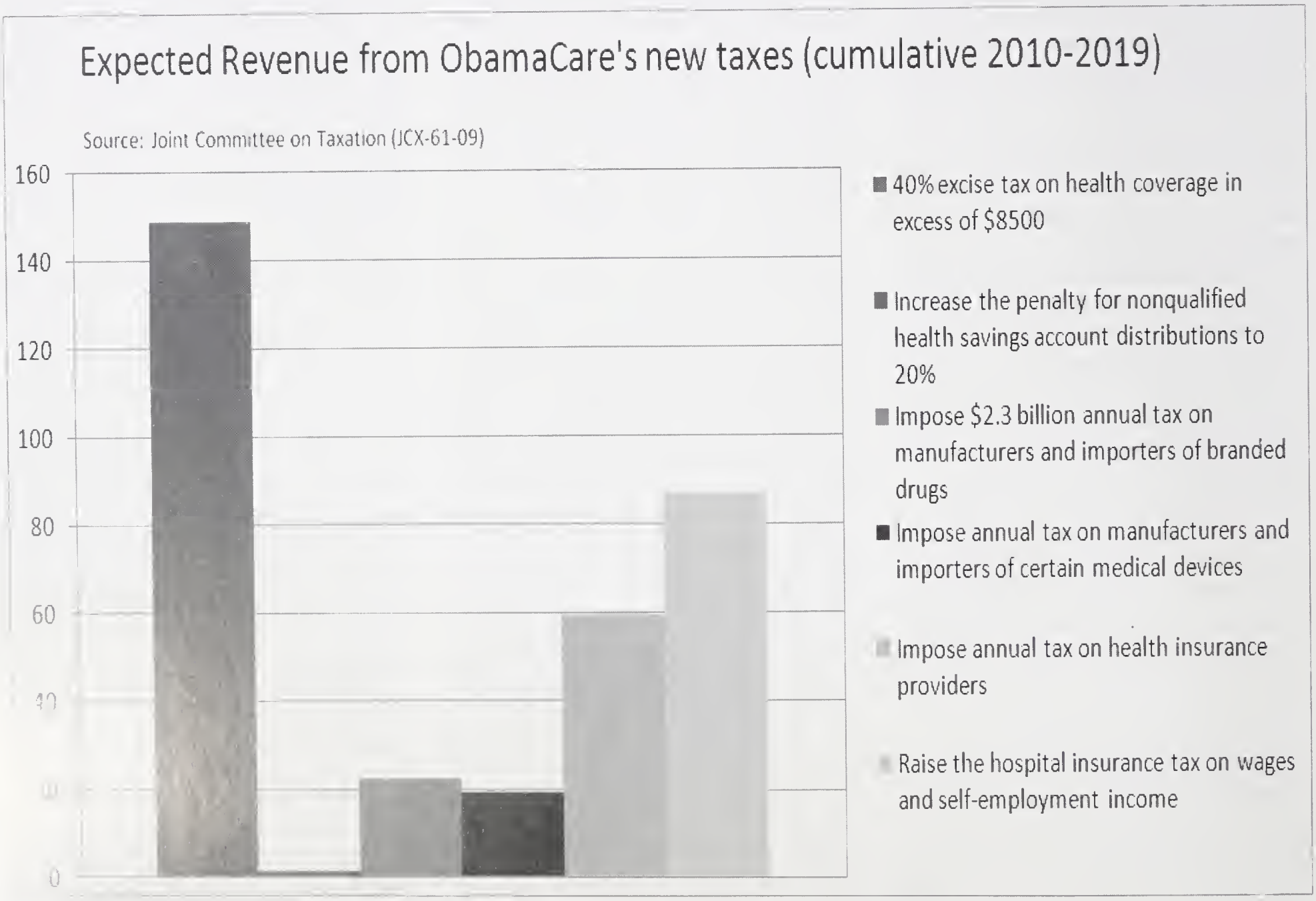
Insurance is the "promise of reimbursement in case of loss," according to Princeton's lexical database. The pre-existing conditions provision turns the insurance business, which was once based upon calculated risk, into a network of taxpayer-funded reimbursement agencies. There will be no promise that kicks in when a loss occurs; instead, there will merely be reimbursement. In the short to medium run, expect to see widespread increases in premiums as insurers cease to establish true insurance policies and act instead as government contractors that must take on whichever patients ask for coverage, no matter how long those patients have waited to purchase coverage after getting sick.

In the long run, expect to see less competition in the insurance industry as insurers go out of business. Unless the mandate is enforced and millions of new customers are forced onto insurance rolls, insurers will start to pay out more they in and will not survive. If the mandate is enforced and subsidized patients begin streaming onto insurance rolls, insurance companies will have no incentive to keep premiums low.

The fact that innovative insurance policies are illegal under PPACA (its minimum-coverage-level standards apply to all insurance policies) will hasten the destruction of competition; insurers will have little grounds on which to compete. Without grounds for competition, insurance company profits, which help ensure low cost, high quality and proper risk management in a market system, will become pure social waste. This waste will eventually help Democrats make a strong argument for single-payer care, with all of its inefficiencies, administration problems, shortages, limited innovation and excessive costs. Democrat Members of Congress understand this.

ObamaCare may succeed in eliminating the private health insurance business, but its mandates will take individuals and families down with the insurers. The economic effects of these changes will be negative for people of all income levels.

Compared to ObamaCare's other taxes, the mandate penalty will collect a strikingly small amount of revenue. A March 11th,



2010 Congressional Budget Office letter to Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (whose poor leadership has earned him, according to a March 21st, 2010 CBS News Poll, an 8% approval rating) predicts that in the period from 2010 to 2019, the Internal Revenue Service will take $15 billion from individuals and $27 billion from employers in mandate fines. But, the letter notes, the mandate will cost $5 to $10 billion to enforce.

American families that do comply with the mandate, even the ones that want only basic insurance, can now expect to spend huge portions of their income on health care, regardless of whether or not they consume that care. A November 20th, 2009 CBO letter to Senator Reid states that "A family of four with income of about $54,000 [225 percent of the Federal Poverty Level in 2016] could expect to pay about 17 percent of its income for premiums and cost sharing for the reference plan," where the reference plan is the second-lowest-cost "silver" plan.

The March 21st CBO letter to Senator Reid estimates that federal subsidies for PPACA between 2010 and 2019 will total $875 billion. According to the data in Table 3 of that letter, the CBO expects a 6.9% average growth rate per year in program costs. With all of the new taxes on success that PPACA introduces, it is doubtful that our gross domestic product will increase proportionally to the program's costs. And CBO provides no estimate of costs beyond 2019. It is quite likely that the federal government has created another unsustainable entitlement.

The endgame of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act is clear: health insurance premiums will rise, people who want only basic coverage will be forced to purchase high-cost, low-deductible plans covering drug rehabilitation and 'behavioral health' treatment like marriage counseling, and society will reward people who wait until they get sick to buy insurance. No Congressional Budget Office letter has attempted to estimate the effects of PPACA on the macroeconomy. But the Act's potential effects are not difficult to see.

In addition to the decrease in investment that the Act's new tax on investment returns will precipitate, we can expect to see decreases in medical manufacturing because of the Act's taxes on production. These production taxes may force job-providing medical device manufacturers out of the country. Zoll Medical Corp., a device maker in Senator Scott Brown's Massachusetts, recently told the Boston Herald's Jay Fitzgerald that it will probably have to leave the United States or go out of business if Governor Deval Patrick and Senator Brown fail in their attempts to repeal the tax.

Businesses that stay will not be left unscathed. Ironically, some corporations may be forced to cut health benefits because of tax changes in the Act. On March 26th, Bloomberg reported that AT&T Inc. will record $1 billion in additional costs and will possibly cut health benefits for retired workers because ObamaCare eliminated the tax-deductibility of AT&T's employee health benefit payments.

ObamaCare may succeed in eliminating the private health insurance business, but its mandates will take individuals and families down with the insurers.

On March 23rd, 2010, Caterpillar Inc. announced that it expects PPACA to add $100 million to its health-care costs in the first year alone. On March 24th, Verizon sent an email to employees telling them to "expect that Verizon's costs will increase in the short-term" because PPACA raids funds meant for the already-crunched Medicare Part D in order to pay for ObamaCare, and because the Act taxes high-value insurance plans. At a time when the national unemployment rate is 9.7 percent, employers do not need federally-imposed increases in health care costs.

PPACA will hurt consumers, too. PPACA hides the costs of health care from consumers and prevents insurers from capping the amount of health care that consumers can receive. Because society, and not individuals, will bear the cost of care, healthy people will be able to consume care that they would not have paid for on their own. And unless this demand is matched by an increase in supply (which is unlikely, as Duke Cheston explained in his "Bad Medicine" cover story in the September 2009 issue of Carolina Review), care will become scarcer. Further insulating consumers from healthcare costs will inevitably result in supply-demand disequilibrium (or rationing).

With the conversion of insurance providers into government contractors, we can expect an end to innovation in insurance plans. Taxes on medical device manufacturers and drug makers will ensure that the medical industry has less capital to work with to develop new equipment and treatments. Health outcomes will begin to deteriorate as demand for care outstrips supply; few students will want to spend years of their lives in medical school in order to work in a profession where government price ceilings are a major determinant of physician reimbursement. As the new tax on investment kicks in, we can expect less investment and more hoarding of assets. If we isolate for the effects of PPACA, we should expect our average GDP over the years, average employment, and average investment numbers to be a good bit lower than what they could have been.

Market-oriented health reform would repeal PPACA, and then repeal the tax exclusion that incentivizes individuals to receive health insurance through their employers instead of purchasing it themselves. Fixing this incentive will help to re-establish the patient-provider relationship, encouraging patients to shop around for the best prices. When individuals do not pay for their own care (or insurance) using their own money or using a government voucher, they have no reason to seek out the ideal combination of price and quality. Consumers buy products and services like milk, eggs, cars, auto insurance, computers, oil changes and haircuts this way. Consumer choice will work for health care, too.

The Democrat Congress and President should have used their unchecked legislative and executive power to enable the development of a competitive national market for healthcare, with subsidized special pools for individuals who are either unable to work or who are born with a medical condition. But the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act is merely an exercise in central planning. It ignores the greatest discoveries of economics by declining to employ true choice and competition to lower costs. Healthy people will spend more of their income on services they will not consume. The sickest the Americans will see their costs (individual costs as well as costs to society) rise, while government regulates, taxes, and generally discourages the medical advances that they need so badly.

Characterized by price controls, a poorly-designed mandate, a litany of new taxes that discourage growth and regulations designed to destroy the private insurance industry and drive up prices for its customers, ObamaCare is a vestige of an outmoded and failed 20th-century social-welfare ideology. **CR**

RETHINKING *Feminism*



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Mary Katherine Ham presents her vision of feminism

In a recent speech hosted by the Network of Enlightened Women's Meredith College chapter, Mary Katherine Ham articulated her vision of the proper role of feminism in society, providing a fresh take on what is at times a divisive subject for the Grand Old Party. She views the agenda of modern liberal feminists as detrimental to women's political and economic independence. In her talk she provided many examples of the harmful effects of liberal feminists' support of the ascendance of the central government. Although feminists maintain that they hope to increase governmental authority in order to give it the power to protect them from discrimination, the consequences of lifting restraints on the state have actually made it harder for female entrepreneurs and businesswomen to achieve their goals.

As a well-educated and increasingly well-known political commentator, Ham obviously agrees with most feminists about the importance of recognizing the overall political parity between men and women. However, she opposes the tendency on the part of some feminists to see the world with tunnel-vision, tackling every issue from a woman's perspective rather than from an individual human perspective.

In her view, the idea that all women must confine themselves to the ideology of the Democratic Party and should be encouraged to root out sexism in every situation promotes groupthink and keeps women from reaping the benefits of concentrating on improving the world for everyone, not just for women.

> "Government is not always helping women… sometimes they don't need to be picked up by the state; they just need to be able to do what they want to do."
> -Mary Katherine Ham

Ham points out that it is possible for women to be career-driven and successful without the help of the feminist movement. As Ham says, "I don't write about being a woman every single day […] we don't have to obsess about it."

Ham sees her mother and grandmother as her personal heroes, describing them as conservative women who worked hard and accomplished their goals without the help of feminists, even in a time when women were not guaranteed the same rights that men had. Although the women's movement was instrumental in securing political and economic rights for women in generations past, Ham points out that women like her mother and grandmother were able to rise to success in their chosen fields of work without requiring feminists' help at every turn.

She challenges the mantra with which liberal feminists attack successful conservative women: "[feminists say that] if you're not liberal, you're not a real woman […] that's just as oppressive." She makes the point that liberal feminists' unflagging dedication to one particular party over another makes them susceptible to being taken advantage of by the leadership of that party. In Ham's view, whereas partisan voters' voices are sometimes not heard because their support is often taken for granted, independents wield the real political power in the electorate because politicians depend on their support to gain an edge over their opponents in close races.

Her perspective regarding government interference in the lives of businesses and pri-

vate citizens is a prototypically conservative one; in her speech she addressed the disparity between a liberal feminist's ideal view of government and her own and explained why the realization of her ideal would be infinitely more helpful for women. She pointed out that one-third of the entrepreneurs in this country are women and gave several examples of ways in which a preponderance of nanny-state intervention has actually been deleterious to their success.

Ham told the story of a woman from Tupelo, Mississippi who hoped to open a hair-braiding salon, but was unable to do so because of onerous state regulations regarding the hours of training she needed in order to be legally allowed to braid hair, a skill she had doubtless been refining since childhood. However, once the strict regulations were finally lessened, she was able to open her hair-braiding shop and was even able to teach other women to braid and to help them open their own shops, creating a franchise. "You never hear these examples of how the state hurts women," Ham commented in her speech.

She gave another topical example of the negative effects of undue state intervention on the business aspirations of female entrepreneurs. According to Ham, the market for "fish pedicures" has been growing rapidly, and many women have purchased the supplies necessary to set up a fish pedicure business. A fish pedicure involves having clients immerse their feet in water that contains a certain type of fish that nibbles off dead skin, leaving feet soft and smooth. However, Ham noted that



Mary Katherine Ham

before the treatment became widespread, and without any recorded incidents of injury caused by the tiny nibbling fish, fish pedicures were made illegal in several states.

The result was a huge financial loss for women who had already bought fish pedicure equipment and were prepared to take advantage of this new and expanding market. Clients were lining up to try this in-vogue treatment, and entrepreneurs were ready to supply it; it therefore seems clear that the government's interference benefitted no one. As Ham put it, "Government is not always helping women…sometimes they don't need to be picked up by the state; they just need to be able to do what they want to do."

In my view, one of Ham's most effective attacks against liberal feminists was her commentary regarding their opposition to Tim Tebow's pro-life Super Bowl commercial: "Do women really want to identify with the party that tries to take a hunky quarterback off the air? They're thinking about running an ad against Tim Tebow… you're going to lose that argument. Everyone loses to Tim Tebow."

Mary Katherine Ham makes a strong case for dismissing the popular notion that a woman can achieve nothing in American society unless she is a liberal feminist beholden to the government for protection and support. If feminists truly desire to help women achieve social, political, and economic self-determination, they should advocate self-reliance rather than promoting dependence on a bloated and ineffectual government. **CR**

Continued from Page 11: In The Belly of the Beast

On the contrary, in my opinion, the onus of the burden is on the student to understand the culture around him. Western Civilization was heavily influenced by the Bible and Christianity, so it would do a disservice to the student to not instruct him on the Bible. I relish the irony of leftists who decry American tourists visiting Germany, for example, and expect their hosts to speak English; yet they then play the part of that same boorish tourist when it comes to Western Civilization. When I visited Morocco, I spoke French and tried to learn darija. When my hosts made references to the Qur'an, I didn't demand they stop. That is their culture and an integral part of their daily lives. If I were to live there long-term, I should learn the Qur'an so I could truly live in that country.

For that is what learning the Bible, Shakespeare, and the others allows one to do. They provide a common ground for discourse and a framework for communication between us. We can see how Tarheel basketball connects us as a student body or how pop culture connects us as a generation; but those works provide us a means to a deeper connection that a disparate, cacophonous, and multitudinous curriculum simply cannot.

This isn't to say that there shouldn't be instruction on Eastern or other writers. They can be both enjoyable and insightful. But this should not be at the expense of teaching the foundations of Western Civilization, which is the natural end of the current thrust of diversity policy. Before students are mandated to genuflect at the altar of diversity, the administration needs to be more upfront about the costs associated with implementing their diversity policy and the motivation for doing so. It is no longer about promoting the well-being of students as a whole, but rather favoring specific constituencies with no regard to the common good. **CR**

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VIEWS FROM ACROSS THE POND

An Interview with Sir Christopher Meyer



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I recently sat down with Sir Christopher Meyer, KCMG to discuss foreign policy issues. Sir Christopher is the former British ambassador to Germany and the United States, serving in Washington, DC from 1997 to 2003 during the crucial months leading up to the Iraq War. Before his overseas postings, he served under Sir Geoffrey Howe in the Thatcher Government and then as Prime Minister John Major's Press Secretary. He is the best-selling author of DC Confidential *and* Getting Our Way, *and currently serves as the Morehead-Cain Alumni Distinguished Visiting Professor to the UNC honors program.*

CR: What is your view of attempts to unify Realpolitik and Wilsonian approaches to foreign policy, specifically, Democratic realism, which provided the intellectual framework for the War in Iraq with the idea that we should introduce democracy in areas of strategic necessity?



Sir Christopher Meyer

CM: Only in America do we find various schools of thought on foreign policy. But there is a common thread in all these groups which takes the form of American exceptionalism. I'm always surprised, that even today, when you talk to either Republicans or Democrats, each believes that the United States has a special mission in the world. That is an idealistic view. But sitting next to it you have a highly pragmatic approach to the promotion and safeguarding of American interest. So I've always seen a fusion of so-called American idealism with so-called American realism.

People like to invoke the behavior of the United States after 9/11– the reprisals against al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and the Iraq War– as a classic case of an idealism gone messianic. That's perfectly true. George W. Bush spoke in messianic terms about good versus evil and terrorism versus freedom. But I think the behavior of the United States after 9/11 was quite unusual and exceptional and was a very, very specific reaction– emotional and political– to the trauma of 9/11. In fact, by the time you got to President Bush's Second Administration, American foreign policy was reverting to a more traditional framework after the shock had worn off of dealing with 9/11 and the onset of realization that Iraq was not what they thought it was going to be.

CR: Now, you've mentioned that only in America do you see the rise of different schools of foreign policy. Which of these great thinkers would you identify with most:

Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jeane Kirkpatrick, or Paul Wolfowitz?

CM: Henry Kissinger, Brent Scowcroft, Brzezinski– Brzezinski, I think is very brilliant. I tend to read stuff by them and say, yup, that's very wise. I knew Paul Wolfowitz very well– he's got an absolutely first-class mind; he's a brilliant man– but his brilliance works within concepts with which I never found myself in agreement. I remember the first time I became ambassador in Washington, and I met him very soon afterwards. He immediately expounded the necessity of invading Iraq and occupying the south. I thought this was crazy! He was moved by this notion of spreading democracy around the world, the so-called democratic realism. I would not count myself in Paul Wolfowitz's camp.

CR: Regarding the concept of a nation-state, can an entity like the EU pursue a foreign policy? You talked about national interest– is there an explicit national interest for the EU to use as an impetus for foreign policy?

CM: You tell me. If anyone looks at a common foreign policy for the European Union, you can see that it exists at the lowest common denominator level; but on specific actions, each nation, certainly the big powers, make up their own minds on the basis of their own national interest and then decide what to do. And since foreign and security policy are among the last bastions– and most important bastions– of national sovereignty, they're not going to go.

You can have a high representative for, whatever it's called, Baroness Ashton. You can create these institutions. You can create the so-called European Diplomatic Service, but unless there is real substance and real willingness on the part of member states to hand over the responsibility of their foreign policy to a single entity, this is not going to mean much. We have it in a common trade policy because, for external trade negotiations, we do actually hand it over and give the European Commission the power to negotiate on our behalf. That works quite well

But in foreign policy, where you find yourself putting your troops in harm's way, that authority is *never* going to be handed over to someone in Brussels, not in my lifetime, I don't think, or even yours. So it's not going to be a very effective thing. As for Henry Kissinger's wish, to always have a single phone number to ring in times of a crisis, he's not going to get it. There are still going to be lots of phone numbers to ring when there's a crisis.

CR: Moving to more current events, why would you say America isn't more supportive of Britain's irrefutable claim to the Falkland Islands?

CM: The United States has always been torn on this dispute. It's partly a hangover of the Monroe Doctrine; it's partly because the US sees Latin America as its own backyard, which is increasingly challenged by the Latin Americans themselves, and I think the integrity of the OAS is under challenge by a group of Latin American countries who are saying, "Let's create an OAS without the United States and Canada." So it's already under threat. We don't talk about spheres of influence any more, but it is in the American view, Latin America is in the US sphere of influence; therefore, to overtly take the British side on the Falkland Islands is, in the American view, to risk alienating and antagonizing important Latin American countries, quite apart from Argentina itself.

In '82, at the time of the war, Jeane Kirkpatrick was arguing strongly from the UN that the US should not come out on the British side. All the members of the State Department who were on the Latin American desk were firmly against the US coming behind Britain. Al Haig who was then Secretary of State tried to negotiate an agreement between us and the Argentines on the Falklands. He tried very, very hard to avoid war. But in the end, certain individuals, like Reagan himself and Cap Weinberger, the Defense Secretary, considered it their duty to support us. And they did. So it's always been a conflicted thing.

Now, in the recent crisis provoked by various statements from the Argentines, we have seen a very similar American reaction. So there were people in Britain who were outraged and what they thought was a lukewarm American response, "what does this say about the 'Special Relationship,'" "how dare the Americans behave like that"– but it's been absolutely in line with how they've behaved for years, so I wasn't surprised.

CR: Now, for a fun question, who has been Britain's most successful, post-war prime minister in terms of foreign policy?

CM: I don't think I can point to any Labour prime minister. I think in the end it *has* to be Margaret Thatcher simply for her clarity of vision, real determination to get things done, success in handling the relationship with the United States, success with Gorbachev's Russia, upholding British interests in the European Union (although it upset a lot of Europeans), and doing the right thing on the Falklands. And she did her homework before doing things unlike Tony Blair, who didn't really do detail. Her strength was she had vision, and she did detail. **CR**

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PARADIGMS AND PRINCIPLES

The Growing Consensus

Student Fee Insanity

Let's check out the most recent allocations for the much lauded Child Care Services Fee. According to the Student Fee Advisory Subcommittee (the group in charge of reviewing student fees), we pay $12.81 annually to cover the 50 students who receive child care subsidies (according to Aimee Krans, Work/Life Manager in the UNC Office of Human Resources). On the other hand, we pay $39.00 each year to fund all eligible student organizations at UNC, in addition to our student government. We'll conservatively estimate that this benefits 90 percent of the student body (approximately 25,000 students). So we pay a fee that benefits less than .002 percent of the student body that is almost one-third of the fee that benefits basically the entire student body. Where's the logic behind that?

The Daily Tar Heel, long a critic of the Association of Student Governments, recently called for the incoming Medlin Administration to lobby the UNC Board of Governors to end the mandatory $1 fee on UNC students to fund the ASG. We at the Carolina Review concur. In fact, we'll go further and say whenever the DTH and CR agree upon something, it should be immediately enacted. Just kidding, we actually support democracy (unlike members of the ASG and their cronies). T. Greg Doucette, President of the ASG, responded with a Facebook note (channeling Sarah Palin are we?) that recycled the usual verbiage in defense of the ASG: the ASG needs the overwhelming majority of its money to go towards salaries, hotel, and travel expenses; the ASG provides tangible benefits to the students its purports to represent (true, like thwarting the tuition increases and mandatory health care requirement for students. Oh wait...); and any criticism of the ASG is unjustified, erroneous and mere "weasel words." But the final arbiters of this dispute should be the students. Student Congress needs to grant a referendum on whether we should participate in the ASG or not.

That is how democracy works.

Let's Go Butch!

Our loss to Dayton in the NIT marked the end of a particularly inglorious season of Tar Heel basketball. But there remains hope for next season. In the mean time, here's to the beginning of the football season!

Every Witty Health Care Title Has Been Done

Health care passed. Finally! The whole debate was getting so dull. According to the recent RCP average, Americans were solidly against the health care bill because they realized it wouldn't do much good, but a lot of hurt. The main reason it was all so somniferous was that the bill wasn't terribly revolutionary. Sure, it levied harmful taxes and massively increased the number of regulations, but overall, it was just a patch on an inefficient and ineffective system. It didn't address the underlying problem (the third-party-payer system) and seek real cost reductions. And while it certainly moved us in that direction, it wasn't a nationalization of our health care system. A Pyhrric victory for the Democrats? Almost certainly.

An Announcement from the Editors

We are supremely disappointed in our brethren at the Daily Tar Heel for refusing to adopt a policy of using gender-neutral language, so we are pleased to announce that the Carolina Review will hereby only use gender-neutral language to end the spread of patriarchal norms and stimulus to oppress on the part of males. And then the nightmare ended and we woke up.

Student Congress = European Union?

Kudos to Student Congress for striking down an attempt from the higher-ups (i.e. the Speaker of Student Congress, Dakota Williams) to hold yet another referendum to raise student fees. Speaker Williams proposed another fee increase that, if passed by Student Congress, would appear on the ballot to be voted upon by the student body. Apparently, the student body's initial negative response wasn't acceptable to our student government leaders who sought to allow the student body an opportunity to mend their ways, reminiscent of the EU forcing the Lisbon Treaty down the throats of unwilling populaces.

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